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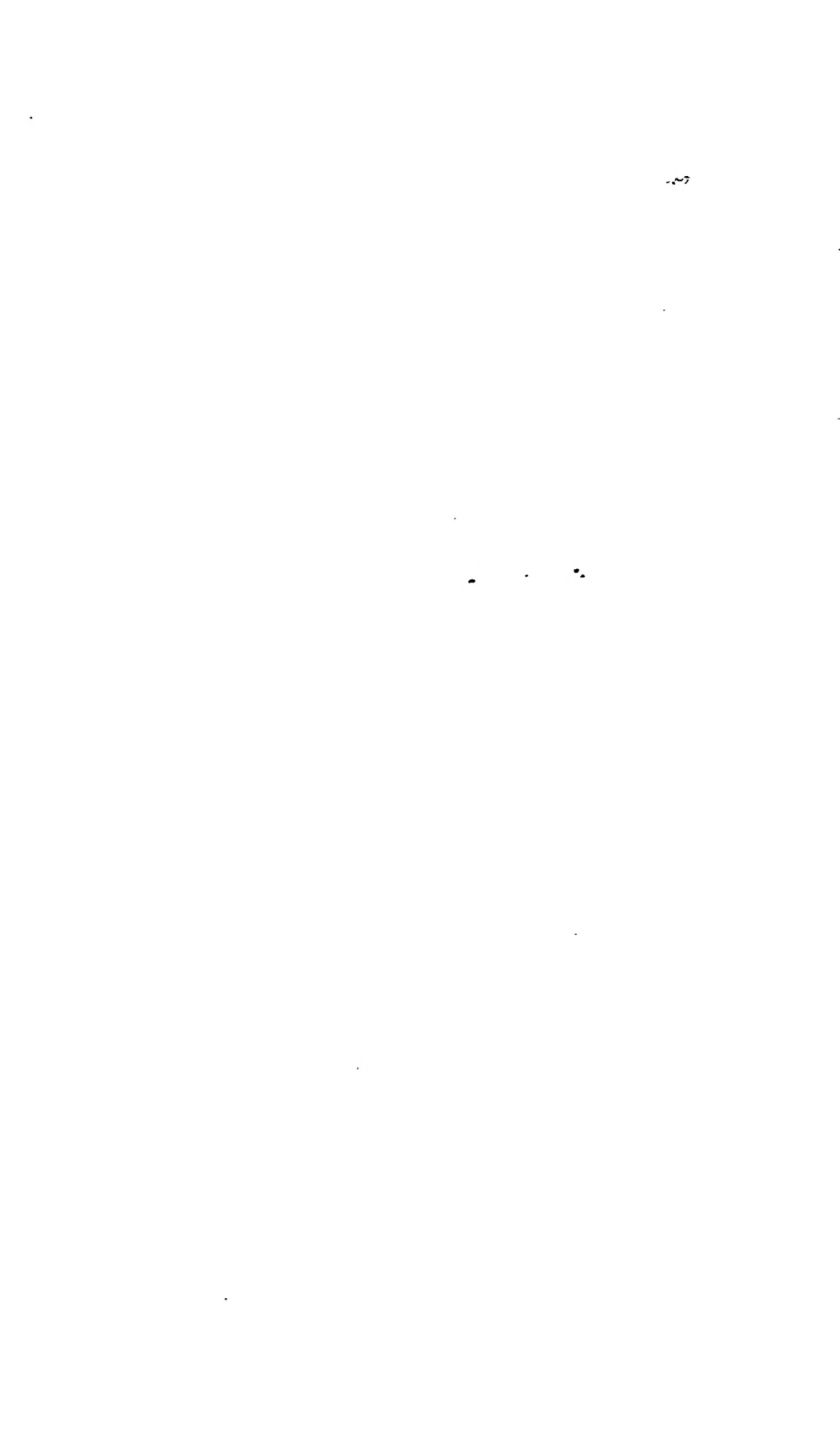
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Vol. I

D.G.A. 79



SELECT INSCRIPTIONS



SELECT INSCRIPTIONS

BEARING ON

INDIAN HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

VOLUME I

From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.

EDITED BY

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TO
THE LATE
DR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE

॥ सिद्धम् ॥

प्राच्यविद्योदधेरिन्दोरुज्ज्वलज्ञानकर्मणः ।
सूरैः श्रीहिमचन्द्रस्य रायचतुर्धरस्य च ॥
भागडारकरवंशाब्जदेवदत्तस्य धीमतः ।
प्रत्नलिपिप्रगल्भस्य स्वल्पज्ञेनान्तवासिना ॥

ढक्केति विषये वङ्गे फरीदपुरमण्डले ।
कवैर्वेद्याग्रगण्यस्य यज्ञेश्वरस्य सत्पितुः ॥
मातुश्च कुसुमाद्यायाः कुमार्यास्तनुजन्मना ।
दीनेशेन कृतिश्चेयं कायस्थेन विरच्यते ॥

॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

I

The *Select Inscriptions* (Vol. I) is now placed afresh in the hands of the young students of history, for whom it is primarily intended, with the hope that it will continue to stimulate their interest in the early history of India. Its reappearance has been delayed owing principally to the prevailing difficult condition of printing, the same also standing in the way of the publication of Vol. II of the work.

In revising the work for the present edition, the author has spared no pains to make it useful to the students by bringing the explanatory notes up to date. The results of recent researches have been incorporated wherever necessary. The lack of representation of certain areas in the earlier edition has been rectified by the inclusion of a few inscriptions found in those regions. Most of the new epigraphs now included in the volume were, however, brought to light after the publication of the first edition. The discovery of the Sumandala copper-plate inscription (Bk. III, No. 71-B), showing that the Imperial Guptas did not perish exactly by the middle of the sixth century A.D. as hitherto believed but continued to rule in parts of Eastern India as late as 569 A. D., necessitated the incorporation of a few records that were purposely omitted on the previous occasion.

Office of the Government
Epigraphist for India,
Baikie House, Ootacamund,
October 31, 1954. }

D. C. SIRCAR

II

During the long period the book was going through the press, its absence from the market was keenly felt by university students offering the M. A. examination in ancient Indian history, culture and archaeology as well as certain other subjects. Now that we have a large number of universities and that many of them teach the subjects concerned, no less than three

teachers—from Delhi, Patna and Jabalpur—were tempted to publish books of this type for the benefit of the students. Unfortunately, in many cases, the compilers have copied the epigraphic texts from the *Select Inscriptions* (sometimes together with our foot-notes) without acknowledgement. They were probably under the impression that epigraphic texts are merely to be copied from some other publication with or without referring to it and without any attempt being made to improve upon the published reading and interpretation of an inscription.

Out of the inscriptions which have been published or re-examined since 1954 when the manuscript for the present edition of the *Select Inscriptions* was submitted to the press, a few have been included in the Supplement at the end. I was eager to add to them an inscription of the Gupta age reported to be published recently in East Pakistan. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to secure either any facsimile of the epigraph or a copy of the publication in which it appeared. Of course, my failure to examine the valuable copper-plate inscriptions of the Early Deva and Chandra dynasties of East Bengal, discovered in East Pakistan a few years ago, does not affect the present volume since it deals with the earlier period. It should, however, be pointed out that this is a serious difficulty facing the student of the early history of the Indian subcontinent in these parts since history can hardly be divided between the Indian Union on the one hand and East and West Pakistan on the other.

I am thankful to the Archaeological Survey of India for the loan of a number of blocks for illustrating the work. My thanks are also due to Dr. S. K. Maity of the University of Jadavpur, who has prepared the Index with the help of his pupils.

Finally, I crave the indulgence of the readers for the misprints and other blemishes that have crept into the volume. Some of these have been rectified in the *Addenda et Corrigenenda*.

645, New Alipore, Calcutta-53 }
November 18, 1964.

D. C. SIRCAR

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

Inscriptions in Sanskrit and Prakrit constitute an important branch of Indian literature. No study of Classical Sanskrit and Prakrit can be complete without a knowledge of the enormous mass of literary material, both in prose and verse, embodied in inscriptions. In epigraphic records, references are quite abundant to various aspects of Indian life and thought. Their study is therefore not only indispensable to the student of political history, but also to all who are interested in India's contribution to the civilization of the world. Students of the history of Indian philosophy, literature, law, society, geography, etc., have all got to supplement their knowledge by a study of epigraphic literature. Attention may, by way of illustration, be invited to (1) the mention of Śaṅkarācārya in a Cambodian record and (2) of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi in a Deccan epigraph of 634 A.D., (3) the reference to a Māheśvara sect in a Mathurā inscription of 380 A. D., (4) to the system of trial by ordeal in a Viṣṇukuṇḍin record, (5) to the Brāhmaṇa ancestry of the Kadambas who later on ranked as Kshatriyas, (6) the help offered by epigraphy in the identification of Śrāvastī, etc., etc.

There are many epigraphs which are excellent pieces of *kāvya* and can stand comparison with the best products of the celebrated masters of Classical Sanskrit and Prakrit. Their superiority to extant literary tradition as sources of political and institutional history has been demonstrated by scholars since the days of Colebrooke and happily needs no further emphasis. Unlike a large number of literary works, most of the inscriptions can be assigned to a definite date or epoch. Unlike most literary works, again, the epigraphic records can be more easily grouped geographically and are thus the best test for the regional classification of the *ritis* of poetical composition as expounded by rhetoricians and also of a similar grouping of the Prakrit dialects preferred by grammarians. A considerable number of epigraphs were composed by poets attached to the courts of kings, and there is no doubt that the merits of their published works secured royal favour for them. But, in the majority

of cases, all other works of the poets are lost and their claim for a glorious place in the history of Indian literature is eloquently advanced only by particular epigraphic *kāvya*s that have survived. The cause of this fortunate survival is that the royal *praśastis* were usually engraved on stone or metal and not on easily perishable materials such as palm leaves and birch bark, as was the case with literary works. Harisheṇa, Śāba-Virasena, Vāsula, Keśava, Vatsabhāṭṭi, Kubja and numerous unnamed authors, whose works have been quoted in the following pages, were poets who claim recognition ; but the only specimens of their composition survive in inscriptions.

The importance of epigraphic studies needs no elaboration. It is therefore in the fitness of things that some of the Indian universities have prescribed a large number of inscriptions in the original for students preparing for the degree examinations in various subjects. It is to be hoped that the time will come sooner or later—sooner rather than later—when educationists who have the welfare of the country in their heart will seriously consider as to whether some of the records, e.g., those of Aśoka rendered into Sanskrit, may be prescribed even for the students of H. E. Schools and Chatuspāṭhīs. Unfortunately, however, the epigraphic literature has so far created no great enthusiasm amongst certain sections of scholars interested in the study of Indian classics. It has been my aspiration since my student days to compile a *Corpus* of inscriptions and place it in the hands of Sanskritists not well-acquainted with this vast field of literature. An opportunity soon presented itself.

In July, 1937, I was appointed a Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University, and epigraphy was one of the subjects that I was asked to teach. It is well known that the Calcutta University has unique arrangements for the post-graduate teaching of Indian history and culture in all their various aspects. Naturally therefore it has prescribed a number of inscriptions for the M.A. examination particularly in Sanskrit, Pāli, Comparative Philology, and Ancient Indian History and Culture. These records are brought out in different learned publications, most of which are beyond the means and reach of our students. Since, however, an inscription has to be studied from several points of view—historical, philological, geographical and the like, it is absolutely

necessary for its proper appreciation that a copy of each record shall be in the hands of every student attending the lectures. Thus I felt the necessity of a handy volume containing the text of inscriptions prescribed for the M. A. examination of the Calcutta University, together with certain other records whose study is essential for a knowledge of the Indian epigraphic literature in all its phases. I approached the Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, President of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, Calcutta University, who readily encouraged the idea and asked me to proceed with the compilation of a selection as quickly as possible. A plan of the work was drawn up in consultation with Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Departments of History and Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and I set myself seriously to the work about the beginning of 1939. A Selection containing the text in Devanāgarī script of many important inscriptions including those prescribed by some of the Indian Universities, dating from the sixth century B. C. down to the age of the Great Mughals, was then completed by me. The University of Calcutta decided to publish the work in two volumes and appointed Pandit Kshitis Chandra Sastri, M.A., Pañchatīrtha, Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Victoria Institution, Calcutta, to prepare a neat copy for the press and also to help me in the laborious task of proof-correction. The press began its work about the beginning of 1941 and the printing of Volume I of the work containing the records down to the age of the Imperial Guptas was completed by the middle of 1942. The work of printing was greatly facilitated by the kind interest taken by Mr. J. Chakravorti, Registrar, Calcutta University.

Volume I of the *Select Inscriptions* covers the period beginning with the Akhaemenian occupation of North-Western India in the sixth century B. C. and ending with the fall of the Imperial Guptas in the sixth century A.D. To prepare a comprehensive volume dealing with all the important inscriptions that have been discovered down to the present day is a task which requires several years for its successful completion and cannot be lightly undertaken in the India of to-day. I have therefore thought of a modest scheme. But in order to make the work illustrative of the well-marked epochs and localities of which notice has to be taken by a serious student of the

subject of Indian epigraphy, the Selection has been made out of the most interesting records, especially those of important ruling families which have left their mark on the history and development of Indian civilization. Special stress has been laid on such dynasties of all-India importance as the Maurya and the Gupta. To illustrate important points of historical interest as well as to indicate the nature of the draft of royal charters in different periods and localities, a large number of inscriptions belonging to dynasties and individuals of minor importance has also been included. Some of the records selected belong to countries outside the geographical limits of India proper. A few records of the Akhaemenian emperors of Persia have been incorporated as they refer to the relations of India with ancient Iran. From very early times—in some cases from the fourth century B.C. at the latest, but in others from about the beginning of the Christian era—Ceylon, Indo-China and the Islands of the Southern Sea were studded with settlements founded by enterprising princes and merchants of India. Naturally therefore some records discovered in those parts of the world have been included just to point to that glorious chapter of ancient Indian history concerning the colonial enterprise of the Indians of old. Similarly, some documents discovered in Central Asia, another tract of land greatly influenced by the activities and culture of the ancient Indians, have been incorporated.

To provide space for as many important records as possible, the plan in the following pages has been principally to publish, for the present, the text of inscriptions without English translation and introductory discussions. Nevertheless, to make the work useful to students, indications have been given as to the find-spot and age of a particular record as well as its linguistic, palaeographic and metrical peculiarities. References to previous writings on a record have also been supplied. As regards the Prakrit records, absence of English translation will, it is hoped, not stand in the way of their proper appreciation as a word-for-word Sanskrit *chhāyā* including explanatory notes has been provided. As regards the Sanskrit inscriptions, an attempt has been made to explain technical expressions and to indicate various points of interest in the foot-notes. Facsimiles of a large number of records belonging to different periods

and localities have been inserted in the volume with a view to illustrating the development of ancient Indian scripts. They are expected to be of great help to the students of palaeography. For the sake of convenience some of the big inscriptions had to be illustrated in two or three sections. No pains have been spared to make the volume useful to the class of young learners for whom it is intended, namely, students who are preparing for the degree examinations of Indian universities. Needless to say that a fair knowledge of Sanskrit is indispensable to a student who is desirous of studying the volume. If the present work succeed in removing a long-felt want, the author will consider his labour amply repaid.

The book has been prepared and printed within a comparatively short period of time. The author had moreover to work under considerable inconvenience caused by domestic worries and the abnormal situation now prevailing in Eastern India as a result of the recent developments in international situation. Under these circumstances, the author has not been able to avoid errors and misprints for which he craves the indulgence of readers. Many of the errors have been noticed in the *Addenda et Corrigenda* appended to the volume. Any suggestion for the betterment of the work would be most welcome and will be carefully considered when the author may get an opportunity of revising it for a future edition.

The author does not find words to express his feeling of gratitude for the kind encouragement received from the Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, but for whose sympathy the book would have never been prepared and published. To Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, the author is indebted for many valuable suggestions and help of other kinds. Thanks are also due to Pandit Kshitis Chandra Sastri for some interesting comments and for his assistance in the preparation of the Sanskrit *chhāyā* of most of the Prakrit records and in correcting some of the proof-sheets. Mr. Sudhakar Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., a Research Scholar in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, has prepared the Indexes and has thus laid the author under a debt of gratitude. The author further thanks the authorities of the Calcutta Oriental Press Ltd., especially Mr. J. C. Sarkhel and his staff, for the kindness and consideration shown to him. The Archaeological Survey of India has kindly supplied

blocks on loan for Plates Nos. VIII, XVI-XX, XXVII, XLVIII, and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, that for Plate No. XXVIII. The Archaeological Survey of Ceylon has supplied photographic prints for Plates Nos. XLI-XLII, and the Archaeological Survey of India (Western Circle) the estampages for Nos. XXXIV-XXXV. Photographic prints from the estampages were prepared at the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University. Plates Nos. I-III, IX, XI-IV, XLIX-LI are from old blocks in the Calcutta University Press. Blocks for Nos. XV, XXXVIII-XXXIX have been prepared from Plates in works published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and that for Plate No. XLIII from a publication of the Cambridge University Press. Blocks for the remaining Plates have been prepared from publications of the Archaeological Survey of India. Thanks of the author and the publishers of the *Select Inscriptions* are due to the authorities of all the above bodies.

ग्रन्थस्य यत् प्रचरतोऽस्य विनाशमेति

लेख्याद्बहुश्रुतमुखाधिगमक्रमेण ।

यद्वा मया कुकृतमल्पमिहाकृतं वा

कार्यं तदन्न विदुषा परिहृत्य रागम् ॥

*Department of Ancient Indian
History and Culture,
Calcutta University,
25th August, 1942.*

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

A NOTE ON THE TYPOGRAPHIC SCHEME

The text of inscriptions has been given in the Devanāgarī script and, with the exception of a few minor points of difference, the system of transcription followed is practically the same as that of the *Epigraphia Indica*. Hyphen marks, which of course do not occur in the original, have been freely inserted to separate words in compounds as far as it is desirable to divide them. The number of lines in the writing of the original has been indicated by English numerical figures on the left hand side of the transcript and that of verses by thick English numerals put at the end of them on the right hand side. When such numbers of verses are found in the original, they have been printed in Devanāgarī numerals at the proper places. Verses have been printed in stanza form, so that they may be easily distinguished from the prose lines at a glance. Ordinary brackets are used, though rarely, to suggest a correction (often with a query) or to indicate the reading apparently intended by the scribe. Square brackets without query are used to indicate the fact that the *aksharas* or signs are damaged but not undecipherable. An asterisk attached to *aksharas* or signs in square brackets indicates that the *aksharas* and signs are completely damaged and undecipherable and that the restoration suggested, though in some cases very probable, is not always quite beyond doubt. *Aksharas* which are carelessly left out by the scribe or engraver and are wanting in the original are restored in the *Epigraphia Indica* in square brackets with an asterisk. To avoid a confusion between the restoration of a completely damaged *akshara* and that of another which is wanting in the original, the latter has been put in ordinary brackets with an asterisk. The difference between an *akshara* with asterisk in square brackets and another in ordinary brackets is that in the former case the *akshara* was engraved but is now lost, while in the latter it was not engraved in the original at all. Similarly, the difference between an *akshara* with a query in square brackets and another in ordinary brackets is that the former indicates a possible or suggested reading of a doubtful or lost *akshara*, while the latter is only to suggest a substitute for the *akshara* printed in the transcript.

Illustration :—

8¹ असद्वंशागामि-²राजभिरन्यैश्च [साम]³ान्यं भूमिदान(य)⁴मवेत्य(र*)-⁵

9 सद्दायो(ऽ*)नुमन्तव्यः (।*)⁶ अपि चात्त व्यास-²गीताः श्लोका भवन्ति ।

10 षष्टि-वर्ष-सहस्राणि [स्वर्गे मोदति*]⁷ भूमिदः (।*)

आक्षेपा

11 ⁸चानुमत्ता(न्ता)⁹ च तान्येव न(र*)के वसेत् ॥ 1¹⁰

The scheme of transliteration into Roman script also follows that of the *Epigraphia Indica*.

Vowels :—अ=a ; आ=ā (not *ā* used in earlier publications, nor *ā* which is sometimes also used to indicate length as a result of *sandhi*) ; इ=i ; ई=ī (not *i* or *ī*) ; उ=u ; ऊ=ū (not *ū* or *ū*) ; ऋ=ṛi (not *r* generally used in foreign publications) ; ॠ=ṛī (not *rī*) ; ऌ=ḷi (not *l* generally used in foreign publications) ; ॡ=ḷī (not *lī*) ; ए=e (not *ē*, as the necessity of distinguishing the vowel from the short *e* used in Dravidian scripts has not been felt) ; ऐ=ai ; ओ=o (no *ō* used when it is to be distinguished from the short *o*) ; औ=au.

Consonants, etc. :—क=k ; ख=kh ; ग=g ; घ=gh ; ङ=ṅ ; च=ch (not *c* generally used in foreign publications) ; छ=chh (not *ch*) ; ज=j ; झ=jh ; ञ=ṇ ; ट=t ; ठ=th ; ड=d ; ढ=ḍh ; ण=ṇ ; त=t ; थ=th ; द=d ; ध=dh ; न=n ; प=p ; फ=ph ; ब=b ; भ=bh ; म=m ;

1 The number indicates that the following *aksharas* belong to line 8 of the original.

2 The hyphen mark is not to be found in the original.

3 साम of the word सामान्य is damaged but decipherable.

4 The query indicates that the reading दाय is also possible or that दाय may be suggested instead of दान of the transcript.

5 The ā-sign of त्या in line 8 was left out apparently owing to inadvertence. The original has नके in line 11 and र was similarly left out. The *aragraha* or sign of elided *a*, though usually not found in the original as in line 9, has always been supplied in the transcript.

6 The punctuation mark is not found in the original.

7 The passage स्वर्गे मोदति is completely lost and is restored with the help of other records. There is no guarantee that the reading is not मोदते or मोडति.

8 Note that the line has been begun not from the beginning of line 11, but from after the space indicated by the previous word of the third *pāda* of the verse.

9 ता of the original is apparently a scribal mistake for न्ता.

10 The number indicates that the *śloka* in *Anushtubh* is verse No. 1 of the inscription.

(xvii)

य=y ; र=r ; ल=l ; व=v (not *w* which is sometimes rather carelessly used) ; श=ś (not *ç* sometimes used in foreign publications, nor *sh* which is sometimes rather carelessly used) ; ष=sh (not *ṣ* generally used in foreign publications) ; स=s ; ह=h ; ङ=ṅ ; ढ=ḍ ; ण=ṇ ; म=ṁ or ṁ ; ः=ḥ ; ऌ (upadhmanīya—old *visarga* sign before *p* and *ph*)=ḥ ; ड (jihvāmūliya—old *visarga* sign before *k* and *kh*)=ḥ.

As in the *Epigraphia Indica*, *sandhi* and *samāsa* are indicated in the transliterated passages in the following way : वागर्थानिव सम्प्रक्तौ=*vāg-arthānīva sampṛktau* (not *vāg-arthānīva-sampṛktau* or *vāgarthānīva sampṛktau*).

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Act. Or.</i>	= <i>Acta Orientalia</i> .
<i>A. H. N. E.</i>	= <i>Ancient History of the Near East</i> by H. R. Hall.
<i>Allan's Cat.</i>	= <i>Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the</i> <i>British Museum—Coins of the Gupta</i> <i>Dynasties</i> by J. Allan.
<i>An. Ant. Raj.</i>	= <i>Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan</i> by J. Tod.
<i>An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.</i>	= <i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental</i> <i>Research Institute, Poona.</i>
<i>An. Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv.</i>	= <i>Annual Progress Report of the Archeo-</i> <i>logical Survey of India.</i>
<i>A. R.</i>	= Annual Report.
<i>Arch. Surv. Ind.</i>	= <i>Archaeological Survey of India.</i>
<i>Arch. Surv. W. Ind.</i>	= <i>Archaeological Survey of Western India.</i>
<i>A. S. I. R</i> or <i>A. S. R.</i>	= <i>Cunningham's Archaeological Survey</i> <i>Reports.</i>
<i>A. S. S. I.</i>	= <i>Archaeological Survey of Southern</i> <i>India.</i>
<i>B. E. F. E. O.</i>	= <i>Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme</i> <i>Orient.</i>
<i>Bhandarkar's List</i>	= <i>A List of the Inscriptions of Northern</i> <i>India</i> by D. R. Bhandarkar, Appen- dix to <i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , XIX- XXXIII.
<i>Bomb. Gaz.</i>	= <i>Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency.</i>
<i>BRS.</i>	Same as <i>Khar. Ins.</i>
<i>C.</i>	= <i>circa, circum</i> (i.e. round about) ; also <i>Circle.</i>
<i>B.S.O.S.</i> or <i>B.S.O.A.S.</i>	= <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental</i> <i>and African Studies, London.</i>
<i>Camb. Hist. Ind.</i> or <i>C. H. I.</i>	= <i>Cambridge History of India, Vol. I,</i> edited by E. J. Rapson, 1923.

<i>Carm. Lect.</i>	= <i>Carmichaell Lectures</i> by D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta University, 1918, 1921, 1923.
<i>Cat. or Catalogue</i>	= <i>Catalogue of Coins.</i>
<i>Cat. Arch. Mus. Mat.</i>	= <i>Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum, Mathurā.</i>
<i>Chhānd. Up.</i>	= <i>Chāndogya Upanishad.</i>
<i>C. I. I. or Corp. Ins. Ind.</i>	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i> , Vol. I. <i>Inscriptions of Aśoka</i> , edited by E. Hultzsch, 1925 ; Vol. II, Part i. <i>Kharoshthī Inscriptions</i> , edited by Sten Konow, 1929 ; Vol. III. <i>Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors</i> , edited by J. F. Fleet, 1888 ; Vol. IV. <i>Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era</i> , edited by V. V. Mirashi, 1955.
<i>C. R.</i>	= <i>Comptes Rendus, Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.</i>
<i>Dev. Hind. Icon.</i>	= <i>Development of Hindu Iconography</i> by J. N. Banerjea, 1956.
<i>Dict.</i>	= <i>Dictionary.</i>
<i>E. Hist. Ind.</i>	= <i>Early History of India</i> by V. A. Smith, 4th edition, 1924.
<i>El. H. Icon.</i>	= <i>Elements of Hindu Iconography</i> by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Madras, 1914-1916.
<i>Ep. Ind.</i>	= <i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , Delhi.
<i>Ep. Zeyl.</i>	= <i>Epigraphia Zeylanica.</i>
<i>Fest.</i>	= <i>Festschrift.</i>
<i>Geog.</i>	= <i>Geography.</i>
<i>Gram. Prak. Lang.</i>	= <i>A Grammar of the Prakrit Language</i> by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1943.
<i>Hist. Ind.</i>	= <i>History of India</i> by K. P. Jayaswal, Patna.
<i>I. H. C.</i>	= <i>Indian History Congress.</i>

- I. H. Q. or Ind. Hist. Quart.* = *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
- Ins. Cave-Temp. W. Ind.* = *Inscriptions in the Cave-temples in Western India* by Burgess and Indrajī.
- Ind. Ant.* = *Indian Antiquary*.
- Ind. Cult.* = *Indian Culture*, Calcutta.
- Intro.* = *Introduction*.
- J. A. O. S.* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
- J. A. or Journ. As.* = *Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
- J. A. H. R. S.* = *Same as Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*
- J. A. S. B., N. S.* = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series*, Calcutta.
- J. A. S., L.* = *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters*, Calcutta.
- J. B. B. R. A. S.* = *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- J. B. O. R. S. or J. B. R. S.* = *Journal of the Bihar [and Orissa] Research Society*, Patna.
- J. D. L.* = *Same as Journ. Dep. Let.*
- J. G. I. S.* = *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Calcutta.
- J. N. S. I.* = *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.
- J. O. R. or Journ. Or. Res.* = *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
- Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.* = *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajahmundry.
- Journ. Dep. Let.* = *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University.
- Journ. Or. Inst.* = *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
- J. P. A. S. B.* = *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
- J. R. A. S.* = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.
- J. R. A. S. B.; L.* = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, Calcutta.

<i>J. U. P. H. S.</i>	= <i>Journal of the Uttar Pradesh (United Provinces) Historical Society, Lucknow.</i>
<i>Khar. Ins.</i>	= <i>Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, Parts I-II, edited by Boyer, Rapson and Senart, Part III, edited by Rapson and Noble, Cambridge.</i>
<i>List</i>	= <i>List of Inscriptions.</i>
<i>Lüders' List</i>	= <i>A List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions by H. Lüders, Appendix to Epigraphia Indica, X.</i>
<i>Mahābh. or Mbh.</i>	= <i>Mahābhārata.</i>
<i>Majumdar's List</i>	= <i>A List of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions by N. G. Majumdar, Appendix to J. P. A. S. B., XX, 1924.</i>
<i>M. A. S. I. or Mem. A. S. I.</i>	= <i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.</i>
<i>Mod. Rev.</i>	= <i>Modern Review, Calcutta.</i>
<i>Mys. Arch. Surv</i>	= <i>Mysore Archaeological Survey.</i>
<i>Nag. Univ. Journ.</i>	= <i>Nagpur University Journal.</i>
<i>N. I. A.</i>	= <i>New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.</i>
<i>Num. Chron.</i>	= <i>Numismatic Chronicle, London.</i>
<i>P. A. H. I. or Pol. Hist.</i>	= <i>Political History of Ancient India, by H. C. Raychaudhuri, Calcutta University, 1938 ed.</i>
<i>P.E.</i>	= <i>Pillar Edict.</i>
<i>Pl.</i>	= <i>Plate</i>
<i>Proc.</i>	= <i>Proceedings.</i>
<i>Proc. A. S. B.</i>	= <i>Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
<i>Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.</i>	= <i>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.</i>
<i>Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm.</i>	= <i>Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.</i>
<i>Prog. Rep.</i>	= <i>Progress Report.</i>
<i>Rājatar.</i>	= <i>Rājataranṅinī</i>
<i>Rām.</i>	= <i>Rāmāyaṇa.</i>

Rapson's *Cat.*

= *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum—Coins of the Andhras, etc.*, by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908.

R. E.

= Rock Edict.

S.

= Southern

S. B. A. W. or
Sitz. Preuss. Ak. Wiss

= *Sitzungsberichte der Koeniglich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*

Sewell's *List*

= *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.*

Smith's *Cat.*

= *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol I*, by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.

S. R. E.

= Separate Rock Edict.

Suc. Sāt.

= *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas* by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1939.

V. G.

= *Verspreide Geschriften.*

W.

= Western

W. Z. K. M or *V. O. J.*

= *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Morgenlandes* or *Vienna Oriental Journal.*

Z. D. M. G.

= *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gessellschaft.*

BOOK I

Inscriptions of the Akhaemenian and Maurya Periods

CHAPTER I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE AKHAEMENIANS

No. 1—Bisutūn (Behistūn) Column [No. I] Inscription of Dārayava^bush (Darius, c. 522-486 B.C.)

BISUTŪN¹, Persia

KING and THOMPSON, *The Inscription of Darius the Great at Behistūn*, 1907; H. C. TOLMAN, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, p. 2, and *Cuneiform Supplement*, pp. 1-3; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 2-6. Cf. *J.A.O.S.*, 72, No. 1, January-March 1952, pp. 9 ff. (G. G. Cameron and R. G. Kent).

Language: Old Persian

Script: Cuneiform

TEXT²

- 1 Adam Dārayava^bush³ khshāyathiya vazrka khshāyathi[ya] [khshāyathiy]-

¹ To commemorate his victories, Darius caused to be sculptured on a rock-cliff overhanging the main road from Mesopotamia to Persia, through the Zagros, a huge tablet on which he represented himself with conquered rebels bound before him; the accompanying inscription in Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian describes his campaigns and gives the glory to Ahuramazdā. This is the tablet of Behistan, Bahistān, Behistūn, Bisitūn or Bisutūn discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1837 (Hall, *A.H.N.E.*, 7th ed., p. 571).

² Prepared from Tolman's and Sen's transcripts. In transliterating the Old Persian records we have used *kh*, *th*, *sh* and *ch* for *x*, *θ*, *š* and *c* which are generally employed by scholars. This is to make this part of our work uniform with other parts in which Modern Persian خ, ش and چ have been transliterated with *kh*, *sh* and *ch* respectively. The latter method has been followed by some scholars, e.g., by H. N. Wright in his *Catalogues of Indo-Muslim Coins*. Of the three languages used in the inscriptions, Elamite is also called Susian or Anzanite and Babylonian is also called Akkadian.

³ Many scholars write **vaush*. We have inserted the sounds, in this instance and in others, as they are said to have been actually pronounced.

- 2 ānām *khshāyathiya* **Pārsaly** *khshāyathiya* dah[yūnām] **Yisht-**
 3 **āspahyā** pussa¹ **Arshāmahyā** napā **Hakhāmanish[īya]** (|*) [*Th*]ātiy
 4 **Dārayava^hush** *khshāyathiya* manā pitā **Yishtāspa** *Vishtāspa*[hyā]
 [pit]ā **Arsh-**
 5 **āma** *Arshāmahyā* pitā **Ariyāramna** *Ariyāramnahyā* pit[ā] [**Cha^hish-**
pish] *Cha^hishp-*
 6 aish pitā **Hakhāmanisha** (|*) *Thātiy* **Dārayava^hush** *khshāya*[*thiya*]
 [ava]hyarā-
 7 diy vayam **Hakhāmanishiya** *thahyāmahiy* (|*) *Hachā* paruv[*iyata*]
 [ā]mātā a^hma-
 8 hⁱy (|*) *Hachā* paruviyata hyā a^hmākham tau^hmā *khshāya*[*thiyā*]
 [ā]ha (|*) *Th-*
 9 ātiy **Dārayava^hush** *khshāyathiya* VIII manā tau^hmāy[ā] [*tyai*]y
 [pa]ruvam
 10 *khshāyathiya* āha (|*) *Adam* navama (|*) IX *duvitāparnam*
 [vayam] *khshāyathi-*
 11 yā a^hmahiy (|*) *Thātiy* **Dārayava^hush** *khshāyathiya* va[*shnā*]
A^huramazd-
 12 **āha**² *adam* *khshāyathiya* a^hmiy (|*) **A^huramazdā** *khshassam* manā
 [fr]ābara (|*) *Th-*
 13 ātiy **Dārayava^hush** *khshāyathiya* imā dahyāva tyā manā [pat]-
iyāisha vashn-
 14 ā **A^huramazdāha** [a]damshām *khshāyathiya* āham **Pārsa** ^h**Uvaja**
|B|ābairush A-
 15 **thura** **Arabāya** **Mudrāya** tyaiy drayahyā **Sparda** **Yaun[ā]** [**Māda**]
Armīna Kat-
 16 **patuka** **Parthava** **Zraⁿka** **Haraiva** ^h**Uvārazmiya** **Bākhtrish** [**Sug**]uda
Gaⁿdāra³ Sa-

¹ Some scholars write *th^ra* instead of *ssa*.

² *Ahura-mazdā* is the Avestic name of God; *Ahura* means 'god' or 'the giver' and *Mazdā* 'the omniscient'. In a very old list of 54 names of God, these two are mentioned separately. See *Sir A. Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume III*, Pt. 2 (Calcutta University), p. 97.

³ *Gandhāra*, mentioned in the lists of countries, is also referred to in the big *Susa* palace inscription (line 34) of *Darius*: *yakā bachā Gaⁿdārā a[bar]jiy bachā Karmānā*, "Teak from *Gandhāra* was brought and from *Karmania*." This is said in connection with the construction of the palace at *Susa* by *Darius*. A *Gaⁿdāriya* (man from *Gandhāra*) is mentioned in the list of subjects in the *South Tomb* inscription (line 4) at *Persepolis*, attributed to *Artaxerxes II* (c. 404-359 B. C.). Cf. *Sen, op. cit.*, p. 172. *Gandhāra* is identified with the modern *Rawalpindi* and *Peshawar* Districts. '*Sindhu*' was conquered later than the date of this record (c. 520-516 B. C.).

17 ka Thatagush Ha[ra]^{kh}uvatish Maka fraharvam dahyāva XXIII
(|*).....¹

TEXT SANSKRITIZED²

अहं धारयद्रसुः³ *क्षायथ्यः (= शासकः, राजा) *वजृकः (वज्रकः ? = महान्), क्षायथ्यः
क्षायथ्यानां, क्षायथ्यः *पार्से (= पारसिकदेशे), क्षायथ्यः *दस्यूनां (= जनपदानां), विष्टाश्चस्य
(इष्टाश्चस्य ? Hystaspes) पुत्रः, *ऋषामस्य (ऋक्सामस्य ? Arsames) नपात्
(= नत्ता), *साखामनीष्यः (Akhaemenian) । शंसति धारयद्रसुः क्षायथ्यः—‘मम
पिता विष्टाश्चः, विष्टाश्चस्य पिता ऋषामः, ऋषामस्य पिता *अर्यारमणः, अर्यारमणस्य पिता
*चसिश्चिः, चसिश्चेः पिता *सखामनीषः’ । शंसति धारयद्रसुः क्षायथ्यः—‘*अवस्वराधि
(= अतः) वयं साखामनीष्याः शस्यामहे । *सचा पूर्व्यतः (= पूर्वकाळतः) *आमाताः
(= अभिजाताः ?) स्मसि (= स्मः) । सचा पूर्व्यतः स्या (= सा = या) अस्माकं तोक्मा
(= सन्ततिः = वंशः) क्षायथ्या (= राजकीया) आसीत्’ । शंसति धारयद्रसुः क्षायथ्यः—
‘८ (- अष्टसंख्यकाः जनाः) मम तोक्मनः त्ये (= ते - ये = याः) पूर्व क्षायथ्याः आसन् । अहं
नवमः । ९ (- नवसंख्यकाः) द्वितापर्णं (= अनुपूर्व्येण ; यद्वा शाखाद्वयक्रमेण) वयं
क्षायथ्याः स्मसि’ । शंसति धारयद्रसुः क्षायथ्यः—‘*वक्षा (= इच्छया) *असुरमेधसः
(- ईश्वरस्य) अहं क्षायथ्यः अस्मि । असुरमेधाः मम (- मह्य) क्षत्रं (- राज्यं) प्राभरत्
(- प्रायच्छत्)’ । शंसति धारयद्रसुः क्षायथ्यः—‘इमाः दस्यवः (- जनपदाः) त्याः (- ताः
= याः) मम (- मां) प्रति एयुः (- आगताः), वक्षा असुरमेधसः अहम् आसां क्षायथ्यः
आसं—*पार्सः (Persia), *सुवजः (Susiana), *बावेरुः (Babylonia), *अशुराः (Assyrians),
*अरवायः (Arabia), *मुद्रायः (Egypt), त्ये *ज्रयस्याः (- ते [- ये] समुद्रान्तिकवर्तिनः
देशाः), *स्वर्दः (Sparda, Sardis), यवनाः (Ionians), *मादः (Media), *अरमिणः
(Armenia), *कत्पतुकः (Kappadokia), पर्शवः (पर्थवः ? Parthia), *ज्रङ्गः (Dran-
giana), *सरेवः (सरयूः ? Aria ; mod. Herāt), *सुवारज्म्यः (Khorasmia),

¹ The inscription on Column I has no less than 96 lines of writing.

² “The dialect on which the Ancient High Indian is based, the dialect as it was spoken by the Aryan immigrants in the north-west of India, was closely related to the Ancient Persian and Avestic and not very far removed from the primitive Indo-Iranian language. Indeed, the difference between the language of the Vedas and this primitive Indo-Iranian language seems to be less, perhaps, than that between the Indian languages * Sanskrit and Pāli” (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 41). In Sanskritizing the texts we have followed the original closely in accordance with the rules of comparative philology and have often used words which are un-Sanskritic or not strictly Sanskritic. Words that are not noticed in Vedic or Classical Sanskrit and cannot be connected with it are marked with ×, and those related to it at least in form are marked with +.

³ *Dārāya* = holder or holding ; Sanskrit *dhāraya* or *dhārayat*.

*बाख्तिः (बाख्तीकः ; Bactria ; mod. Balkh), *सुगुदः (Sogdiana), गन्धारः (Gandaria), शकः (Skythia), *शतगुः (Sattagydia), *सरस्वती (Arakhosia)¹, *मकः (Makae)—प्रसर्वः (= सर्वाः मिळिताः) दस्यवः (= जनपदाः) २३ (= त्रयोविंशतिः) ।'

No. 2—Persepolis Inscription [E] of Dārayava^bush (Darius)

PERSEPOLIS, Persia

H. C. TOLMAN, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, p. 38, and *Cuneiform Supplement*, pp. 49-50; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 92-98.

Language: Old Persian

Script: Cuneiform

TEXT²

- 1 Adam Dārayava^bush khshāyathiya vaz-
- 2 rka khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānā-
- 3 m khshāyathiya dahyūnām tyai-
- 4 shām parūnām Vishtāspahyā
- 5 pussa Hakhāmanishiya (*) Thātiy Dāra-
- 6 yava^bush khshāyathiya vashnā A^burama-
- 7 zdāhā imā dahyāva tyā adam
- 8 adrshiy hadū anā Pārsā kā-
- 9 rā tyā hachāma atrsa manā bāj-
- 10 im abara^{kh} Uvaja Māda Bābairu-
- 11 sh Arabāya Athurā Mudrāy-
- 12 ā Aramina Katpatuka Sparda Ya.
- 13 unā tyai^bushkahyā utā tyā-

¹ Avestic Harahvaiti; mod. Province of Kandahār; known as White India under the later Parthians in the 1st century A. D. Hindu civilisation prevailed in this country which remained more Indian than Iranian till the Muhammadan conquest (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 326-27).

² From Tolman's and Sen's transcripts. This portion of the numerous records, which is marked 'E' by scholars, is on the south retaining wall of the terrace. The inscriptions are in three versions, viz., Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian.

- 14 iy drayahyā utā dahyāva t-
- 15 yā parau[va]iy Asagarta Parthava Zraⁿ -
- 16 ka Haraiva Bākhtrish Sug[u]da^{kh} Uy-
- 17 arazmiya Thatagush Hara^{kh}uvatish H-
- 18 iⁿdush¹ Gaⁿdāra Saka Maka (*) Thātiy
- 19 Dārayava^hush khshāyathiya yadiy
- 20 avathā maniyāba^hy hachā aniya-
- 21 nā mā [t]rsam imam Pārsam kāram pādi-
- 22 y (*) Yadiy kāra Pārsa pāta ahatiy hyā
- 23 duvaish[ta]m shiyātish akhshatā hauvchi-
- 24 y aurā nirasātiy abiy imām vitham (*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अहं धारयद्वसुः *क्षायध्यः *वजृकः (= महान्), क्षायध्यः क्षायध्यानां, क्षायध्यः
 +दस्यूनां त्यासां पुरूणां (= जनपदानां तेषां [-येषां] बहूनां), विष्टाश्वस्य पुतः
 *सास्त्रामनीष्यः । शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायध्यः—“वश्वा +असुरमेघसः इमाः दस्यवः त्याः
 (= इमे देशाः ते [=ये]) अहम् +अष्टषि (-अष्टार्ष) सह अनया *पार्सया *कारा
 (= पारसिक्या सेनया); त्याः (= ताः = याः) +सचा मत् (= मत्तः) अक्षस्यन्; मां
 *भाजिं (-करम्) अभरन् (= अहरन्)—*सुवजः (Susiana), *मादः (Media), बावेरुः
 (Babylonia), *अरवायः (Arabia), *अशुराः (Assyrians), *मुद्रायाः (Egyptians),
 *अरमिणः (Armenia). *कत्पतुकः (Kappadokia), *स्वर्दः (Sparda), यवनाः (Ionians),
 त्ये (-ते-ये) शुष्कस्य (-शुष्क-देशस्य [वास्तव्याः]) उत (-अपि च) त्ये (-ते-ये)
 +ज्रयस्याः (-समुद्रान्तिकस्थाः), उत दस्यवः त्याः (-ताः-याः) पूर्वे (= पूर्व-दिक्स्थाः)—
 *अश्वगर्तः (Sagartia), पशंवः (Parthia), *ज्रङ्गः (Drangiana), *सरेवः (Aria),
 *बाख्त्रिः (Bactria), *सुगुदः (Sogdiana), सुवारज्म्यः (Khorasmia), *शतगुः
 (Sattagydia), *सरस्वती (Arakhosia), सिन्धुः (India=district on the Indus),
 गन्धारः (Gandaria), शकाः (Skythians), मकः (Makae)¹ । शंसति धारयद्वसुः
 क्षायध्यः—“यदि *अवथा (= ईदृशं) *मन्यासे (-मन्यसे)—“सचा अन्यस्मात् मा
 *क्षसं (= त्रासिषम्)”, इमं पार्सं कारं पाहि (= इमान् पारसिकान् जनान् रक्ष) । यदि कारः
 पार्सः पातः अस्ति, स्या दविष्टं *च्यातिः अक्षता (-सा सुचिरम् उच्चतिः अव्याहता) +अवरा
 +न्यूच्छति अभि इमं *विशम् (-अवस्तात् आगच्छति अभि इमं *विशं [= राज-वंशम्]) ॥

¹ The Susa Palace inscription [C], line 41, refers to ivory brought from India (Hindauv), Kusha and Arakhosia (Sen, op. cit., p. 119). A Hinduviya (man from Sindhu = Indus valley) is mentioned among the subjects in the South Tomb inscription, line. 13.

No. 3—Hamadan Gold and Silver Tablet Inscription of Dārayava^hush (Darius)

5.22 Plc - 456 Bx

HAMADAN, Persia

HERZFELD, *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 34; BUCK, *Language*, 1927; SCHWETNER, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, VI; KENT, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LI, p. 330; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, p. 114.

Language: Old Persian

Script: Cuneiform

TEXT¹

- 1 Dārayava^hush khshāyathiya vazrka khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānām khshāyathiya dahy-
- 2 ūnām Vishtāspahyā² pussa Hakhāmanī-
- 3 shiya (|*) Thātiy Dārayava^hush khshāyathiya ima khshassam
- 4 tya adam dārayāmiy hachā Sakaibish
- 5 tyaiy para Sugdam amata yātā ā Kushā² ha-
- 6 chā Hī²dauy amata yātā ā Spardā² tyamai-
- 7 y A^huramazdā frābara hya mathishta bagān-
- 8 ām (|*) Mām A^huramazdā pātuv utāmai² vitham (|*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

धारयद्भुसुः *क्षायथ्यः *वजृकः (= महान् राजा), क्षायथ्यः क्षायथ्यानां, क्षायथ्यः *दस्यूनां
(= जनपदानां), विष्टाश्चल्य पुत्रः, *साखामनीप्यः। शंसति धारयद्भुसुः क्षायथ्यः—‘इमत्
(= इदं) क्षतं (= राज्यं) त्यत् (= तत् = यत्) अहं धारयामि *सचा *शकेभिः (= शकेभ्यः)
त्ये परं सुग्दात् (Sogdiana), अमुतः (= अमुष्मात् स्थानात्) यावत् आकुशात्² (= यावत्
कुशं), सचा *सिन्धौ (= सिन्धोः, from India—district on the Indus)
अमुतः यावत् आ *स्वर्दात् (Sparda), त्यन्मे (= तत् [= यत् राज्यं] मे) असुरमेधाः प्राभरत्

¹ Prepared from Herzfeld's and Sen's transcripts. This record is duplicated and is in three versions, viz., Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian.

² Kusha (evidently beyond Mudrāya or Egypt) is generally identified with Ethiopia; cf. Kusādvīpa of the Purāṇas.

(= प्रायच्छत्), स्यः (सः = यः) महिष्ठः * भगानां (= महत्तमः देवानाम्) । माम्
असुरमेधाः पातु उत मे * विशं (= वंशम्) ।'

No. 4—Naqsh-i-Rustam Inscription [A] of Dārayava^hush (Darius)

NAQSH I-RUSTAM near Persepolis, Persia .

TOLMAN, *Old Persian Lexicon and Texts*, pp. 44 and 46;
Cuneiform Supplement, pp. 56-58; KENT, *Language*,
XV, pp. 162ff ; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 96-98.

Language: Old Persian

Script: Cuneiform

TEXT¹

- 1 Baga vazrka **A^huramazdā^h** hya im-
- 2 ām būmim adā hya avam asm-
- 3 ānam adā hya martiyam adā h-
- 4 ya shiyātim adā martiyahyā
- 5 hya **Dārayava^hum** khshāythyiam ak-
- 6 unaush aivam parūvnām khshāyath-
- 7 iyam aivam parūvnām framātā-
- 8 ram (*) Adam **Dārayava^hush** khshāyathiya va-
- 9 zrka khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānām
- 10 khshāyathiya dahyūnām vispazanā-
- 11 nām khshāyathiya abyāyā būmi-
- 12 yā vazrkāyā dūraiapiy **Visht[ā]s-**
- 13 **pahyā** pussa **Hakhāmanishiya Pārsa** [P]-
- 14 ārsahyā pussa **Ariya** Ariya-*ch*[i]-
- 15 ssa (*) Thātiy **Dārayava^hush** khshā[ya]-
- 16 thiya vashnā **A^huramazdāhā** im[ā]
- 17 dahyāva tyā ada[m] agrbūya[m]

¹ From Tolman's, Kent's and Sen's transcripts. Of several records this is the first half of an inscription (marked 'A' by scholars) containing 60 lines. They are on a tomb; above is a double row of figures supporting the platform where Darius stands before a burning altar; higher up is the divine symbol.

- 18 apataram hachā **Pārsā** (i*) Adamshām
 19 patiyakhshayaīy (i*) Manā bājim aba[ra]ha (i*)
 20 Tyashām hachāma athahī[y] [ava] [a]-
 21 kunava (i*) Dātām tya manā ava[d]ish
 22 adāriy (i*) **Maḍa** ^{hh} **Uvaja** Parthaya [Harai]-
 23 **ya Bakhtrish** Suguda ^{hh} **Uvāra**[zm]-
 24 **ish Zra**ⁿka Hara ^{hh} **uvatish** Thatagu[sh] [Ga]ⁿ.
 25 **dāra** Hiⁿdush **Sakā** haumavar[ḡā] [Sa]-
 26 **kā** tigrākhaudā **Bābair**[ush] [A]-
 27 **thura** Arabāya Mudrāya [Aramina]
 28 **Katpatuka** Sparda Yauna **Sakā** tyai[y] [pa]-
 29 radraya **Skudra** Yaunā takabarā **Pu**ⁿ[tāy]-
 30 **ā Kushiya** Machiya **Karkā** (*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘भगः’ वजृकः (= देवः महान्) ‘असुरमेधाः’, स्यः (= सः – यः) इमां भूमिम् ‘अधात्
 (= असृजत्), स्यः ‘अवम्’ ‘अइमानम्’ अधात् (= यः अमुम् आकाशम् असृजत्), स्यः मर्त्यम्
 अधात् (= यः मानवम् असृजत्), ‘च्यातिम्’ (= उन्नतिम्) अधात् मर्त्यस्य, स्यः धारय-
 द्रसुं ‘क्षायथ्यम्’ अकृणोत् (= अकरोत्), एकं पुरूणां क्षायथ्यं (= बहूनां [जनानां] राजानम्),
 एकं पुरूणां प्रमातारं (= प्रभुम्) । अहं धारयद्रसुः क्षायथ्यः वजृकः, क्षायथ्यः क्षाय-
 थ्यानां, क्षायथ्यः ‘दस्यूनां’ विश्वजनानां (= राजा देशानां सर्वमानवानां), क्षायथ्यः अस्याः
 भूम्याः वजृकायाः दूरे अपि [स्थितायाः] (= राजा अस्याः पृथिव्याः महत्याः सुदूरविस्तृतायाः च),
 विष्टाश्चस्य पुत्रः, ‘सास्वामनीप्यः’, ‘पार्सः’ (Persian), पार्सस्य पुत्रः, ‘अर्यः’ ‘अर्य-चित्तः’ (= आर्य-
 वंश्यः) । शंसति धारयद्रसुः क्षायथ्यः—‘वक्ष्मा असुरमेधसः इमाः दस्यवः त्याः अहम्’ ‘अगृभायम्’
 ‘अपतरं’ ‘सचा पार्सीत्’ (= इमे देशाः ते [=तान्=यान्] अहम् अगृह्णां दूरतरं पारसिक-
 देशात्) । अहम् एषां ‘प्रत्यक्षये’ (= एतान् शास्मि) । मम ‘भाजिम्’ अभरन् (= [ते देशाः]
 मां करम् अहरन्) । त्यत् एषां सचा मत् अशंसि (= तत् [=यत्] एतेभ्यः मत्तः अशस्यत्),
 ‘अवत् अकृष्वन्’ (= अदः [एते] अकुर्वन्) । ‘धातं’ त्यत् मम अवत् ‘दिः’ ‘अधारि’ (= [वि]हितं
 यत् मया अदः तैः अकारि) ।—‘मादः’ (Media), ‘सुवजः’ (Susiana), ‘पशवः’
 (Parthia), ‘सरेवः’ (Aria), ‘बाख्तिः’ (Bactria), ‘सुगुदः’ (Sogdiana), ‘सुवारज्मिः’
 (Khorasmia), ‘ज्रङ्गः’ (Drangiana), ‘सरस्वती’ (Arakhsia), ‘शतगुः’ (Sattagydia),
 ‘गन्धारः’ (Gandaria), ‘सिन्धुः’ (India = valley of the Indus), ‘शकाः’ ‘सोमवर्गाः’
 (Amyrgian Skythians), ‘शकाः’ ‘तिग्रखोदाः’ (= तीक्ष्णाग्रकिरीटाः, pointed-capped
 Skythians), ‘बावेरुः’ (Babylonia), ‘अशुराः’ (Assyrians), ‘अरवायः’ (Arabia),
 ‘मुद्रायः’ (Egypt), ‘अरमिगः’ (Armenia), ‘कत्पतुकः’ (Kappadokia), ‘स्वदः’

(Sparda), यवनः (Ionia), शकाः त्वे -पारेज्रयः (=ते [=ये] समुद्रपारवासिनः)¹, स्कुद्रः, यवनाः तकभराः² (=तकधारिनः), पुन्तायाः (Puntians), कुषियाः (Kushians), मचियाः (Maxyes), कर्काः (Karkians)³ ॥

No. 5—Persepolis Inscription [H] of Khshayarshā (Xerxes, c. 486-465 B.C.)

PERSEPOLIS, Persia

HERZFELD, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, VIII, pp. 56-77; KENT, *Language*, XIII, pp. 292-305; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 148 ff.

Language: Old Persian

Script: Cuneiform

TEXT³

- 1 Baga vazrka **A^huramazda** hya imām būm-
- 2 im adā hya avam asmānam adā hya
- 3 martiyam adā hya shiyātim adā
- 4 martiyahyā hya **Khshayarshām** khshāyathī-
- 5 yam akunaush aivam parūnām khshāyath-
- 6 iyam aivam parūnām framātāram (*) Ada-
- 7 m **Khshayarshā** khshāyathīya vazrka khshāya-
- 8 thiya khshāyathīyānām khshāyathīya dahy-
- 9 ūnām parū-zanānām khshāyathīya ah-
- 10 yāyā būmīyā vazrkāyā dūraiī a-
- 11 piy **Dārayavahaush** khshāyathīyahyā pussa
- 12 **Hakhāmanīshiya Pārsa** Pārsahyā pussa
- 13 **Ariya** Ariya-chissa (*) Thātiy **Khshayarshā**
- 14 khshāyathīya vashnā **A^huramazdahā** imā
- 15 dahyāva tyaishām adam khshāyathīya āh-
- 16 ām apataram bachā **Pārsā** (*) Adamshām
- 17 patiyakhshayaīy (*) Manā bājim abara[ha] (*) T-
- 18 yashām bachāma athahīy ava akunava (*) D-
- 19 ātam tya manā avadish adāraya (*) **Māda**

¹ Raychaudhuri connects the land of these Śakas with the Śākadvīpa of the Purāṇas. Some scholars read *tara-draya*, 'across the sea', in the text.

² According to some, *taka* may be a kind of head-dress or coilure.

³ Prepared from Sen's transcript.

- 20 ^{kh}Ūja Hara^{kh}uvatish Armina Zraⁿka Parthava
 21 Haraiva Bākhtrish Sugda ^{kh}Uvārazmī-
 22 sh Bābairush Athura Thatagush Sparda
 23 Mudrāya Yaunā tya drayahiyā dā-
 24 raya^{nt}iy utā tyaiy paradraya dāraya^{nt}-
 25 iy Machiya Arabāya Ga^ddāra Hi^ddush
 26 Katpatuka Dabā Sakā haumavargā Sakā
 27 tigrakhaudā Skudrā Ākaufachiyā
 28 Puⁿtāyā Karkā Kushiya (*) Thātiy Khsha-
 29 yarshā khshāyathiya yathā tya adam kh-
 30 shāyathiya abavam astiy a^{nt}tar aitā
 31 dahyāva tyaiy upariy nipishtā a-
 32 yauda (*) Pasāvamaiy A^huramazdā upastām
 33 abara (*) Vashnā A^huramazdahā ava dahyāvam
 34 adam ajanam utashim gāthavā nishāda-
 35 yam (*) Utā a^{nt}tar aitā dahyāva āha yad-
 36 ātya paruvam Daivā ayadiy (*) Pasāva va-
 37 shnā A^huramazdahā adam Daivadāna-
 38 m viyakanam utā patiyazbayam Daivā
 39 mā yadiyaish (*) Yadāyā paruvam Daivā
 40 ayadiy avadā adam A^huramazdām ayada-
 41 iy artāchā brazmaniy (*) Utā aniyash-
 42 cha āha tya dushkrtam akariy ava ada-
 43 m naibam akunavam (*) Aita tya adam aku-
 44 navam visam vashnā A^huramazdahā aku-
 45 navam (*) A^huramazdāmaiy upastām abara y
 46 ātā krtam akunavam (*) Tuva k[ā] hya
 47 apara yadimaniyā^hay shiyāta ahaniy
 48 jiva utā mrta artāvā ahaniy
 49 avanā dātā paridiy tya A^huramazd-
 50 ā niyash tāya (*) A^huramazdām yadaishā a-
 51 rtāchā brazmaniy (*) Martiya hya avan-
 52 ā dātā pariyaita tya A^huramazdā n-
 53 ishtāya utā A^huramazdām yadataiy a-
 54 rtāchā brazmaniy hauv utā jiva
 55 shiyāta bavatiy utā mrta artōvā
 56 bavatiy (*) Thātiy Khshayarshā khshāyath
 57 iya mām A^huramazdā pātuv hachā ga-
 58 stā [u]t^rmaiy viṭham utā imām dah-
 59 yāvam (*) Aitā adam A^huramazdām jadiy-
 60 āmiy (*) Aitamaiy A^huramazdā dadātuv (*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भगः *वज्रकः (= देवः महान्) असुरमेधाः, स्यः (= सः = यः) इमां भूमिम् अधात्
 (= असृजत्), स्यः इमम् अदमानं (= Ved. मेघम् = आकाशम् ; Mod. Pers. āsmān)
 अधात्, स्यः मर्त्यं (= मानवम्) अधात्, स्यः च्यातिम् (= अभ्युदयम्) अधात् मर्त्यस्य,
 स्यः *क्षयार्षी (Xerxes) *क्षायथ्य (= नृपम्) अकृणोत् (= अकरोत्), एकं पुरुणां (= बहूनां)
 क्षायथ्यम्, एकं पुरुणां प्रमातारं (= प्रभुम्) । अहं क्षयार्षीः (Xerxes) क्षायथ्यः दस्यूनां
 पुरुजनानां (= देशानां बहुजनानां), क्षायथ्यः अस्याः भूम्याः वज्रकायाः दूरे अपि (= राजा
 अस्याः पृथिव्याः महत्याः सुदूरविस्तृतायाः), धारयद्वसोः क्षायथ्यस्य पुत्रः, *साखामनीष्यः,
 *पार्सः (Persian), पार्सस्य पुत्रः, *अर्यः (Aryan), *अर्यचित्रः (= आर्यवंश्यः) । शंसति
 क्षयार्षीः क्षायथ्यः—‘वश्ना (= इच्छया) असुरमेधसः इमाः दस्यवः तेषां (= इमे देशाः
 तेषां [=येषां]) क्षायथ्यः आसम् *अपतरं सचा पार्सात् (= दूरतरं पारसिकदेशात्) ।
 अहम् एषां *प्रत्यक्षये (= एतान् शास्मि) । मम भाजिम् अभरन् (= [एते देशाः]
 मां करम् अहरन्) । त्यत् एषां सचा मत् अशंसि अवत् अकृण्वन् (= तत् [=यत्]
 एभ्यः मत्तः अशस्यत अदः [ते] अकुर्वन्) । हितं त्यत् मम अवत् *दिः आधारयन् (= विहितं
 [=विधानं] यत् मम अदः ते अपालयन्)—‘मादः (Media), *सूजः (= सुवजः, Susiana),
 *सरस्वती (Arakhsia), *अरमिणः (Armenia), *ज्रङ्गः (Drangiana), *पर्यवः
 (Parthia), *सरेवः (Aria), *बाख्तिः (Bactria), *सुगदः (= सुगुदः, Sog-
 diana), *सुवारस्मिः (Khorasmia), *बावेरुः (Babylonia), *अशुरः (Assyria),
 *शतगुः (Sattagydia), *स्वर्दः (Sparda), *मुद्रायः (Egypt). यवनाः त्वे *ज्रयसि
 आ धारयन्ति उत त्वे पारेज्रयः धारयन्ति (= यवनाः ते [=ये] समुद्रस्य समीपे वसन्ति
 अपि च ते [=ये] पारेसमुद्रं वसन्ति), *मचियाः (Maxyes), *अरवायः (Arabia),
 गन्धारः (Gandaria), सिन्धुः (India = the Indus valley), *कत्पत्तुकः
 (Kappadokia), *दसाः (Dahae), शकाः *सोमवर्गाः (Amyrgian Skythians),
 शकाः *तिग्रखोदाः (= तीक्ष्णाग्रकिरीटाः शकाः), *स्कुद्राः (Skudrians), *आकोफचियाः
 (people of Ākaufaka), *पुन्तायाः (Puntians), *कर्काः (Karkians),
 *कुषियाः (Ethiopians ?) । शंसति क्षयार्षीः क्षायथ्यः—‘यथा त्यत् (= यदा
 तत् = यदा) अहं क्षायथ्यः अभवम्, अस्ति [कश्चित्] अन्तः एताः दस्यवः (= अन्तरे
 एतेषां देशानां), त्वे उपरि निषिष्टाः (= ते [=ये] उपरि निवेशिताः), अयोधत्
 (= अयुध्यत = विद्रोहं चकार) । *पश्चादवत् (= तत्पश्चात्) मे (= मां प्रति) असुरमेधाः
 *उपस्थाम् अभरत् (= साहायकं व्यधात्) । वश्ना (= इच्छया) असुरमेधसः *अवं दस्युम्
 (= अमुं देशम्) अहम् अहनं (= विध्वस्तं कृतवान्), उत *सीं *गातौ आ न्यासादयम् (= अपि
 च निम्ने भित्तौ स्थापितवान्) । उत अन्तः एताः दस्यवः (= अपि च एतेषां देशानाम्

अन्तरे) [कश्चित्] आसीत् यथात्यत् (= यत्र) पूर्वं देवाः (—पारसिकैः उपास्यमानेभ्यः देवेभ्यः इतरे देवाः) 'अयजि (= अयज्यन्त) ।¹ 'पश्चादवत् वक्षा असुरमेधसः अहम् अव' देवधानं व्यसनम् (= अदः देवस्थानम् उत्खातवान्) । उत प्रत्यङ्गयम् (= अपि च घोषितवान् [अहं])—“देवाः मा 'यज्येषन् (= न इज्येरन्)” । 'यधायां (= यत्) पूर्व' देवाः अयजि (= अयक्षत) 'अवध (= तत्) अहम् असुरमेधसम् अयजे क्रतानि च ब्रह्माणि (= पारसिकधर्मसम्मतानि सत्यवचनानि) । उत अन्यः च आसीत् त्यत् दुष्कृतम् अकारि (= अन्यश्चापि [देशः] आसीत् यस्मिन् पापम् अक्रियत) । अवत् (= भसुं देशम्) अहं 'नेभं (= शुद्धम्) अकृणवम् (= अकरवम्) । एतत् त्यत् (= यत्) अहम् अकृणवं, विश्वं (= सर्वं) वक्षा असुरमेधसः अकृणवम् । असुरमेधाः मे उपस्थां अभरत् यावत् कृतं (= कर्म) अकृणवं (= सम्पादितवान्) । त्वं कः स्यः अपरः यदि मन्यसे (= त्वं कश्चिद् यः अपरः यदि मन्यसे)—“‘च्यातः असानि जीवः उत मृतः क्रतवान् असानि (= सुखितः स्यां जीवितः मृतः च क्षेमवान् स्याम्)”, 'अवना हिता (= अनेन विधानेन) परीहि त्यत् असुरमेधाः न्यष्टापयत् (= अदः विधानम् अनुसर यत् असुरमेधाः विहितवान्) । असुरमेधसं यजेः क्रतानि च ब्रह्माणि । मर्त्यः स्यः अवना हिता पर्येति त्यत् असुरमेधाः न्यष्टापयत् उत असुरमेधसं यजते क्रतानि च ब्रह्माणि (= मानवः यः अमूनि विधानानि अनुसरति यानि असुरमेधाः विहितवान्, अपि च असुरमेधसं यजते सत्यभूतानि च पारसिकशास्त्रसम्मतानि वचनानि), असौ उत जीवः च्यातः भवति उत मृतः क्रतवान् भवति (= असौ जीवन् च सुखितः भवति मृतः च क्षेमवान् भवति) । शंसति क्षयार्थाः क्षायथ्यः—‘माम् असुरमेधाः पातु सचा *गर्दात् (= पाप-वासनातः), उत मे विश्वम्, उत इमां दस्युं (= मम वंशं च इमं देशं च) । एतत् अहम् असुरमेधसं गदामि (= प्रार्थये) । एतत् मे असुरमेधाः ददातु ॥

¹ The reference may be to the people of north-western Bhāratavarsha and the adjoining regions which formed part of the dominions of Xerxes.

CHAPTER II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAURYAS

A—Rock Edicts of Aśoka (c. 273-232 B.C.)

No. 6—First Rock Edict: Gīrnār Version¹

GIRNĀR, Junagarh Dist., Bombay

HULTZCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 1 f. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. ix f., for other references. For Nos. 6-40, see also B. M. Barua, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Part II; Jules Bloch, *Les Inscriptions d' Aśoka*; A. C. Sen, *Aśoka's Edicts*; D. C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, and *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 205 ff.; XXXII, pp. 1 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 इय['] धंम-लिपी देवानंर्पि(प्रि)येन
- 2 पिं(प्रि)यदसिना राजा लेख[']पि[ता] (।*) [इ]ध न किं-
- 3 चि जीवं आरमिस्स(त्पा) पंप्रजुहित्यवं(व्यं) (।*)
- 4 न च समाजो कतय्वो(व्यो) (।*) बहुकं हि दोसं
- 5 समाजमिह पसति देवानंर्पि(प्रि)यो पिं(प्रि)यदसि राजा (।*)
- 6 अस्ति पि तु एक्का समाजा साधु-मत्ता देवानं-

¹ Aśoka's Rock Edicts have been discovered at Gīrnār (Junagarh Dist., Bombay), Kālasi (Derādhun Dist., U. P.), Dhāuli (Puri Dist., Orissa), Jaugada (Ganjam Dist., Orissa), Mānsehrā (Hazāra Dist., West Pakistan) Shāhbāzgarhī (Peshāwar Dist., West Pakistan) and Yerragudi (Karnul Dist., Andhra State). Two fragments containing portions of R. E. VIII-IX have been discovered at Sopara (ancient Sūrpāraka) in the Thāpā Dist., Bombay State. Rock Edicts III and IV refer to the king's 13th regnal year, V to the 14th, VIII to the 11th and XIII to the 9th year. According to Pillar Edict VI, Aśoka began to issue rescripts on Dharma in his 13th regnal year. The years were counted from the date of his *Abhishēka* in c. 269 B. C. We take an expression like *ashṭa-varsh-ābhishukta* to mean 'when 8 years passed after Aśoka's coronation', i.e. in the 9th year of his reign. Some scholars think that the reference is to current years so that 8 years after the coronation would mean the 8th regnal year.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

- 7 पिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राजो (I*) पुरा महानसम्हि¹
- 8 देवानंपिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राजो अनुदिवसं ब-
- 9 हूनि पां(प्रा)ण-सत-सहस्रां चानि आरभिसु सूपाथाय (I*)
- 10 से अज यदा अयं धंम-लिपी लिखिता ती एव पां(प्रा)-
- 11 णा आरभरे सूपाथाय द्वो मोरा एको मगो (I*) सो पि
- 12 मगो न ध्रुवो (I*) एते पि तीं(त्ती) पां(प्रा)णा पछा न आरभिसरे (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

इयं धर्मलिपिः (= धर्मानुवर्धकः लेखः) देवानांप्रियेण (= देवप्रियेण) प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा (= अशोक्रेण) लेखिता । इह (= पाटलिपुत्रनगर्यां राजधान्यां ; यद्वा—मम अस्मिन् राज्ये) न कश्चित् जीवः आलभ्य प्रहोतव्यः (= निहत्य उत्सृष्टव्यः)² । न च समाजः³ (= मेलकः, उत्सवः) कर्तव्यः । बहुकं (= बहु) हि दोषं पश्यति समाजे देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा । सन्ति अपि एकत्याः (= एकविधाः=केचित्) समाजाः साधुमताः देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः ॥ पुरा महानसे (= रन्धनागारे) देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः अनुदिवसं बहूनि प्राण-शत-सहस्राणि आलभ्यन्त सूपार्थाय (= व्यञ्जनार्थम्)⁴ । तत् (= ततः) अथ यदा इयं धर्म-लिपिः लिखिता त्वयः एव प्राणाः (= प्राणिनः) आलभ्यन्ते सूपार्थाय—द्वौ मयूरौ एकः मृगः (= द्वौ पक्षिनौ एकः च पशुः ;⁵ यद्वा—द्वौ शिखिनौ एकः च हरिणः) । सः अपि मृगः न ध्रुवः (= नियतः) । एते अपि त्वयः प्राणाः पश्चात् न आलप्स्यन्ते ॥

¹ The original looks like मेहानसम्हि॥

² This injunction goes against the Vedic sanction of killing animals in sacrifices; cf. *Manu*, V, 21, 39, with Medhātithi's commentary.

³ Cf. *Mbh.*, I, 143, 3; 165, 29f.; IV, 2, 7; 13, 15f.; etc. Any assemblage including a synod for religious discussions was called a *samāja* (cf. *Shānda Purāṇa*, *Brahma-khaṇḍa*, I, verse 4).

⁴ Cf. the description of king Rantideva's *Mahānasa*, where 2,000 animals and 2,000 kine were slain every day, in *Mbh.*, III. 207, 8-10; VII, 65, 16-18; XII, 29, 127f.

⁵ Cf. 'मगो वा आगच्छति' । सव्वचत्तुप्पदानं हि इध मगो ति नामं । 'मोरो वा कट्ठं पानेतो ति' । मोरगहणेन च इध सव्वपक्खिगहणं अधिप्पेतं । quoted from Buddhaghosha's commentary on the Bhayaḥherava-sutta of the *Majjhimanikāya* by Barua, *Aśoka Edicts in New Light*, p. 82.

No. 7—Second Rock Edict : Gīrnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 449; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 2f. For other references, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. ix. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानंर्पि (प्रि)यस पियदसिनो राज्ञो
- 2 एवमपि पं(प्र)चंतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो² आ तंव-
- 3 पंशी अंतिय(१*)को योन-राजा ये वा पि तस अंतिय(१*)कस सामीप[१]³
- 4 राजानो सर्वतं(व) देवानंर्पि(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राज्ञो द्वे चिकीछ(१*) कता
- 5 मनुस-चिकीछा च पसु-चिकीछा च (१*) ओसुढानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च
- 6 पसो[प]गानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वतं(व) हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च (१*)
- 7 मूलानि च फलानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वतं हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च (१*)
- 8 पंथेसु कूपा च खानापिता वं(व)छा च रोपापित[१] परिभोगाय पसु-मनुसानं (॥*)

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

² Read केरलपुतो. Other versions of the edict have कैललपुते (Kālsī), कैरडपुतो (Stābbāz-garhī), कैरलपुत (Mānsehrā). Evidently, the Chēlas and Pāṇḍvas in plural and Keralaputra and Saliyaputra or Sātiya^o in singular are used in contradistinction. The former group indicates peoples and the latter kings (i.e. their particular countries). Several localities are known with names ending in *puta*, *putta* or *putra*; e.g., Seriyāputa, Kesaputta, Pāṭaliputra (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 130). Similar names may also indicate tribes or sects; e.g., Vanaputra, Dāṇḍputra, Rājaputra = Rajput (Tod, *Ind. Ant. Raj.*, Calcutta, 1834, I, pp. 232, 236; II, 360); cf. also such epithets as Jetaputta, Sibiputta, Bhojaputta, Videhaputta in literature. Here however *Keralaputra* (as also *Sātiyaputra*) signifies the king (i.e., his country); cf. references to the kingdom and capital of Kerobothra (=Keraputra) in the *Periplus* (354) and Ptolemy's *Geog.*, VII, i, §57. Cf. also Kosalaputra, surname of Kanakasena, in Tod, *op. cit.*, I, p. 242, and Guhilaputra, Balikaputra (the Ballas of Saurāshṭra, etc. *ibid.*, p. 121). Almost all kings of ancient Kerala, whose exploits have been described in the Sangam literature are known to have enjoyed the title *chēramān* which is supposed to be a contraction of *chēra-makan*, 'son of Chēra'. *Chēra* is the Tamil form of the name written *Kerala* in Sanskrit. See K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 38-39. As regards the name Pāṭaliputra (earlier Pāṭaligrāma), it may have originally indicated the Yaksha protector of Pāṭaligrāma; cf. Kikkāṭaputra in a Wala inscription (645 A.D.) of Dharasena (*J.B.P.R.A.S.*, X, pp. 66ff.).

³ Bühler originally read सामीनं and corrected it into सामंता which is the reading of other versions of the edict. Hultzsch thinks that सामंता was originally engraved on the rock and was subsequently changed into सामीप (or सामीपा). See R. E. XIII for the princes who were neighbours of Antickhes.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सर्वत्र विजिते (- राज्ये) देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः, एवम् अपि प्रत्यन्तेषु यथा चोळाः (Tanjavur-Tiruchirappalli region), पाण्ड्याः (Ramanathapuram-Madurai-Tirunelveli region), सातीयपुत्रः (northern part of the Malayalam-speaking area), केरलपुत्रः (southern part of the Malayalam-speaking area), आ-ताम्रपर्णि (- ताम्रपर्णी [- सिंहल] - पर्यन्तम्), [अपि च] अन्तियोकः (Antiochos II Theos of Syria, c. 261-246 B. C.) यवनराजः¹, ये वा अपि तस्य अन्तियोकस्य सामीपाः (- समीपस्थाः) राजानः, सर्वत्र देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः [मते] द्वे चिकित्से कृते— मनुष्य-चिकित्सा च पशुचिकित्सा च । औषधानि² च यानि मनुष्योपगानि (- नरहितानि) च पशूपगानि च यत्न यत्न न सन्ति, सर्वत्र हारितानि (- वाहितानि) च रोपितानि च । मूलानि च फलानि च यत्न यत्न न सन्ति, सर्वत्र हारितानि च रोपितानि च । पथिषु कूपाः³ च खानिताः वृक्षाः⁴ च रोपिताः, परिभोगाय पशुमनुष्याणाम् ॥

No. 8—Third Rock Edict : Gīrnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 450; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 4f. For other references, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. ix. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT⁵

1 देवानंपि(प्रि)यो प्रियदसि र(†)जा एवं आह (†) द्वादस-वासाभिसितेन मया इदं आजपितं (†)

¹ The word योन = योन = यवन, meaning 'a Greek,' was borrowed from the Persians.

² Cf. *Mbh.*, XII, 69, 59 :

औषधानि च सर्वाणि मूलानि च फलानि च ।

चतुर्विधांश्च वैद्यान् वै संगृह्णीयाद्विधेयतः ॥

³ Some versions have लुटुपानानि. Cf. *Vishṇusaṃhitā.*, 91, 1 : कूपकर्तुस्तत्प्रवृत्ते पानीये दुष्कृतस्याहं विनश्यति । See also *Padma Purāṇa.*, Śrīśūṭi, ch. 57, etc., etc.

⁴ Cf. *Vishṇu*, 91, 4-8 ; *Padma Purāṇa*, *op. cit.*, ch. 58, etc., etc.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

- 2 सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राज्ञी च पाँ(प्रा)देसिके च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अनुसं-
 3 य[र]न['] रिन]यातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसट्सि(स्टि)य यथा अजा-
 4 य पि कंमाय (।*) [स]ाधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसूँ(सूँ)सा मिता'-संस्तुत-जातीनं
 बाम्हण-
 5 समणानं साधु] [दा]नं पाँ(प्रा)णानं साधु अनारंभो अप-ख्व(व्य)यता अप-भांडता
 साधु (।*)
 6 परिसा पि युते आजपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च ख्वं(व्यं)जनतो च (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

¹ देवानांप्रियः (= देवप्रियः) प्रियदर्शी राजा (= अशोकः) एवम् आह—‘द्वादश-वर्षाभि-
 पित्तेन (c. 257 B. C.) मया इदम् आज्ञसम् । सर्वत विजिते मम युक्ताः (= क्षुद्रजनपद-
 शासकाः) च² रज्जुकाः (= रज्जुग्राहकामात्याः = करादिनिर्द्धारणार्थभूमिपरिमाणादिकार्यनियुक्ताः
 प्रदेशांशशासकाः) च प्रादेशिकाः (= प्रदेशशासकाः) च पञ्चसु पञ्चसु वर्षेषु अनुसंयानाय³
 निर्यान्तु (= परिदर्शनाय निष्क्रामन्तु), एतस्मै एव अर्थाय अस्यै धर्मानुज्ञस्तथै (= धर्मोपदेशाय)
 यथा अन्यस्मै अपि कर्मणे ।—साधुः मातरि च पितरि च शुश्रूषा (= वश्यता, सेवा), मित्र-
 संस्तुत (= परिचित-ज्ञातिभ्यः ब्राह्मण-श्रमणेभ्यः [च] साधु दानं, प्राणानां साधुः अनालम्भः
 (= अहननम्), अल्पव्ययता अल्प-भाण्डता (= अल्पसञ्चयः) [च] साधू । परिषत् (= मन्त्रि-
 संसत्) अपि युक्तान्⁴ आज्ञपयिष्यति गणनायां (= एतदाज्ञापालने) हेतुतः (= मदुद्देश्यानु-
 सारेण) च व्यञ्जनतः (= धर्मलिप्यक्षरार्थानुसारेण ; यद्वा—व्यङ्ग्यार्थानुसारेण) च’ ॥

¹ Hultzsch reads मित्र, and notes that it looks like मिता.

² If this च, not found in other versions, be ignored, *yukta* (official) may be taken as qualifying both Rajjuka and Prādesika: cf. S. N. Mitra, *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 308 ff. A Sanchi inscription of about the 2nd century B.C. and a Mysore record of circa 3rd century A.D. refer to the Rajjuka (Lüders, *List*, Nos. 416, 1195). The same officer seems to be mentioned also in a Vākāṭaka epigraph of the 5th century (cf. *Classical Age*, p. 162).

³ Cf. पुण्यतीर्थानुसंयान in *Mbh*, I, 2, 123; *P. H. A. I.*, 4th ed., p. 278 n.

⁴ Cf. *yutāni* in other versions.

No. 9—Fourth Rock Edict : Gīrnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 451; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 5ff.
For other references, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. ix. See also under
No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 अतिक्रातं अंतरं बहुनि वास-सतानि वढितो एव पां प्रा)णारंभो विहिंसा च भूतानं
ज्ञातीसु
- 2 अ[सं]र्प(प्र)तिपती ब्रा[म्ह]ण-सं स मणानं असंर्प(प्र तीपती² ।*) त³ अज देवानं-
पिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो⁴ राजो
- 3 धंम-चरणेन [भे]री-घोसो अहो धंम-घोसो⁵ ।*) विमान-दसणा⁶ च हस्सि-द[स]णा च
- 4 अग्नि-खंधा[नि] च [अ]जानि च दिग्वा[व्या]नि रूपानि दसयिमा[त्पा] जनं यारिसे
बहुहि वा[स]-मतेहि
- 5 न भूत-पु[वे] तारिसे अज वढिते देवानंपिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राजो
धंमानुसट्ठि सिट्ठि अनारं-
- 6 [भो] पां(प्रा)णानं अविहीसा⁷ भू[ता]नं जातीनं संपटिपती ब्रम्हण-समणानं संपटिपती
मातरि पितरि
- 7 [सु]सुं[सु]सा यैर-सुसुसा ।*) एम अजे च बहुविधे [ध]म-चरणे व[ढि]ते ।*)
वढयिस्सति चेव देवानंपिं(प्रि)यो
- 8 [प्रि*]यदसि राजा धंम-[च*]रणं इदं ।*) पुर्तात्रा च [पो]ती[त्ता] च पं प्रपो-
ती[त्ता] च देवानंपिं(प्रि)यस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राजो
- 9 [पं प्र*]वधयिस्सति इदं [धं]म-चरणं आव सवट-कपा धंमहि सीलहि तिट्ठं⁸ स्तं तो
[धं]मं अनुसासिस्सति ।*)

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

² प was inserted subsequently.

³ त was inserted subsequently.

⁴ द was inserted subsequently.

⁵ Hultzsch completes the sentence not with धंम-घोसो but with दसयिमा जनं in the next line.

⁶ Bühler and Senart : दसणा ; Hultzsch : दसणा

⁷ हो was inserted subsequently.

- 10 [ए]स हि सेट्से(स्टे) कमे य धंमानुसासनं (I*) धमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस (I*)
[त] इमग्निह अथग्निह
11 [व*]धी च अहीनी च साधु (I*) ए[ता]य अथाय¹ इद['] लेखापितं इमस अथ[स]
वधि युजंतु ह[']नि च
12 [नो] लोचेतयवा²व्या (I*) द्वादसवामाभिसितेन देवानंर्पि(प्रि)येन पि(प्रि)यद्-
सिना राज[र] इदं लेखापितं (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं बहूनि वर्ष-शतानि (=बहुवर्षशतात्मकं) वर्द्धितः एव प्राणालम्भः,
त्रिहिंसा च भूतानां, ज्ञातिषु असंप्रतिपत्तिः (=असंमानः), ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानाम् असंप्रतिपत्तिः ।
तत् (=ततः-तदनन्तरम्) अद्य देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः धर्मचरणेन (=धर्माचरणेन)
भेरीघोषः अभूत् धर्मघोषः (=सर्वे भेरीघोषाः धर्मघोषकाः भूताः) । विमान-दर्शनात् च हस्ति-
दर्शनात् च अग्नि-स्कन्धान् (=ज्योतिःपुञ्जान्)² च अन्यानि च दिव्यानि रूपाणि दर्शयित्वा जनं,
यादृशं बहुभिः वर्षशतैः न भूतपूर्वं (=पूर्वं न वर्द्धितं) भूतं, तादृशम् अद्य वर्द्धितं देवानां-
प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः धर्मानुशस्त्या --अनालम्भः प्राणानाम्, अत्रिहिंसा भूतानां, ज्ञातीनां
संप्रतिपत्तिः, ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानां संप्रतिपत्तिः, मातरि पितरि [च] शुश्रूषा, स्थविर-शुश्रूषा ।
एतत् अन्यत् च बहुविधं धर्मचरणं वर्द्धितम् । वर्द्धयिष्यति च एव देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी
राजा धर्म-चरणम् इदम् । पुत्राः च पौत्राः च प्रपौत्राः च देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः
प्रवर्धयिष्यन्ति इदं धर्म-चरणं यावत् संवर्तकल्पम् (=आप्रलयं), धर्मे शीले (=सदाचारे)
[च] तिष्ठन्तः धर्मम् अनुशासिष्यन्ति [च] । एतत् श्रेष्ठं कर्म यत् धर्मानुशासनम् । धर्म-
चरणम् अपि न भवति अशीलस्य । अस्मिन् अर्थे वृद्धिः च अहीनिः (=अनल्पता) च
साधुः । एतस्मै अर्थाय इदं लेखितम्—अस्य अर्थस्य वृद्धिः युज्यतां, हीनिः (=अल्पता)
च नः रोचयितव्या (=न्यूनतायां रुचिः न कर्तव्या) । द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 257 B.C.)
देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा इदं लेखितम् ॥

1 Two *uksharas* have been erased between धा and य

2 These may refer to artificial representations of celestial cars, elephants and light, which were shown to the people for the increase of their attachment for heaven. Shāhbāzgarhi has जीतिकंधनि.

3 Cf. also Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *silāṃ*.

No. 10—Fifth Rock Edict : Mānsehrā Version

MĀNSEHRĀ, HAZĀRA Dist, West Pakistan

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II. p. 454; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 74f.For other references, see Hultzschn, *op. cit.*, pp. ix. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT¹

- 1 'दे[वनं]प्रियेन² प्रियद्रशि रज एव['] अह (1*) कलण['] दुकर['] (1*) ये अदिकरे कयणस से दुकरं करोति (1*) तं मय बहु [क]यणे [क]टे (1*) [त]'³ म[अ] पुत्त [च]
- 2 नत[रे]⁴ च पर च [ते]न ये अपतिये 'मे [अ]व-कप'⁵ तथ अनुवटिशति से सुकट क[ष]ति (1*) ये [चु] अत्र देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कषति (1*)
- 3 पपे हि नम सुपदरे⁶ (1*) [से] अतिक्रत['] अ[']तर['] न भुतप्रुव भ्रम[म]ह-मत्त नम (1*) से त्रेडश-व[ष]भिसितेन मय भ्रम-महमत्त कट (1*) ते सत्र-प[ष]डे⁷
- 4 वपुट भ्रमधिय[न]ये च भ्रम-वधिय हिद-सुखये च [भ]मयुतस योन-कांबोज-गधरन⁸ र[ठि]क-पितिनिकान ये व पि अजे अपरत¹⁰ (1*) भ[ट]मये-
- 5 पु ब्रमणियेषु अनथेषु बुधेषु हिद-सु[ख]ये भ्रमयुत-अपलिबोधये विय[पु]ट ते (1*) वधन-वध[स] पटिवि[धन]ये अपलिबोधये मोक्ष[ये] [च] [इयं]

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.² This is line 19 of the whole record on the rock.³ Read प्रिये⁴ Other versions have त, से or सो.⁵ Girnār has पोता (= पौता:).⁶ Girnār has आव संवट-कपा (= यावत्संवर्तकल्पम्).⁷ Bühler: सुपदरे व.⁸ Read ०डेषु⁹ These three peoples lived in North-western Bhāratavarsha¹⁰ In a narrower sense *Aparānta* indicated the Northern Kōṇkan. Here however it seems to signify Western Bhāratavarsha where the Bhojas, Pitinikas, etc., lived. It is better to take Pitinika as a tribe than as an epithet of Rāṭhika.

- 6 अनुबध [प्र]ज[व*]¹ [ति] व कट्भिकर ति व महल्लके² ति व वियप्रट ते (।*) हिद
बहिरेषु च नगरेषु सवेषु [ओ]रोधनेषु भतन³ च स्प[सु]न⁴ [च]
7 ये व पि अजे जतिके सवत्त वियपट (।*) [ए] इयं धम्म-निशितो तो⁵ व धम्मधियने
ति व दन-संयुते ति व सवत्त विजितसि⁶ मभ धम्म-युतसि वपुट [ते]
8 धम्म-महम्मत्त (।*) एतये अथये अयि धम्म-दिपि⁷ लिखित चिर-ठितिक होतु तथ च मे
प्रज अनुवट्ठु (।।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘कल्याणं [जनानां] दुष्करम् । यः आदिकरः
(= आरम्भकः) कल्याणस्य सः दुष्करं करोति । तत् (= ततः) मया बहु कल्याणं कृतम् ।
तत् मे पुत्राः च, नसारः च, परं च तेभ्यः यत् अपत्यं मे यावत् कल्पं (= आप्रलयं)
तथा अनुवर्तिष्यन्ते (= कल्याणं विधास्यन्ति), ते सुकृतं करिष्यन्ति । यः तु अत्र देशम्
(= एकदेशं = किञ्चिन्मात्रम्) अपि हास्यति (= परिहरिष्यति) सः दुष्कृतं करिष्यति । पापं
हि नाम सुप्रदार्यं (= सुप्रवेशं = सुकरम्)⁸ ॥ तत् अतिक्रान्तं [बहुकालात्मकम्] अन्तरं न
भूतपूर्वाः धर्ममहामाताः नाम । तत् त्रयोदश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 256 B. C.) मया
धर्ममहामाताः कृताः । ते सर्व-पार्षदेषु (= धर्मसम्प्रदायेषु) व्यापृताः धर्माधिष्ठानाय
(= स्थापनाय) च, धर्मवृद्धये हितसुखाय च धर्म-युतस्य यवन-कम्बोज-गन्धारानां, राष्ट्रिक-
पैल्लग्निकानां, ये वा अपि अन्ये अपरान्ताः [तेषाम्] । भृतार्येषु (= शूद्रेषु वैश्येषु च)
ब्राह्मणेभ्येषु (= ब्राह्मणेषु राजन्येषु च)⁹ अनाथेषु हितसुखाय धर्मयुतापरिवोधाय (= धार्मिकस्य
शृङ्खल मोचनाय) व्यापृताः ते । बन्धनवृद्धस्य प्रतिविधानाय (= अर्थादिदानाय)
अपरिवोधाय मोक्षाय च—एतत् अनुबद्धम् (= एषः क्रमः)—प्रजावान् (= बहुसन्तानयुक्तः) इति

1 Kālsī : पजाव ; Shāhbāzgarhī : प्रजव ; Sanskrit प्रजावत्.

2 Girnār has दैरेसु (= स्थविरेषु).

3 Read भतुन (= भ्रातृणां).

4 I e. the *atarodha* wherein the sisters of Aśoka resided; cf. कन्यान्तरः.

5 Read ति.

6 Dhaulī has सब-पु[ट]वियं.

7 लिपि has become दिपि in Shāhbāzgarhī and Mātsehrā owing to Persian influence.

8 Hultzsch suggests सुप्रदारकम्.

9 I owe the interpretation to the late Prof. Raychaudhuri. भृत = Sūtra; अर्थ = Vaiśya; इय = a king; hence, the kingly class. For the augment *m* in *bhata-m-aya*, see Sircar, *Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, p. 40.

वा कृताभिकारः (= परार्थकृतदोषः = परप्रेरणया कृतदोषः) इति वा महल्लकः (= वृद्धः) इति वा व्यापृताः ते । इह (= पाटलिपुत्रे) वहिः च नगरेषु सर्वेषु अवरोधनेषु (= अन्तःपुरेषु) भ्रातृणां स्वसृणां च ये वा अपि अन्ये ज्ञातयः [तेषां च]—सर्वत्र व्यापृताः [ते] । ये—अयं धर्मनिश्चितः (= धर्माश्रितः) इति वा धर्माधिष्ठानः इति वा दानसंयुतः इति वा, सर्वत्र विजिते मम धर्मयुते व्यापृताः - ते धर्ममहामाताः । एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लिखिता—[एषा] चिरस्थितिका भवतु, तथा च मे प्रजा [एनां] अनुवर्त्तताम् ॥

No. 11—Sixth Rock Edict : Gīrnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 454; HULIZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp 11-12.
See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 [देवा][नंपियो*] [पियद*]सि राजा एवं आह (1*) अतिक्रातं अंतरं
- 2 न भूतपुं²पु[व] [स][वे*] [काले*] अथ-कमे व पटिवेदना वा (1*) त मया एवं कर्तं (1*)
- 3 [स]वे काले भू[ज]मानस मे ओरोधनग्धि गभागारग्धि वचग्धि व
- 4 विनीतग्धि च उयानेसु च सवर्तत्र पटिवेदका² ट्सि स्तिता अथे मे [ज]नस
- 5 पटिवेदेथ इति (1*) सर्वर्तं (व) च जनस अथे करोमि (1*) य च किंचि मुख[तो]
- 6 आजगयामि स्वयं दापकं वा सी स्वावापकं वा य वा पुन महामा[र्तं(ले)]सु
- 7 आचायि[के]³ अरोपितं भवति ताय अथाय विवादो निश्चती व [स]तो परिमायं
- 8 आनंतरं प[टि]वेदेत[ख्वं(व्यं)] मे स[र्व]र्तं(व) सर्वे काले (1*) एवं मया आजपितं (1*) नास्ति हि मे तो[सो]
- 9 उट्सा[स्टा]नग्धि अथ-संतीरणाय व (1*) कतख्वं(व्यं)-मते हि मे स[र्व]-लोक-हितं (1*)

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp ix f.

² ट् had been originally engraved and was afterwards made ट.

³ Cf. आत्ययिके कार्ये सन्निधौ सन्निपरिषदं चाह्वय ब्रूयान् (Kaṇṭilya), *ibid.*, p. 13

- 10 तस च पुन एस मूले उट्सा स्या)नं च अथ-संतीरणा च (I*) नास्ति हि कर्मतरं
 11 सर्व-लोक-हितसा(त्पा)¹ (I*) य च किंचि पराक्रमामि अहं किंति भूतानं आनणं
 गच्छेयं (I*)
 12 इध च नानि सुखापयामि परेतां (त्ता) च स्वर्गं आराधेयंतु (I*) त एताय अथाय
 13 अयं ध[']म-लिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिट्से(स्ते)य इति तथा च मे पुर्ता(त्ता) पोता
 च पं(प्र)पोर्ता(त्ता) च
 14 अनुवतरां सर्व-लोक-हिताय (I*) दुकरं [तु] इदं अजर्तं(त्त) अगेन पराक्रमेन (II*)

. TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं न भूतपूर्वं सर्वस्मिन् काले अर्थ-कर्म (= कार्यसम्पादनं) वा प्रतिवेदना (= विज्ञापनं) वा । तत् (= ततः) मया एवं कृतम्—सर्वस्मिन् काले—भुञ्जानस्य मे, अवरोधने, गर्भागारे (= प्रासादान्तःस्थविश्रामागारे) ब्रजे’ (= पथि) वा विनीते (= विनीतके = याने) च, उद्यानेषु³ च [स्थितस्य]—सर्वत्र प्रतिवेदकाः (= दूताः = विज्ञापकाः) स्थिताः (= उपस्थिताः) [सन्तः] अर्थं (= कार्यं) मे जनस्य प्रतिवेदयन्तु इति । सर्वत्र च जनस्य अर्थं करोमि । यत् च किञ्चित् मुखतः आज्ञपयामि स्वयं, दापकं (= दापनं) वा, श्रावकं (= श्रावणं) वा, यत् वा पुनः महामात्रेषु आत्ययिकं (= सत्वरसम्पाद्यकर्म) आरोपितं भवति, तस्मै अर्थाय विवादः (= वितर्कः) निध्यातिः (= युक्तिभिः निध्यायनं = केनचित् पारिषदेन अपरेषां बोधनाय स्वमतपक्षे युक्तिप्रदर्शनं)⁴ वा सती परिषदि, अनन्तरं (= अविलम्बेन) प्रतिवेदयितव्यं मे सर्वत्र सर्वस्मिन् काले । एवं मया आज्ञप्तम् । नास्ति हि मे तोषः उत्थाने (= उद्योगे) अर्थ-सन्तीर्णायां (= अर्थसन्तरणे = कर्मसम्पादने) वा । कर्तव्य-मतं (= मतं कर्तव्यं) हि मे सर्व-लोक-हितम् । तस्य च पुनः एतत् मूलम्—उत्थानम्⁵ अर्थसन्तीर्णां च । नास्ति हि कर्मतरं सर्वलोक-हितत्वात् (= ०हितात्) । यत् च किञ्चित् पराक्रमामि अहं—किमिति ?—भूतानाम् आनुष्यं गच्छेयम् [इति] । इह च एतान् सुखयामि, परत्र च स्वर्गम्

¹ Other versions have ०हिनेन

² Some take वच (= व्रज) in the sense of ‘a cowpen’, while others find in it वचस्, which they are inclined to take in the sense of ‘a latrine’. The first of the two suggestions may not be quite impossible. Cf. “The king is himself a large owner and breeder of cattle and personally superintends the condition of his flocks at certain times in the year. The whole care is taken of course by the cowboys whose ranches the king visits, when, for example, the cattle are to be branded” (H plins, *J.A.O.S.*, XIII, p. 82).

³ *Udyāna* means either ‘the act of going out (i.e. being on the march)’ or ‘a pleasure garden’.

Cf. Buddhist Sanskrit *nidhyapti*, ‘meditation’, ‘comprehension’ (*J.A.O.S.*, LXXII, No. 3, p. 117).

⁵ Cf. *Mbh.*, XII, 56, 14-15; 53, 12-16; cf. also Old Bengali उठानि

आराधयन्तु (—प्राप्नुवन्तु [ते]) । तत् एतस्मै अयोय इयं धर्मक्षिपिः लेखिता—किमिति ?—
चिरं तिष्ठेत (—तिष्ठेत्) इति, तथा च मे पुत्राः पौत्राः च प्रपौत्राः च [एनाम्] अनुवर्तेरन
सर्व-लोक-हिताय । दुष्करं तु इदम् अन्यत् अग्रेण पराक्रमेण (=अग्रात् पराक्रमात्)¹ ॥

No. 12—Seventh Rock Edict : Shāhbāzgarhī¹

SHĀHBĀZGARHĪ, Peshāwar Dist., West Pakistan.

SENART, *J. As.*, VIII, xi, p. 521; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 456;
HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 59. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT²

- 1 देवनंप्रियो प्रिय(द्रु*)शि रज सवल इच्छति सव-
- 2 [प्र]पंड वसेयु (I*) सवे हि ते सयमे भव-शुधि च इच्छन्ति (I*)
- 3 जनो चु उचवुच-छंदो उचवुच-रगो (I*) ते सव व एकदेशं व
- 4 पि कषन्ति (I*) विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयम भव-
- 5 शुधि क्खिजत द्विद-भतित निचे पदं³ (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्वत्र’ इच्छति सर्व-पार्षदाः (—विभिन्नधर्मसम्प्रदायाः)
वसेयुः । सर्वे हि ते संयमं भावशुद्धिं (=चित्तशुद्धिं) च इच्छन्ति । जनः तु उच्चावचच्छन्दः
—बृहत्क्षुद्राभिलाषः) उच्चावचरागः (=अधिकानधिकधर्मानुरागः) [च] । ते [कर्तव्यस्य]
सर्वं वा एकदेशं वा अपि करिष्यन्ति । विपुलम् अपि तु दानं [यस्य अस्ति, परन्तु] यस्य
नास्ति संयमः, भावशुद्धिः, कृतज्ञता, दृढभक्तिता (=०धर्मासक्तिः) [च]—[तस्य दानं] नीचं
(=तुलनया हीनं) बाढम् (=अत्यन्तम्, असन्देहम्) ॥

¹ On the left of the east face, at the top of the rock.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, and *Z.D.M.G.*, XLIII. For some references and the story of discovery, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 11f.

³ The Brāhmī versions read बाढं

⁴ In usual construction, सर्वत्र would follow इच्छति

No. 13—Eighth Rock Edict: Gīrnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 456; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 14.
See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 अतिक्रातं अन्तरं राजानो विहार-यातां जयासु (I*) एत मग्गवा (व्या) अजानि च एता-
रिस[I*]नि
- 2 अभीरमकानि अहुंसु (I*) सो देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा दसवसभिसितो
संतो अयाय संबोधिं (I*)
- 3 तेनेसा धम्म-याता (I*) एतयं होति बाम्हण-समणानं दसणे च दाने च यैरानं
दसणे [च]
- 4 हिरण-पटिविधानो च जानपदस च जनस दस्सनं² धंमानु[स]ट्सी(रटी) च धम्म-
परिपुच्छा च
- 5 तदोपया (I*) एसा भुय-रति भवति देवानंपियस पिं(प्रि)यदसिनो राजो भागे
अंजे (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं राजानः विहार-यातां निरयासिषुः । अत्र मृगव्या (= मृगव्यं, मृगया)
अन्यानि च एतादृशानि अभीरमकाणि (= सुखावह-व्यापाराः) अभूवन् । तत् (= ततः)
+ देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा दशवर्षाभिषिक्तः (c. 259 B.C.) सन् अयात (= अयात्)
सम्बोधिं (= बुद्धस्य पुष्यं बोधिलाभक्षेत्रम्)³ । तेन (= तीर्थगमनेन = तस्मात् तीर्थगमनात्)
एषा धर्मयात्रा [अनुवृत्ता] । एतस्यां भवति—ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानां दर्शनं च दानं च, स्थविराणां
दर्शनं च हिरण्य-प्रतिविधानं (= दानं) च, जानपदस्य जनस्य दर्शनं धर्मानुशस्तिः च, धर्म-
परिपृच्छा (= ० जिज्ञासा) च तदुपगा (= तदनुकूला) । एषा⁴ भूयोरतिः (= परमसुखं) भवति

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. ix f.

² Read either दसनं or दस्सनं. Was दस्(सं)नं the intended reading ?

³ Sambodhi is the same as Mahābodhi (cf. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 31) which is the present Bodhgayā (Bodhi-Gayā). For Aśoka's pilgrimage to other Buddhist *ūrthas*, see Nos. 31-32 below.

⁴ Or च; तदुपायात् (= तद्विहारयात्रातः आरभ्य) एषा

देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः, भग्नं अन्यत् (=अपरसुखानि हीनानि; cf. Hindi भागना, to run away) ॥

No. 14—Ninth Rock Edict : Mānsehrā Version¹

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 458; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 78f.
See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharosbthi

TEXT²

- 1 [देवनप्रिये] प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (1*) जने उच्चुच['] [म]गल['] करोति (1*)
- 2 अवघसि अ[व]हसि वि[व]हसि प्रजोपदये प्रवसस्सि एतये अजये [च] [एदि]श[ये]
[जने]
- 3 बहु मंग[लं] [क]रो[ति] (1*) अत्र तु अवक'-जनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च
निरश्रिय च मगलं करोति (1*) से क[ट]विये [चे]व खो
- 4 मगले (1*) अप-फले चु [खो] [ए]पे (1*) इयं चु खो मह-फले ये ध्रम मगले (1*)
अत्त इयं दस-भटकसि सम्य-पटिपति गुरुन अ[प]चिति]
- 5 प्र[ण]न [स]यमे श्रमण-व्रमणन [दने] (1*) एपे अपे च एदिशे ध्रम-मगले नम (1*)
से वतविये पि[तु]न पि पुखेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि
- 6 मित्र-स[']स्तुतेन [अ]व पटिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविये मगले अव तस अश्रस
निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन इम [क]षमि' ति (1*) ए हि [इ]तरे मग[ले]
- 7 श[श]यिके से (1*) [मि]य व तं अश्र' निवटेय [सि]य पन नो (1*) हिद[लो]-
किके चेव से' (1*) इयं पुन ध्रम-मगले अकलिके (1*) [ह]चे पि तं अश्र' नो
निवटेति [हि]द अ[थ] परत्त

¹ On the north face of the second rock. For some references and the story of discovery, see Hultzschn, *op. cit.*, pp. xii f.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

³ Bühler : बलिक (= बालिका)

⁴ Bühler : केषमिति

⁵ Bühler : इह च लोकि च वसे

- 8 अनत पुण¹ प्रसवति (।*) हचे पुन त['] अश्रं निव[टे]ति हिद ततो उभयेसं [अर]धे होति (।*) हिद च से अश्रे परल च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन धम- (म*) गलेन (।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

'देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'जनः उच्चावचं मङ्गलं (= माङ्गलिकानुष्ठानं) करोति । आवाधे (= व्याध्यादिके) आवाहे (= पुलोद्वाहे) विवाहे (= कन्योद्वाहे) प्रजोत्पदायां (= पुत्रोत्पादे) प्रवासे (= प्रवासयात्रायाम्)—एतस्मिन् अन्यस्मिन् च एतादृशे [व्यापारे] जनः बहु मङ्गलं करोति । अतः तु अम्बिका-जनिकं (= माता-पत्न्यः = स्त्रियः) बहु च बहुविधं च क्षुद्रं च निरर्थकं च मङ्गलं करोति । तत् कर्तव्यं च एव खलु मङ्गलम् । अल्प-फलं च तु खलु एतत् । इदं च तु खलु महाफलं यत् धर्म-मङ्गलम् । अतः इदं [भवति]—दास-भृतकेषु सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिः, गुरुणाम् अपचितिः (= पूजा), प्राणानां (= प्राणिनां) [विषये] संयमः, श्रमण-ब्राह्मणेभ्यः दानम् । एतत् अन्यत् च एतादृशं धर्म-मङ्गलं नाम । तत् (= ततः) वक्तव्यं पिता अपि, पुत्रेण अपि, भ्राता अपि, स्वामिकेन अपि, मित्र-संस्तुतेन अपि, यावत् प्रतिवेश्यं (यद्वा—प्रतिवेशिकम्) अपि—'इदं साधु, इदं कर्तव्यं मङ्गलं यावत् तस्य अर्थस्य निर्वृत्तिम्' (= अभीष्टमिद्वि-पर्यन्तं), 'निर्वृत्ते वा पुनः [पुनः] इदं करिष्यामि' इति" । यत् हि इतरं मङ्गलं सांशयिकं (= अनिश्चित-फलं) तत् । स्यात् वा [जनः तेन मङ्गलेन] तम् अर्थं निर्वर्तयेत्, स्यात् पुनः न । ऐहलौकिकं च एव तत् । इदं पुनः धर्म-मङ्गलम् अकालिकम् (= इह-पर-काल-निरपेक्षम्) । हञ्चेत् (= चेत्) अपि तम् अर्थं [जनः धर्ममङ्गलेन] न निर्वर्तयति इह, अथ परल अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाव्यते । हञ्चेत् पुनः तम् अर्थं निर्वर्तयति इह, ततः उभयस्य [फलस्य] आराद्धं (= लब्धं = लाभः) भवति । इह च सः अर्थः, परल च अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाव्यते तेन धर्म-मङ्गलेन ॥

1 Bühler : अन[']तं पुजं

2 For the rest of the record, Gīrnār (followed by Dhanli and Jangada) suggests : अस्ति च अपि उक्तं 'साधु दानम्' इति । न तु एतादृशम् अस्ति दानं वा अनुष्ठानं वा यादृशं धर्मदानं वा धर्मानुष्ठानं वा । तत् तु खलु मित्रेण वा 'सुहृदयेन (= सुहृदा) वा जातिकेन वा सहृदयेन वा अवबदितव्यं तस्मिन् तस्मिन् प्रकरणे (= समुचितस्थले). 'इदं कृत्यम्, इदं साधु' इति । 'अनेन शक्यः स्वर्गः आराधयितुं (= लभ्यम्)' इति । किं च 'अनेन (= अस्मान्) कर्तव्यतरं यथा स्वर्गागच्छिः (= स्वर्गावाप्तिः) ?

Cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 126. *Starṇa* (not *Nīrvāṇa*) is the goal of Aśoka's *Dharma*. A school of early Buddhists may have believed that the attainment of *Starṇa* led one to *Nīrvāṇa*.

No. 15—Tenth Rock Edict: Gīrnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 459; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 17f.
See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवानं^१पिं(प्रि)यो पिं(प्रि)यदसि ^२राजा यसो व कीति व न महाथावह[१] मज्जे
अजत तदास(त्प)नो^३ दिवाय च मे [ज]नो
- 2 धंम-सुसुं(स्सु)सा सुसुं(स्सु)सता^४ धंम-वुतं च अनुविधियतां (।*) एतकाय देवानंपियो
पियदसि राजा यसो व किति व इ[च्छ]ति (।*)
- 3 यं तु किचि परिकामते^५ देवानं(प्रियो*) पिं(प्रि)यदसि राजा त सर्वं पार-
ति(त्वि)काय किंति सकले अपपरिस्सं(स्स)वे अस (।*) एस तु परिसवे य अपुंजं (।*)
- 4 डुकरं तु खो एतं खुदकेन व जनेन उसटेन व अजर्तं(त्त) अगेन पराक्रमेन सर्वं
परिचजिज्ञा(त्था) (।*) एत [तु] [खो] उसटेन डुकरं^६ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा [एहिं] यशः वा [पारत्तिकीं] कीर्त्तिं वा न महार्थावहां
मन्यते अन्यत्त 'तदास्वे' (= वर्त्तमानकाले) 'दीर्घायां' (= आयत्यां) च मे जनो धर्मशुश्रूषां
शुश्रूषतां धर्मवृत्तं च [तेन] अनुविधीयताम् [इति अस्मात्] । एतस्मै (= एतस्मै)
देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा यशः वा कीर्त्तिं वा इच्छति । यत्किञ्चित् पराक्रामति देवानांप्रियः
प्रियदर्शी राजा तत् सर्वं पारत्रिकाय । किमिति ? सकलः [लोकः] अल्प-परिस्त्वः (यद्वा—

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid*, pp. ix f.

² देवा had been originally engraved here but was afterwards erased. An obliterated दे is visible between सि and रा and an obliterated वा between रा and जा. Hultzsch : ०पियो

³ Read तदात्पनि = तदात्पनि. Other versions read तदात्पि आयत्तये च ; cf. तदात्पि च आयत्तये च quoted from Kauṭilya by Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 18, note 8. Cf. *Amaraśloka*, Kshatriya-varga, verse 30.

⁴ Senart and Bühler : ०सतां. Here शुश्रूषताम् means सेवताम्

⁵ Read परा०

⁶ Jaugada gives टुकरतले

अप०) स्यात् । एषः तु परिस्रवः¹ यत् अपुण्यम् । दुष्करं तु खलु एतत् (= अल्पपरिस्रवत्वम्, अप०) क्षुद्रकेण वा जनेन, उत्सृतेन (= महता) वा अन्यत् अग्रात् पराक्रमात् (= महोत्साहात्) [धर्मश्रुषा-धर्मवृत्त-व्यतिरिक्तं] सर्वं परित्यज्य । एतत् तु खलु उत्सृतेन दुष्कर[तर]म् ॥

No. 16—Eleventh Rock Edict : Kālsī Version

KĀLSĪ, Dehrā Dūn Dist., U.P.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 460; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 40.

See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 ³देवानं[पि]ये पियदधि [ल]ाजा हेवं (आ*)हा (।*) नथि [हे]डिषे दाने
अदिष ध[']म-दाने।⁴ धम-ष[']वभगे । धम-षंव[धे] । त[त] एषे दाष-
भटकषि । षम्या-पटिपति माता-पितिषु । पुषुषा । मित-षंथुत-नातिक्यानं समना-
[व]भनाना [दा]ने
2 पानानं अनाल[']भे (।*)⁵ एषे वत[']वये पि[त]ना पि पुते[न] पि⁶ भा[']त]-
ना पि षवा[']मक्येन पि मित-शंथुताना⁸ अवा पटिवेषियेन[र] इय[']
पाधु इयं कटविये (।*) [शे] तथा कल[']त हिदलोकिक्ये च कं⁹ आलधे होति पलत
च[र] अनत पुना¹⁰ पशवति तेना धम-दानेना (॥*)

¹ Cf. Sanskrit आस्रव (=पाप) ; Pāli आसव

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid.*, p. xi.

³ This is line 29 of the whole inscription on the rock.

⁴ This Daṇḍa and others in the text are unnecessary. Other versions add धम्मसत्तव, i.e., praise of, or acquaintance with, Dharma.

⁵ Gurnār Das : तत इदं भवति दासभतकग्निह सम्यपतिपती सातरि दितरि साधु सुदू(सु)सा मित-ससुत-जातिकानं वारहण-सं(स)मणानं साधु दानं पा(प्रा)णानं अनारंभो साधु

⁶ न is entered below the line.

⁷ Read पुवासि०

⁸ त of मित stands below the line. Read शंथुतेना

⁹ कं, not found in the other versions, is used in Vedic Sanskrit as an indeclinable expletive particle. It possibly stands here for किञ्चित् (cf. No. 19 below).

¹⁰ I.e. अन्तं पुंशं

‘दैवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘नास्ति ईदृशं दानं यादृशं धर्मदानं, [तथा च] धर्मसंविभागः (= धर्मस्य [अधर्मात्] विभजनं), धर्मसंबन्धः (= धर्मानुमोदितसंबन्धः ; यद्वा—धर्माकर्षणजातः) । तत्र एतत् [भवति]—दास-भृतकेषु (= क्रीतदास-वैतनिकदासेषु) सम्यक्-प्रतिपत्तिः, मातापितृषु शुश्रूषा, मित्र-संस्तुत-ज्ञातिक्रियेभ्यः श्रमण-ब्राह्मणेभ्यः दानं, प्राणानाम् अनालम्भः [च इति] । एतत् वक्तव्यं पित्रा अपि, पुत्रेण अपि, भ्रात्रा अपि, स्वामिक्येन (= स्वामिकेन) अपि, मित्रसंस्तुतेन, यावत् प्रतिवेश्य—“इदं साधु, इदं कर्त्तव्यम्” [इति] । सः तथा कुर्वन् (= तस्मिन् तथा कुर्वति), ऐहलोकिक्यं च कं (= किञ्चित् ?) आराद्धं भवति, परत्र च [तस्य] अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाध्यते तेन धर्मदानेन ॥

No. 17—Twelfth Rock Edict: Shahbāzgarhī Version

SENART, *J. As.*, VIII, xi, pp. 511 f.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 447; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 44f. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय सन्न-प्रषंडनि² प्रव्रजित[नि]³ ग्रहथनि च पुजेति दनेन विविधये च पुजये (1*) नो चु तथ [दि]न व पुज व
- 2 देवनंप्रियो मजति यथ किति स[ळ]-वदि⁴ सिय सन्न-प्रषंडनं (1*) सळ-वदि तु बहुविध (1*) तस तु इयो मुळ यं ववोगुति⁵ (1*)
- 3 किति अत-प्रषंड-पुज व प[र]-पषंड-गर(ह*)न⁶ व नो सिय [अ]पकरणसि⁷ लहुक व सिय तसि तसि प्रकर[णे] (1*) पुजेतविय व चु पर-प्रषं-

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. This edict is engraved on a separate boulder. For some references and the story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. xi f.

² प्रषंडनि (= पाषेदान) is here used in the sense of ‘people following particular doctrines’, ‘different religious sects’. Literally *pārshada* means ‘a member of a society or assembly’.

³ This word is entered above the line.

⁴ Sanskrit सारं. Other versions have सार-वट्टी (Girnār) and शाला-वट्टि (Kālsī).

⁵ Others read वचं.

⁶ गरन may also be a mistake for गरहा.

⁷ Bühler : अपकरणसि

- 4 [ड] तेन तेन अकरेन¹ (।*) ए[व] करतं² अत-[प्र]षंडं वढेति पर-प्रषंडं³ पि च उपकरोति (।*) तद् अजय क[र]मि[नो]⁴ अत-प्र[षंड]
- 5 क्षणति [पर]-प्रषडस च अपकरोति (।*) यो हि कचि अत-प्रषंडं पुजेति [पर]-[प्र]-षड['] गरहति सत्रे अत-प्रषड-भतिय व किति
- 6 अत-प्रषंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करतं⁵ [सो च पुन तथ करतं] व[ढत]रं उपहंति अत-प्रषंडं (।*) सो समयमो⁶ वो सधु (।*) किति अजमजस ध्रमो
- 7 श्रुण्येयु च सुश्रुण्येयु च ति (।*) एवं हि देवनं प्रियस इह किति सत्र-प्रषंड बहु-श्रुत च क[लण]गम च सियसु (।*) ये च तत्त तत्त
- 8 प्रसन तेष['] वतवो देवनं प्रि[यो] न [तथ] [द]न['] [व] [पुज] व मजति य[थ] किति सल-वढि सियति सत्र-प्रषडनं (।*) बहुक च एतये अठ[ये*]
- 9 व[प]ट [ध्र]म-म[ह]मत्र इ[स्त्रिधि]यत्त-म[ह]मत्र [व्र]चभूमिक⁷ अजे च निकये (।*) इमं च एतिस [फ]ळं यं अत-पषड-वढि [भोति]
- 10 ध्रमस च दि[पन] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्व-पार्षदान् (= विभिन्न-धर्मसम्प्रदायान्) — प्रवर्जितान् गृहस्थान् च — पूजयति दानेन विविधया च पूजया । नो (= न) च तु तथा दानं वा पूजां वा देवानांप्रियः मन्यते यथा — किमिति ? — सारवृद्धिः (= धर्मसारवृद्धिः) स्यात् सर्व-पार्षदानाम् । सारवृद्धिः तु बहुविधा । तस्याः तु इदं मूलं यत् वचोगुप्तिः (= वाक्संयमः) । किमिति ? आत्म-पार्षद-पूजा वा पर-पार्षद-गर्हणं वा नो स्यात् अप्रकरणे (= अस्थाने = अकारणे ; यद्वा — अल्पकारणे), लघुकं (= किञ्चिन्मात्रं) वा स्यात् तस्मिन् तस्मिन् प्रकरणे (= मङ्गतस्थले) । पूजयितव्याः एव च तु परपार्षदाः तेन तेन आकारेण (= सर्वप्रकारैः) । एवं कुर्वन् [जनः]

¹ Ginār has प्रकरणेन and Kālsī अकालन

² Bühler : कर[']तं

³ Read षडस

⁴ Bühler : क[र]त च

⁵ Omit सो च पुन तथ करतं, engraved for a second time through mistake.

⁶ Other versions have समवाय (= सामवाद ; cf. धर्मवाय = धर्मवाद in RE XIII), ‘restrained speech’. The expression is generally taken to be the Sanskrit word meaning ‘concord’.

⁷ Bühler : वच०. Vrajabhūmi (= Vraja, Ghoshia, ‘is an outpost from a city or village, and a cowpen developed into a ranch, and hence into a village.’ The Vrajabhūmikas worked possibly amongst the ‘great body of ranchmen, the cattle-raising population’. Cf. Hopkins, JAOS, XIII, pp. 77, 79, 83.

आत्मपार्षदं वर्धयति परपार्षदम् अपि च उपकरोति । ततः अन्यथा कुर्वाणः आत्मपार्षदं क्षिणोति परपार्षदं च अपकरोति । यः हि कश्चित् आत्मपार्षदं पूजयति परपार्षदं [वा] गर्हति—[एतत्] सर्वम् आत्म-पार्षद-भक्त्या एव—किमिति ?—‘आत्मपार्षदं दीपयामि’ इति—सः च पुनः तथा कुर्वन् वाढतरम् उपहन्ति आत्मपार्षदम् । तत् संयमः (= वाक्संयमः) एव साधुः । किमिति ? अन्योऽन्यस्य धर्मं शृणुयुः शुश्रूषेरन् च [जनाः] इति । एवं हि देवानांप्रियस्य इच्छा । किमिति ? सर्वपार्षदाः बहुश्रुताः (= नानाधर्मज्ञाः) च कल्याणागमाः (= उदारसिद्धान्ताः) च स्युः । ये च तत्र तत्र [पार्षदे] प्रसन्नाः (= अनुरक्ताः) तेभ्यः वक्तव्यं—‘देवानांप्रियः न तथा दानं वा पूजां वा मन्यते यथा—किमिति ?—सारवृद्धिः स्यात् सर्वपार्षदानाम्’ । बहुकाः (= बहवः) च एतस्मै अर्थाय व्यापृताः धर्ममहामाताः, स्वग्रन्थक्षमहामाताः (= अन्तःपुराध्यक्षाः), व्रजभूमिकाः (= धोपपरिदर्शकाः ; यद्वा—गवाध्यक्षाः)—अन्यः च निकायः (= गणः [राजपुरुषाणाम्]) । इदं च एतस्य फलं यत् आत्मपार्षदवृद्धिः भवति, धर्मस्य च दीपना (= उद्भासना) [इति] ॥

No. 18—Thirteenth Rock Edict: Shāhbāzgarhī Version

On the west face of the Shāhbāzgarhī Rock.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 246f. ; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 66 ff. See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

- 1 [अठ]-वष-अ[भिसि]त[स] [देवन]प्रि[अ]स प्रि[अ]द्रशिस र[जो] क[लिग]
वि[ज]त (।*) दिअढ-म[ले] प्रण-शत-[सह]स्वे [ये] ततो अपवुडे शत-सहस्र-मले
तत्र हते बहु-तवत्[के] [व] [सुटे] (।*)
- 2 ततो [प]च अ[धु]न ल[धे]पु [कलिगिपु] [तिव्रे] [ग्रम-शिलन]² ग्र[म-क]मत
ग्रमनुशस्ति च देवनंप्रियस (।*) सो [अ]स्ति अनुमोचनं देवन[प्रिअ]म विजिनिनि
कलिग[नि] (।*)

¹ Form the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some other references see, *ibid.*, p. xii.

² Bühler : ०पलनं (= ०प.लनं). Other versions have धंसवाय (= धर्मवाद)

Other versions suggest अनुशय

- 3 अविजितं¹ [हि] [वि]जिनमनो यो² त[त्र] वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं वढं
[वे]दनि[य]-म[तं] गुरु-मत['] च देवनंप्रियस (।*) इदं³ पि चु [ततो] गुरुमततरं
[देवनं]प्रियस ये⁴ तल
- 4 वसति व्रमण व श्रम[ण] व अ[']जे व प्रपंड प्र[ह]थ व येसु विहित एप अग्रमुटि-
सुश्रुष मत-पितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मिल-संस्तुत-सहय-
- 5 जतिकेषु दस-भटकनं सम्म-प्रतिप[ति] द्विद-भक्ति तेप तल भोति [अ]प[ग्र]थो व
वधो व अभिरतन व निक्रमणं (।*) येप व पि सुविहितनं⁵ [सि][ने*]हो अविप्रहिनो
[ए] [ते]प मिल-संस्तुत-सहय-जतिक वसन
- 6 प्रपुणति [त]ल तं पि तेप वो अपग्रथो⁶ भोति (।*) प्रतिभगं च [ए]तं सव-मनुशनं⁷
गुरुमतं च देवनंप्रिय[स] (।*) नस्ति⁸ च एकतरे पि प्रपडसिप न नम प्रसदो
(।*) सो यमलो⁹ [ज]नो तद कलिगे [ह]तो च मु[टो] च अप[वुड] च ततो
- 7 शत-भगे व सहस्र-भगं व [अ]ज गुरु-मतं [वो] देवनंप्रियस (।*) यो पि च
अपकरेयति क्षमितविय-मते व¹⁰ देवनं[प्रि]यस यं शको क्षमनये (।*) य पि च
अटवि देवनंप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अपुनिजपेति¹¹ (।*) अनुतपे
पि च प्रभवे
- 8 देवनंप्रियस वुचति तेप किति अवत्रपेयु न च [ह]'जेयसु (।*) इछति हि [देव]नं-

¹ This means that Kālīṅga did not form a part of Aśoka's empire at the time of his accession. B. M. Barua's contention that the country was never conquered by him seems to be unjustifiable. The inclusion of Kālīṅga in the empire of the Nandas is indicated by the Hāthigumphā inscription of Kharavela (see *infra*).

² Bühler : ०मनि वे

³ Bühler : इमं

⁴ Bühler : तवहि

⁵ Bühler : संवि०

⁶ Read अपयथो which is Bühler's reading. Other versions have उपयात for अपयथ

⁷ Bühler : सव

⁸ Kālsī (followed by Mānsebrā and Gīrnār) has नयि चा पे जनपदे यता नयि इमे निकाया अनता योनेषु वंछने चा घसने चा ; नयि चा कुवापि जनपदपि यता नयि मनुष्यान एकतलपि पि पाषडपि नो नाम पषादे । The same interesting information about the Yavana and Kamboja countries is also found in the *Majjhimanikāya* (II, 149) which says: योन-कंथोजेसु द्वे व वस्सा अथो चैव दासो च, i.e., there were only two social grades, viz., Ārya and Dāsa, in these countries. This seems to suggest that the canonical works of the Buddhists such as the *Majjhimanikāya* are much later than Alexander's invasion.

⁹ Other versions have शवतक (= शवन्त)

¹⁰ Bühler : वो

¹¹ Read अनुनिजपेति which is Bühler's reading.

प्रियो सव-भुतन अक्षति स[']यमं सम[च]रियं रभसिये¹ (I*) अयि² च
मुख-मुत विजये देवनंप्रिय[स] यो ध्रम-विजयो (I*) सो च पुन लधो देवनंप्रियस
इह च सवेषु च अंतेषु

- 9 [अ] षषु पि योजन-श[ते]षु यत्र अंतियोकी नम [यो]न-रज परं च तेन अ(*)-
तियो[के]न चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो
नम निच चोड-पंड अव त[*]वपं[णि]य³ (I*) [ए]वमेव [हि]द रज-विषवस्वि⁴
योन-क[']वोयेषु नभक-नभितिन⁵
- 10 भोज-पितिनिकेषु अंध्र-पलिदेषु⁶ सवत्त देवनंप्रियस ध्रमनुशस्ति अनुवदंति
(I*) यत्त पि देवनंप्रियस इत न वचंति ते पि श्रुत देवनंप्रियस ध्रम वुदं विधनं⁷
ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं [अ]नुविधियंति अनुविधियिगंति च (I*) यो [स]⁸ लधे
एतकेन भो[ति] सवत्त विजयो सव[त्त] पु[न]
- 11 विजयो प्रिति-रसो सो (I*) लध [भोति] प्रिति ध्रम-विजयस्वि (I*) लहुक तु खो
स प्रिति (I*) परत्रि[क]मेव मह-फल मेजति देवन[*]प्रियो (I*) एतये च अठये
अयि⁹ ध्रम-दिपि निपि[स्त]¹⁰ (I*) किति पुत्त पपोत्त मे असु नवं विजयं म

1 Other versions add मादव and omit रभसिये

2 Bühler : एषे

3 The mention of the Sātiyaputra and Keralaputra in RE II and their absence in RE XIII may suggest that the two states came into closer contact with Aśoka between the issue of the former and that of the latter.

4 Bühler : विष-वज्जि which is no doubt wrong.

5 Other versions suggest नामपंतिषु for नभित्तीनां. The Nābhakas and Nābhapantis have not been satisfactorily identified.

6 Bühler : पुलि[दि]षु. Gīrnār has पारिंदेसु and Kālsī पालिदेषु. The Pulindas of the Vindhyān region are often associated with the Andhras who probably inhabited the land to the south of the Vindhyas. For the different forms of the name Pulinda, note Sanskrit पुलिन्द=Prakrit पलिन्द (cf. Sanskrit गुरु=Pali गरु); Sanskrit पौलिन्द=Prakrit पालिन्द, पारिन्द (cf. Sanskrit गोरव=Prakrit गालव in No. 37 below; Sanskrit प्राणालम्भ=Prakrit प्राणारम्भ in No. 4 above).

7 Bühler : विधिनं

8 Bühler : च

9 Bühler : अयो

10 दिपि and निपिस्त of the Kharoshthī versions are due to Persian influence. The first occurs in Shāhbāzgarhī RE I, lines 1, 3; RE V, line 13; RE XIII, line 11; RE XIV, line 13; Mānsehrā RE I, lines 1, 4; RE V, line 26; RE VI, line 31; RE XIII, line 12; RE XIV, line 13.

विजेत[ि]वअ मजिषु (I*) स्प[कस्सि]¹ यो विज[ये] [क्षं]ति च लहु-द[ि]डत च रोचेतु
(I*) तं च यो² विज[यं*] मज[तु]

12 यो प्रम-विजयो (I*) सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको (I*) सव चतिरति³ भोतु
य [प्र]म-रति⁴ (I*) स हि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अष्टवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 261 B.C.) 'देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा कलिङ्गाः⁵ विजिताः ।
द्वगर्द्धमाखं⁶ (= सादैकं) प्राण-शतसहस्रं यत् ततः अपोढं (= [वन्दिरूपेण]⁷
अपनीतं) शतसहस्रमाखं तत्र हतं, बहुतावतकं (= तादृशसंख्यकं बहु) वा मृतम् । ततः
पश्चात् अधुना लब्धेषु कलिङ्गेषु तीव्रं धर्म-शीलनं, धर्मकामता (= कामिता), धर्मानुशस्तिः
च देवानांप्रियस्य । तत् अस्ति अनुशोचनं देवानांप्रियस्य विजित्य कलिङ्गान् । अविजिते
हि विजीयमाने यः तत्र वधः वा मरणं वा अपवाहः वा जनस्य, तत् बाहं
वेदनीयमतं गुरुमतं च देवानांप्रियस्य । इदम् अपि च तु ततः गुरुमततरं देवानांप्रियस्य—ये
तत्र वसन्ति ब्राह्मणाः वा श्रमणाः वा अन्ये वा पार्षदाः गृहस्थाः वा—येषु विहिता एषा
अप्रभृति-शुश्रूषा (= उच्चपदस्थपुरुषः), माता-पितृषु शुश्रूषा, गुरुणां शुश्रूषा, मित्र-संस्तुत-
सहाय-ज्ञातिकेषु दामभृतकेषु सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिः, दृढभक्तिता [च]—तेषां तत्र भवति अपग्रथः
(= उपघातः) वा वधः वा अभिरक्तानां (= प्रियजनानां) वा निष्क्रामणं (= निर्वासनम्) ।
येषां वा अपि सुविहितानां (= सुखस्थितानां) स्नेहः अविप्रहीनः (= अहीनः), यत् तेषां मित्र-
संस्तुत-ज्ञातिकाः व्यसनं प्राप्नुवन्ति, तत्र (= व्यसनप्राप्तिविषये) तत् अपि तेषाम् एव अपग्रथः
भवति । प्रतिभागः (= भाग्यं) च एतत् सर्वमनुप्याणां, गुरुमतं च देवानांप्रियस्य । नास्ति च
एकतरे अपि पार्षदे न नाम प्रमादः (= अनुरागः) [जनस्य] । तत् यन्मात्रः जनः तदा कलिङ्गे
हतः च मृतः च अपोढः च, ततः शतभागः (= शततमभागः) वा सहस्रभागः वा अद्य गुरुमतः
एव देवानांप्रियस्य । यः अपि च अपकुर्यात्, क्षन्तव्यमतम् एव [तस्य कर्म] देवानांप्रियस्य यत्

1 Girnār has सरसके (= सरसके [Hultzsch], शर-शके [Bühler]) and Kālsī पयकविनो (= स्वके [Hultzsch who takes नी to be a mistake for यो = एव] ; शल्याकर्षिणः [Bühler]).

2 Bühler : तं ए[व]

3 Bühler : सत्र च निरति (which may be correct); Hultzsch : सवचति०

4 Bühler : [स्व]म०

5 At the time of Aśoka, Kaliṅga seems to have extended from the Puri-Cuttack area to the Ganjam-Sriakulam region.

6 Hultzsch suggests द्विगर्द्ध

7 These were probably meant to be sold as slaves.

शक्यं क्षमणाय । या अपि च अटवी (= अटवीवासिनः) देवानांप्रियस्य विजिते भवति, ताम् अपि अनुनयति अनुनिधाययति (= [कर्तव्यं] बोधयति) । अनुतापे [सति] अपि च प्रभावः [अस्ति] देवानांप्रियस्य [इति] उच्यते तेभ्यः (= अटवीवासिभ्यः) । किमिति ? [गुस्तर-राजापकारं कर्तुम्] अवत्रपेरन् (= संकुचेयुः), न च [तथा कृत्वा] हन्येरन् । इच्छति हि देवानांप्रियः सर्वभूतानाम् अक्षतिं संयमं समाचर्यम् (= अपक्षपातं [च]) राभस्ये (= अपराध-विषये) । अयं च सुखमतः (= मुख्य-मतः) विजयः देवानांप्रियस्य यः धर्म-विजयः । सः च पुनः लब्धः देवानांप्रियेण इह च सर्वेषु च अन्तेषु (= प्रत्यन्तदेशेषु) आ पद्भ्यः अपि योजनशतेभ्यः, यत्न अन्तियोकः नाम यवन-राजः, परं च तस्मात् अन्तियोकात् चत्वारः ४ राजानः तुरमायः नाम, अन्तेकिनः नाम, मकाः नाम, अलिकसुदरः नाम ; नीचाः (= अधस्तनाः = दक्षिणस्थाः) चोळ-पाण्ड्याः यावत् ताम्रपर्णीयान् ।¹ एवम् एव इह राजविषये यवन-कम्बोजेषु नाभक-नाभ [पं]तिषु भोज-पैलपणिकेषु² अन्ध्र-गुलिन्देषु सर्वत्र देवानांप्रियस्य धर्मानुशस्तिं [जनः] अनुवर्तते । यत्न अपि देवानांप्रियस्य दूताः न व्रजन्ति, ते (= तत्त्व्याः) अपि श्रुत्वा देवानांप्रियस्य धर्मोक्तं (यद्वा—धर्म-वृत्तं), विधानं, धर्मानुशस्तिं [च], धर्मम् अनुविदधति अनुविधास्यन्ति च । यः सः (= यः कश्चित्) लब्धः एतकेन भवति सर्वत्र विजयः, सर्वत्र पुनः विजयः प्रीतिरसः (= ०रमयुक्तः) सः । लब्धा भवति प्रीतिः [जयिना जितैः च] धर्मविजये । लघुका तु खलु सा प्रीतिः । पारलिकं [सुखम्] एव [धर्मविजयस्य] महाफलं मन्यते देवानांप्रियः । एतस्मै च अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः निवेशिता । किमिति ?—पुत्राः प्रपौत्राः [च] मे स्युः [ये ते] नवं विजयं मा विजेतव्यं मंसत । स्वके एव विजये क्षान्तिः च लघुदण्डता च [तेभ्यः] रोचताम् । तं च एव विजयं [ते] मन्यन्तां यः धर्म-विजयः । सः ऐहलौकिकः पारलौकिकः [च] । [तेषां] सर्वा च अतिरतिः (= परा प्रीतिः) भवतु या धर्मरतिः । सा ऐहलौकिकी पारलौकिकी [च] ॥

No. 19—Fourteenth Rock Edict: Gīrnār Version

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 465; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 25 f.
See also under No. 6 above.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

¹ Cf. RE II. The Greek kings are (1) Antiokhos II Theos of Syria and Western Asia (261-246 B.C.); (2) Magas of Kyrene in North Africa (c. 282-258 B.C.); (3) Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (285-247 B.C.); (4) Antigones Gonatas of Makedonia (277-239 B.C.); (5) Alexander of Epirus (272-c. 255) or Alexander of Korinth (252-c. 244 B.C.).

² Cf. RE V, *supra*, p. 23. For Bhoja and Rāshtriya, see the Hāthigumphā inscription, *infra*

TEXT¹

- 1 अयं धर्म-लिपी देवानांपि(प्रि)येन पि(प्रि)यदसिना र[1]जा [ले]खापिता (1*)
अस्ति एव
- 2 संखि[ते]न अस्ति मझमेन अस्ति विस्ततन² (1*) न च सर्वं [स]वत घटितं (1*)
- 3 महालके हि विजितं बहु च लिखितं लिखापयिसं चेव (1*) अस्ति च एत कं
- 4 पुन पुन वुतं तस तस अथस³ माधुरताय (1*) किंति जनो तथा पटिपजेथ (1*)
- 5 तत्त एकदा⁴ अस्मा[त] लिखित['] अस् देसं व मछाय-[का]रणं व
- 6 [अ]लोचेसा(त्पा) लिपिकरापरधेन व (1*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

इयं धर्म-लिपिः देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा लेखिता । अस्ति एव संक्षिप्तेन,
अस्ति मध्यमेन, अस्ति विस्तृतेन [लिखितम्] । न च सर्वं (=सर्व-विषयः) सर्वत्र
घटितं (=प्रयुक्तम्)⁶ । महालकं (=सुवृहत्) हि विजितं, बहु च लिखितं, लेखयि-
ष्यामि च एव । अस्ति च अत्र कं पुनः पुनः उक्तं⁵ तस्य तस्य अर्थस्य माधुरतायै⁹ ।
किमिति ?—जनः तथा प्रतिपद्येत (=कुर्वीत) । तत्र एकदा (=कदाचित्) अस्मात्
लिखितम् स्यात्, देशं (=प्रचारस्थानं) वा संक्षय-कारणं (=संक्षेपः) वा आलोच्य,
लिपिकरापराधेन वा ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For some other references, see *ibid.*, pp. ix f.

2 Read विस्तृतेन

3 स was inserted subsequently.

4 Other versions have किंकि (Kālsī and Mānsehrā) and किंचे (Shāhbāzgarhī).

5 Other versions have संखेये (Kālsī) and संखय (Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā).

Cf. the absence of RE XI-XIII at Dhauḷi and Jangāḍa.

7 कं is an expletive indeclinable particle. It may possibly also mean something like Sanskrit किंचित्

8 Other versions have लपित ; cf. injunctions like मातापितृषु सुममा, etc.

Other versions suggest माधुर्याय

B—SEPARATE ROCK EDICTS¹ OF ASÓKA

No. 20—First Separate Rock Edict : Dhauli Version

Dhauri, Puri Dist , Orissa

KERN, *JR.1S*, 1880, pp. 379ff.; SENART, *Ind. Ant* , XIX, pp. 82ff.;
BÜHLER, *ASSI*, I, pp. 114ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 92ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 [देवान]०[पि]य[स] [वच]नेन तीसलियं० म[हा]मात [नग]ल-
वि[व यो]हालक[१]
- 2 [व]तविय (१*) [अं] किछि [दखा]मि हकं तं इछामि [किंति] कंमन [प]टि-
[पादये]हं०४
- 3 दुवाल्ते च आलभेहं (१*) एस च मे मोख्य-मत दुवा[ल] [एतसि] [अठ]सि
अं तु[फेसु]
- 4 अनुसथि (१*) तुफे हि बहसु पानमहसेसु०५ आ[यत]६ पन[यं] [ग]छेम सु
मुनिसानं (१*) सवे
- 5 मुनिसे पजा ममा (१*) अथ[१] पजाये इछामि हक[०] [किंति] [स]वे[न] [हि]त-
सुखेन हिदलो[कि]क-
- 6 पाल्लोकिके[न]०७ [यूजेव] [ति] तथा [सव*]-[मुनि]सेसु पि [इ]छामि [ह]क[०]
(१*) नो च पापुनाथ आव-ग-
- 7 [मुके]८ [इयं अठे] (१*) [केछ] [व] एक-पुलि[से] [पापु*]नानि ए[तं] से पि देसं
नो सर्वं (१*) दे[खत] [हि] [तुफे] एतं

1 The Separate Rock Edicts are found at Dhauri and Jaugada in ancient Kaliuga, conquered by Asoka. They are found in these versions instead of RE XI, XII and XIII. Cf. RE XIV, lines 5-6. SRE I was actually engraved after SRE II.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. xiii f.

3 Jaugada has ममापायं in place of तीसलियं. Tosali is modern Dhauri and Samūpā ay near the modern Jaugada hill.

4 Senart and Bühler : पटिवेद०

5 Read : ०सेसु

6 Senart and Bühler : आयता

7 Senart and Bühler : ०लोकि कावे

8 Senart and Bühler : आवा-गमके

- 8 सुवि[हि]ता पि (।*) नि[ति]यं¹ एक-पुल्लिसे [पि] [अधि] [ये] बंधनं वा पल्लिकिलेसं
वा पापुनाति (।*) तत होति
- 9 अकस्मा तेन बध्न[']तिक अ'ने च [तत*] [ब*]हु जने द[वि]ये दुखीयति² (।*) तत
इच्छित्तविये
- 10 तुफेहि किंति मझं पटिपादयेमा ति (।*) इमे[हि] चु [जातेहि] नो संपटिपजति
इसाय आसुलोपेन
- 11 नि[ट्]लियेन³ तूलना[य] अनावृत्तिय आलसियेन [ि]कलमथेन (।*) से इच्छित्तविये
किंति⁴ एते
- 12 [जाता] [नो] हुवेवु म'मा ति (।*) एतस च सव[स] मूले अनासुलोपे अ[त्]लना
च (।*) निति[य] ए कलंते सिया
- 13 [न] ते उग[छ]⁵ संचलित्तविये तु व[ि]ट[त्ति]व[ि]ये एतविये वा (।*) हेवमेव ए
द[खेय]⁶ [तु]फाक तेन वतविये
- 14 आनं ने' देखत हेवं च हेवं च [दे]वानं पियस अनुसथि (।*) से मह[ि]फले [ए]तस
[संप]टिपाद
- 15 महा-अपाये असंपटिपति (।*) [वि]प[ि] टपादयमीने⁷ हि एतं नथि स्वगस [आल]धि
नो लाज[ि]ल्लि[ध] (।*)
- 16 इ-आ[इ]ले हि इ[म]स कंम[स] [मे] कुते म[ने]⁸ अतिलेके (।*) स[ं]पटिपज[मी]-
[ने] चु [एतं] स्वग[']
- 17 आलाध[यि]स[थ] [मम] [च] [आ]ननियं एहथ (।*) इयं च [लिपि] [ति]स-
न[ख]तेन सो[त्]विय[ि] (।*)
- 18 अंत[ल]ा [ि]प च [ित्त]सेन [ख]नसि ख[न]सि एकेन पि सोत्तविय (।*) हेवं च
कळंतं तुफे

1 Senart and Bühler : निति इयं. Some scholars take नितियं in the sense of नीति; इयं [भवति]

2 Jaugada has अन्ये च वगे बहुके वेदयति (= अन्य; च वगे; बहुकं वेदयति)

3 Senart and Bühler : निष्टुलियेन

4 Read किंति

5 Read उगच्छे

6 Senart and Bühler : दखिये

7 Read न. Hultzsch : आनने (= अनुण्य) for which however we have आननिय in line 17.

8 Lüders and Hultzsch take हि as a separate word; but Senart and Bühler read

- 19 चवथ संप[टि]पाद ि]यतवे (।*) [एता]ये अठाये इय[.] [लिपि] लिखित [हि]द
एन
- 20 नगल-वि[योहा]लका¹ स[स्व]तं समयं यूजेवू [ि]त [एन*] [ज*][न]स² अकस्मा
[प]लिबोधे व
- 21 अकस्मा पल्लिकि[लेसे] व नो सिया ति ।*) एताये च अठाये हक[.] [महा*]मते³
पंचसु पंचसु [व]से-
- 22 सु [निखा]मयिसामि ए अखखसे अ[चंडे] सखिनालंभे होसति एनं अठं जानितु [तं*]
[पि*] [त]था
- 23 कल[.]ति अथ मम अनुसथी ति ।*) उज्जिनिते पि च कुमाले एताये व अठाये [नि]-
खाम[यिस][ति*] [अनुवासं *]
- 24 हेदिसमेव वर्गं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिनि वसानि (।*) हेमेव तख[िस]लाते पि
(।*) [अ]दा अ[नुवासं *]
- 25 ते महामता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कंमं एतं पि जानि-
संति
- 26 तं पि त[थ]ा कलंति अ[थ] लाजिने अनुसथी ति (।।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

*देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन तोसल्यां महामाताः नगर-व्यवहारकाः (=पौरव्यवहारिक-महामात्राः) [एवं] वक्तव्याः—‘यत् किञ्चित् द्रक्षामि (=पश्यामि) अहं तत् इच्छामि—किमिति ?—कर्मणा प्रतिपादये द्वारतः (=उपायैः च आरभे (=उत्सहे) । एतत् च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारम् एतस्मिन् अर्थे यत् युष्मासु अनुशस्तिः । यूयं हि बहुषु प्राणसहस्रेषु आयताः (=व्यापृताः), प्रणयं गच्छेम [वयं=यूयं अहं च] स्मिन् मनुष्याणाम्’ इति हेतोः । सर्वः मनुष्यः प्रजा (=अपत्यं) मम । यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि अहं—किमिति ?—सर्वेण हित-सुखेन ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकेन युज्येरन् [प्रजाः] इति, तथा सर्वमनुष्येषु अपि इच्छामि अहम् । नो (=न) च [यूयं] प्राप्नुथ (=जानीथ) यावद्-गमकः अयम् अर्थः (=अस्य अर्थस्य यावती गमकता) [इति] । [युष्माकं] कश्चित् वा एकपुरुषः प्राप्नोति (=जानाति) एतम् ; सः अपि देशं नो

1 Jaugada has महामाता नगलक (महामाताः नागरकाः)

2 This is Hultzsch's restoration in accordance with the Jaugada version. Senart and Bühler read नगल-जनस which is visible on Burgess's plate owing, according to Hultzsch, to retouching.

3 Hultzsch suggests महामातं ; Senart and Bühler read धंमते

4 Some scholars take the two expressions as समनुष्यानां

सर्वम् । पश्यत हि यूयम् एतत् सुविहिताः (= राजानुग्रहात् सुखावस्थिताः) अपि¹ । नीत्याम्
 (= दण्डनीतिविषये) [कश्चित्] एक-पुरुषः अपि अस्ति, यः बन्धनं वा परिक्लेशं वा प्राप्नोति ।
 तत्र भवति अकस्मात् तेन बन्धनान्तकं (= बन्धनान्तः 'प्राप्तः')² । अन्यः च [तत्र]
 बहुः [बन्धनबद्धः] जनः दवीयः (= चिरं) दुःखायते । ततः एष्टव्यं युष्माभिः—
 किमिति ?—“मध्यं (= अपक्षपातं) प्रतिपादयेमहि” इति । एभिः च तु जातैः (= वर्गैः)
 नो [मध्यं] संप्रतिपद्यते—ईर्ष्याया, आशुलोपेन (= क्रोधेन, नैष्ठुर्येण, त्वरणया (= क्षिप्रतया),
 अनावृत्त्या (= अनभ्यासेन), आलस्येन, क्रमथेन (= क्लान्त्या) [च] । तत् एष्टव्यं—किमिति ?—
 “एतानि जातानि नो भवेयुः मम” इति । एतस्य च सर्वस्य [सम्प्रतिपादनस्य] मूलम् अनाशुलोपः
 (= अक्रोधः) अत्वरणा (= धीरता) [च] । नीत्यां यः क्लान्तः स्यात्, न सः उद्गाच्छेत् : [तत्]
 सञ्चलितव्यं तु, वर्त्तितव्यम् (= धैर्येण सत्तव्यं), एतव्यम् (= अग्रे सत्तव्यम्) एव । एवम् एव यः
 पश्येत्, युष्मभ्यं तेन वक्तव्यं—“[राजशासनातिरिक्तं] अन्यत् न पश्यत । एवं च एवं च
 देवानांप्रियस्य अनुशस्तिः ।” तत् महाफलः एतस्य सम्प्रतिपादः, महापाया असंप्रतिप्रतिः ।
 विप्रतिपाद्यमाने (= अक्रियमाणे) [युष्माभिः] हि एतस्मिन्, न अस्ति स्वर्गस्य आराद्धिः
 नो राजाराद्धिः (= राजानुग्रह-लाभः । द्वाहरः³ (= द्विमतस्कृतया सम्पादनं) हि अस्य
 कर्मणः, मे कुतः मनोऽतिरेकः (= मनःशक्तेः [= उत्साहस्य] वृद्धिः ? [युष्माभिः] संप्रति-
 पद्यमाने च तु एतस्मिन्, स्वर्गम् आराधयिष्यथ, मम च आनुष्यम् एष्टव्यम् । इयं च लिपिः
 तिष्य-नक्षलेण [युष्माभिः] श्रोतव्या । अन्तरा अपि च तिष्यं (= तिष्यातिरिक्ते) क्षणे क्षणे
 एकेन अपि श्रोतव्या । एवं च कुर्वन्तः यूयं जागृत⁴ (= उत्सहृध्वं) [कर्म] संप्रति-
 पादयितुम् । एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं लिपिः लिखिता इह, येन नगर-व्यवहारकाः शाश्वतं
 समयम् [एतत् अनुशासनं] युञ्ज्युः (= प्रयुञ्ज्युः) इति, येन जनस्य अकस्मात् परिबोधः
 (= बन्धनं) वा अकस्मात् परिक्लेशः वा न स्यात् इति । एतस्मै च अर्थाय अहं महामाखं
 पञ्चसु पञ्चसु वर्षेषु [अनुसंयानाय] निष्क्रामयिष्यामि—यः अकर्कशः अचण्डः सक्षीणारंभः

¹ Some would find here सुविहिता अपि नीतिः इयं

² Cf. समाचर्य in RE XIII and दण्डसमता in PE IV. OI, [विचारार्थिनां] एकपुरुषः अपि अस्ति, यः बन्धनं वा परिक्लेशं वा प्राप्नोति । तत्र भवति अकस्मात् तेन [विधानेन] बन्धनान्तकं (= कारायां मृत्युः) । अन्यः च बहुः जनः (= स्वजनः) दवीयः (= गम्भीरं) दुःखायते । Cf. lines 20-21. In that case, *madhya* would indicate a less severe course of punishment

³ I.e. द्वाहरः... कुतः मनोऽतिरेकाय ? According to some द्वाहरः = दृष्ट-सम्पादनः ; but in that case we should have had दृष्टाहले

⁴ चघय may be taken in the sense of Sanskrit जागृत i.e. 'should be on the alert.' Grierson derives it from Chhattisgarhi *chagh*, 'to rise, ascend' from Sanskrit *chagh*, 'to go.' Kern and Bühler connect *chagh* with Hindī *chāh-nā* (Bhandarkar. *Asoka*, 1902, p. 345) According to Hultzsch *chagh* = Sanskrit *kāh*, 'to be able'

⁵ एतं in the Jangada version should be noticed.

(=मृदुप्रयत्नः) भविष्यति—“एतम् अर्थं ज्ञात्वा [अपि] [नगर-व्यवहारकाः] तथा कुर्वन्ति यथा मम अनुशस्तिः ?” इति [ज्ञातुम्] । उज्जयिनीतः अपि च तु [राज-प्रतिनिधिः] कुमारः एतस्मै एव अर्थाय निष्क्रामयिष्यति अनुवर्षम् ईदृशम् एव वर्गं, नो च अतिक्रामयिष्यति स्त्रीणि वर्षाणि (= त्रिषु त्रिषु वर्षेषु) । एवमेव तक्षशिल्यातः अपि । यदा अनुवर्षं ते महामाताः निष्क्रामयिष्यन्ति अनुसंयानाय, तदा अहित्वा आत्मनः कर्म, एतत् अपि ज्ञास्यन्ति, “तत् अपि [ते] तथा कुर्वन्ति यथा राज्ञः अनुशस्तिः ?” इति ॥

No. 21—Second Separate Rock Edict : Jaugada Version

Jaugada, Ganjam District, Orissa.

KERN, *JRAS*, 1880, pp. 379ff.; SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, pp. 82ff.;
BÜHLER, *ASSI*, I, pp. 114ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 115ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवानंपिये हेवं आ[ह] (१*) समापायं महामता² ल[र]जवचनिक वतविया (१*)
अं किच्छि दख[र]मि हकं तं इ[छ]मि हकं [किं]ति कं कमन
- 2 पटिपातयेहं दुवा[ल]ते च आलभेहं (१*) एस च मे मोखियमत³ दुवाळ एतस अ[थ]स
अ['] [तुफे]सु अनुस[थि] (१*) सव-मुनि-
- 3 सा मे पजा (१*) अथ पजा[ये] इछामि किंति मे सवेणा हित-सु[खे]न यु[जे]यू
⁴[अ]थ पजाये इछामि किं[ति] [मे] सवेन हित-सु-
- 4 [खे]न युजेयू ति हिदलोगिक-पाललोकिकेण हेवंमेव मे इछ सव-मुनिसेसु (१*) सिया
अंतानं [अ]विजिता-

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *ibid*, p. xiv. Actually this is the first of the two separate Kālīṅga edicts and may be regarded as Rock Edict XV of Aśoka.

² Dhanli has तोसलियं कुमालि महामता च. This shows that the Kumāra (prince of the royal blood), governor of Kālīṅga was stationed at Tosali.

³ Senart : सने ; Bühler : सं

⁴ The passage अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसुखेन युजेयू has been repeated by mistake.

- 5 न¹ किं-छांदे² सु लाजा अफेसू ति (।*) एताका³ [वा] मे इछ [अ] तेसु पापुनेयु
लाजा हेवं इछति अनु[विगि]न ह्हे[यू']
- 6 ममियाये [अ]स्वसेयु च मे सुखं[मेव च लहे[यू] ममते [नो] दु*,ख['] (।*) हेवं च
पापुनेयु ख[मिस]ति ने छाजा
- 7 ए सकिये⁵ खमितवे ममं निमितं च धंम[']⁶ चले[यू] ति हिदल्लोग['] च पल्लोग
च आलाधये[यू] (।*) एताये
- 8 च अठाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अन[ने] [एत]केन [ह]कं तुफेनि अ[नु]सासितु
छंद['] [च] वेदि-
- 9 [तु] आ मम धिति पटि'ना च अचछ (।*) स हेवं [क]दू क[']मे [च]लितविये
अस्वास[नि]या च ते एन ते पापुने-
- 10 यु अ[थ]। पित [हे]वं [ने] लाजा ति अथ [अ]तानं अनुकंप[ति] [हे]वं अ[फे]नि
अनुक[ंप]ति अथा पजा हे-
- 11 वं [मये] ला[जि]ने (।*) तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित⁷ [छ]िदं [च] [वेदि]त⁸ [आ]⁹
[म]म धिति पटि'ना चा अचल [सक]ल-
- 12 देसा-आ[यु]ति[के]¹⁰ होसामी एतसि [अ]थ[ि]स (।*) [अ]लं [हि] तुफे
अस्वास[ना]ये हि[त]-सुखाये [च] [ते]स['] हिद-
- 13 छोगि[क]-प[ि]ल[लो]कि[का]ये (।*) हेवं च कलंतं स्वग['] [च] [आ]लाधयिस-
[थ] मम च आन[ने]यं एसथ (।*) ए-
- 14 ताये च अ[थ]।ये इ[यं] लिपी लि[खित] [हि]द ए[न] [म]ह[ि]माता सास्वतं
समं¹¹ युजेयू अस्वासनाये च
- 15 धंम-चल[ना]ये च अंता[न]' (।*) इयं च लिपी अ[नु]च[ि]तुं[म]।सं [सोत]विया
तिसेन (।*) अंतला पि च सोतविया (।*)

¹ The reference to *avajita anta* may suggest that there were some unconquered tribes in or near Kalinga.

² Senart and Bühler : कंदे

³ Read एतका

⁴ Senart and Bühler : द्यु

⁵ Senart : क्किये; Bühler : चकिये

⁶ The अनुस्वार of सं is engraved above the line.

⁷ Read ०सासितु

⁸ Read ०वेदित्. Senart : वेदात

⁹ आ is not noticed by Senart and Bühler.

¹⁰ Read देसायु०

¹¹ Read समयं

- 16 खने संतं एके[न] पि [स्रोतवि]या (।*) हेव['] च [क]ल[']त['] चघथ संपटिपातयित-
[वे] ॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः एवम् आह ।—‘समापायां महामाताः राज-वाचनिकं’ ।—‘वचनं।
वक्तव्याः ।—“यत्किञ्चित् पश्यामि अहं तत् इच्छामि अहं—किमिति ?—कं’ कर्मणा प्रतिपादये,
द्वारतः च आरभे । एतत् च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारम् एतस्य अर्थस्य यत् युष्मासु
अनुशस्तिः । सर्व-मनुष्याः मे प्रजा (—अपत्यं । यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि—किमिति ?—
मया सर्वेण हितसुखेन युज्येरन् [प्रजाः] इति ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकेन, एवम् एव मे इच्छा सर्व-
मनुष्येषु । स्यात् अन्तानाम् अविजितानाम् [इयं जिज्ञासा] “किं-हन्दः स्वित् राजा
अस्मासु ?” इति । एतकाः वा मे इच्छाः अन्तेषु प्राप्नुयुः—“राजा एवम् इच्छति—अनुदिग्ताः
भवेयुः मया आश्वस्युः च मया, सुखम् एव च लभेरन् मत्तः नो (—न । दुःखम्” ; एवं
च प्राप्नुयुः—“क्षमिष्यते नः राजा यत् शक्यं क्षन्तुम्” ; मम निमित्तं च धर्मं चरेयुः
इति ; इहलोकं च परलोकं च आराधयेयुः [इति] । एतस्मै च अर्थाय अहं युष्मान्
अनुशास्मि—[तेभ्यः]अनृणः एतकेन अहं—युष्मान् अनुशिष्यः हन्दं च वेदयित्वा, या मम
धृतिः (—इदृता) प्रतिज्ञा च अचला [तां च] । तत् एवं कृत्वा कर्म चरितव्यम् ; आश्वासनीयाः
च ते, येन ते प्राप्नुयुः—“यथा पिता एवं नः राजा” इति . “यथा आत्मानम् अनुकम्पते एवम्
अस्मान् अनुकम्पते ; यथा प्रजा एवं वयं राज्ञः” [इति] । युष्मान् अहम् अनुशिष्यः,
हन्दं च वेदयित्वा, या मम धृतिः प्रतिज्ञा च अचला [तां च]—सकलदेशावृत्तिकः’
(—सर्वदेशव्यापिवृत्तिमान्) भविष्यामि एतस्मिन् अर्थे । अलं (=समर्थाः) हि यूयम् आश्वा-
सनाय हितसुखाय च तेषाम् ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकाय । एवम् च कुर्वन्तः स्वर्गम् च
आराधयिष्यथ, मम च आनृण्यम् एष्यथ । एतस्मै च अर्थाय इयं लिपिः लिखिता इह,
येन महामात्राः शाश्वतं समयम् [एतत् अनुशासनं] युज्युः आश्वासनाय च धर्मचरणाय च
अन्तानाम् । इयं च लिपिः अनुचातुर्मासं श्रोतव्या तिष्येण । अन्तरा अपि च श्रोतव्या ।
क्षणे सति एकेन अपि श्रोतव्या । एवं च कुर्वन्तः [यूयं] जागृत [कर्तव्यं] संप्रतिपादयितुम् ॥

¹ Bhandarkar takes *Rājapachanika* as a class of executive officia's like *Naqara-rūn-
vāhārika* (op. cit., p. 365).

² क is an indeclinable expletive particle. It may possibly also stand for *kinchit*.

³ Cf. वर्त्तेत पितृवद्गुण (Manu, VII, 80) ; स्याद्राजा भव्यवर्गेषु प्रजासु च यथा पिता (Nāṭyaśāstra, I, 334).

⁴ I take आश्रुति or आवृत्ति to be Sanskrit आ + वृत्ति meaning ‘request’. The passage
could then mean ‘one whose request reaches every individual of the whole country.’ An
emperor’s ‘request’ is of course his ‘order’; cf. आवृत्ति in PE IV. For other interpretations,
see Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.* Some scholars take the word to stand for *āyukta*.

C—MINOR ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF ASÓKA

No. 22—Minor Rock Edict¹: Rūpnāth Version

RUPNĀTH Rock, Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh.

BÜHLER. *Ind. Ant.*, VI. pp. 149ff.; VII. pp. 141ff.; XXII. pp. 299ff.;

SENART and GRIERSON, *ibid.*, XX. pp. 154ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins.*

Ind., I. pp. 166f. Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka* (Hyd. Arch. Ser., No. 1, rev. ed.), pp. 14 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 देवानंपिये³ हेव['] आहा (।*)⁴ साति[र]केकानि⁵ अदति[या]नि व'सानि(*) य मुमि पाकास [सके]⁶ (।*) नो चु बादि पक्ते⁷ (।*) सातिलेके चु छवछरे⁸ य ममि हक['] सघ उ[पे]ने

¹ Minor Rock Edicts have been discovered at Sabasīm (Shāhābād Dist., Bihār), Rūpnāth (Jabalpur Dist., M.P.), Baiṇā (Jaipur Dist., Rājasthān), Maski (Raichūr Dist., Mysore), Yerragudi (Karpūl Dist., Andhra Pradesh) and Siddāpura, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara and Brahmagiri (Chitādrug Dist., Mysore). For the recently discovered Rājula-Maṇḍagiri (Karpūl Dist., Andhra Pradesh) and Gujarrā (Datia Dist., Madhya Pradesh) versions, see D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI. pp. 205 ff.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. xxiii f.

³ Maski : देवानंपियम असोकसः Gujarrā : देवानंपियम पियदसिनो असोकराजस

⁴ Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara have सुवंगिरीति अयपुनस महासातानं च वचनेन इमिलसि महासाता आरोगियं वतविया at the beginning of the record. Isila was apparently in the present Siddāpura area. Suvarnagiri, probably the headquarters of the southernmost province of Aśoka's empire, may be modern Jonnagiri (pronounced Zonnagiri) adjacent to Yerragudi in the Karpūl District of Andhra.

⁵ Read सातिरेककानि or सातिरेकानि.

⁶ Bühler. पाका हका=हकं सावके; but cf. बुध-शके (=बुद्धशाक्य) in Maski. The expression *Buddha-Śākya* shows that Aśoka was a follower of the Buddhist faith. This is supported by other evidences as well. Other versions read उपासके. Hultzsch : प्रकास.

⁷ Brahmagiri and Siddāpura add : इमं एकं सवक्कं

⁸ Reasंवक्करे. Cf. the Brahmagiri and Siddāpura versions

- 2 बाढि च¹ पकते (I*) या² [इ]माय काळाय जंजुदिपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि
[मिसा] कटा³ (I*) पकमसि⁴ हि [ए]स फले (I*) नो च एसा महतता प[र]पोतवे
खुदकेन⁵
- 3 पि प[क]म[मि]नेना⁶ सकिये⁷ पिपुले⁸ पा⁹ स्वगे आरोधेवे¹⁰ (I*) एतिय अठाय च
सावने कटे [खु]दका च उडाला च पकमतु¹¹ ति अता पि च जानंतु इय¹²
पक[रा]¹³ [व]
- 4 किति चिर-ठितिके¹⁴ सिया (I*) इय हि अठे वढि वढिसिति विपुल च वढिसिति
अपलघियेना दियडिय वढिसत¹⁵ (I*) इय च अठे पवति[सु] लेखापेत वाळत (I*)
हध¹⁶ च अथि
- 5 साला-ठ[भे]¹⁷ सिला-ठ[']मसि लाखापेतवय¹⁸ त⁹ (I*) एतिना च वयजेनेना
यावतक तुपक²⁰ अहाले सवर²¹ विवसेतवा[य]²² ति (I*) [व्यु]ठेना सावने कटे
(I*)²³ २०० (+ *) ५० (+ *) ६ स-
- 6 त विवासा त²⁴ (II*)

1 Bühler : चु

2 Bühler : यि

3 Sahasrām has अमिसं-देवा संत सुमिसा मिसं-देवा कटा. For मिसा कटा, Maski and Yerragudi have मिकिभुता (=मिश्रोभूता:)

4 Other versions have पकमस.

5 Senart and Bühler add हि क after this word.

6 Bühler : परममिनेन

7 Brahmagiri reads सकिये आलाधितवे ; Maski has सके अधिगतवे and adds न हवं दखितविधे
उडालके व इम अधिगळिया ति

8 Read विपुले

9 Read पि

10 Read आरोधितवे. Bühler : आरोधवे.

11 Senart and Bühler : पकमतु

12 Senart and Bühler : इयं

13 Read पकमे

14 Siddāpura has चिरठितिके च इयं पकमे होति and Sahasrām चिरठितिके च पलाकमे हातु

15 Read वढिसिति or वडिसिति

16 Bühler and Senart propose हध.

17 Read सिला०

18 Read लिखापेतविधे

19 Read ति

20 Read तुफाकं ; cf. Sārṇāth pillar inscription, line 9.

21 Read सवत ; cf. loc. cit., line 10.

22 Read विवसेतविधे. Senart : ०विध ; Bühler : ०वायु

23 Brahmagiri has इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्युथिन २०० ५० ६ and Sahasrām दुवे सपंन
लाति-सता विवुथा ति २०० ५० ६

24 Read ति

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः एवम् आह ।—‘सातिरेकाणि अर्द्धलीणि’ (—सार्द्धे। वर्षाणि यत् अस्मि प्रकाशं शाक्यः (= बौद्धोपासकः) । नो च तु [अहं] बाढं (=तीव्रं) प्रकान्तः (= धर्मोद्यमी) [अभूवम् एकं संवत्सरम्] । सातिरेकं च तु संवत्सरं यत् अस्मि अहं सङ्खम् उपेतः (= बौद्ध-सङ्घेन संगतः), बाढं च प्रकान्तः । ये अस्मे कालाय (= इयन्तं कालं) जम्बुद्वीपे¹ अमिश्राः देवाः अभूवन्, ते इदानीं मिश्राः (= सम्बन्धवन्तः) कृताः [मनुष्यैः] ।² [मम] प्रक्रमे (= पराक्रमे = उद्योगे हि एतत् फलम् । नो च एतत् [केवलं] महात्मत्वात् प्राप्तुं, क्षुद्रकेण अपि प्रक्रममाणेन शक्यः विपुलः अपि स्वर्गः आराधयितुं (= लब्धुम्) । एतस्मै अर्थाय च श्रावणं कृतं—क्षुद्रकाः च उदाराः (= महात्मानः, महाधनाः च प्रक्रमन्ताम् इति ; अन्ताः (= प्रत्यन्तवासिनः) अपि च जानन्तु, अयं प्रक्रमः एव किमिति ?—चिरस्थितिकः स्यात् । अयं हि अर्थः (= श्रावण-विषयः) वृद्धिं (= वृद्ध्या) वर्द्धिष्यते, विपुलं च वर्द्धिष्यते, अवराधिकेन (= न्यूनाधिकतया) द्रष्टव्यं (= सार्द्धं) वर्द्धिष्यते । इमं च अर्थं पर्वतेषु लेख्य वारतः (= सुयोगक्रमेण) । इह (= राज्ये यत्कुलचित्) च अस्ति [चेत्] शिला-स्तम्भः, शिलास्तम्भे लेखयितव्यः इति । एतेन च व्यञ्जनेन (= शासनभावानुसारेण) यावत्

¹ Or Sanskrit अर्द्धलीयानि. Some scholars suggest अर्द्धलीयानि.

² This meaning of upeta=upagata is suggested by *upānāṁ* (or, *bāḍhāṁ*) *cha sumi upagate* in the Maski version, line 3. The Present Tense in *sumi* in line 1 shows that Aśoka was an *upāsaka* (lay follower of the Buddha), and not a monk, for more than 2½ years till the promulgation of this Edict. For more than one year before the date of the Edict, he was closely associated with the Buddhist Church, which was not the case for the period of one year in the earlier part of his *upāsakatva* covering altogether more than 2½ years. See my *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, pp. 23-24.

³ According to Buddhist conception, Jambudvīpa is the earth's southern quarter comprising India. Here Aśoka's empire seems to be conventionally represented as Jambudvīpa.

⁴ Gods associate themselves with pious people both on the earth and in heaven. Aśoka seems to claim that he made all men pious by preaching his Dharma and thereby facilitated their association with gods. The Gujarrā version adds: *खुदके चा उदारे चा धर्मं चरन्तु योगं युजन्तु*, “Let the rich and the poor practise Dharma and effect [thereby] their association [with the gods].”

⁵ Hultzsch suggests द्विकाई

युष्माकम् आहारं (= शासनाधीन-प्रदेशांशं = आहारावधि-पयन्तं) सर्वत्र विवासयितव्यः
[युष्माभिः पुरुषः] इति । व्युपितेन (= प्रवासिना [मया]) श्रावणं कृतम् । २५६^१ शतानि
(= षट्पञ्चाशदधिक-रात्रि-शतद्वयं) [स्वस्य] विवासः^२ इति ।

No. 23—Minor Rock Edict : Yerragudi Version

YERRAGUDI, Karṇūl District, Andhra Pradesh.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII, pp. 817ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 1ff.; B. M. BARUA, *I.H.Q.*, IX, pp. 116f.; XIII, pp. 132ff.; D. R. Sahni, *A.S.I.*, A. R., 1928-29, pp. 166-67.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 देवानंपिये हेवाह^१ (।*) अधिकानि 'अदितयानि संवहरानि*'
- 2 'तेका['] प रंछवसं कंए खो तु नो ।*) केसपाउ कंह [य]
- 3 हुसं (।*) सातिरेके [चु] खो सवहरे यं मया संघे उपयी-
- 4a ^५[अ] [न] लेका चु नामिइ (।*) तेकंप मे च ढंवा ते
- 4b -मिसा [ये] मुनिसा
- 5 देवेहि ते दानि मिसिभूता (।*) पकमस हि

¹ The meaning of the passage is perfectly clear in the Sabarsām version which suggests हे षट्पञ्चाशत् रात्रिंशते व्युष्टे (यद्वा—व्युष्टः = व्युषितः अहम्) इति २५६ = हे रात्रिंशते षट्पञ्चाशत् [च]—२५६—[रात्रयः] व्युष्टाः (यद्वा—रात्रीः व्युषितः अहम्) इति । I do not think that the passage can be so explained as to refer to the passing away of 256 years of an era connected with some event of Buddha's life, as suggested by Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd ed., p. 370 ff.

² From the facsimile in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII and IX; *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1928-29, Pl. LXII. The engraver engraves one line, as he should, from left to right, but continues it in such a manner as to make it appear as two separate lines. Then he begins to engrave from right to left and continues it in such a fashion as to make the second line a continuation of the first half of the other line. Sometimes he puts letters of one line into another. The engraving is very careless in this record which, like the Mysore and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri versions, actually contains two edicts. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 6 ff. and notes, and Plate facing p. 7.

³ This is a peculiar form standing for Sanskrit एवमाह

⁴ Read from right to left : य इकं उपासके । नो तु खो एकं संवहरं पकति

^५ Read from right to left : ते बाटं च मे पकते । शमिना तु कालेन अ-

- 6a 'खु (।*) येकिस वनेत्पहम (नो हीयं *) (।*) लेफ यं [इ]
 6b -दकेन पि प[क]-
 7a [म]मीनेन सकिये त्रिपुले स्वगे आरा-
 7b धेतवे ।*) पु-²
 7c ताय च अठाय इयं
 8 [स]ावने साविते (।*) अथा खुदक-महलका इमं पि पकमेवू अं-
 9 'च कातिटिरचि वुनेजा मे च ता-
 10 [इ]यं पकमे होत त्रिपुलं पि च वढसिता अपरधिया दियडियं ।*)
 11 'सा नेवसा च यं [इ]
 12 -[वापि]ते व्यूथेन २०० (+*) ५० (+*) ६ (।*) हेवं देवानं' देवानं पि-
 ये आह (।*) यथादे-
 13 (।*) 'येविट्क थात हाआ येपि[नं]वा
 14 [राजू]के आनपेतविये (।*)
 15 'नआ दंपनजा निदा से
 16a -पयिसति रठिकानि चा (।*)⁵ मातापितृसु
 16b सुसु-⁹
 17 सितविये (।*) हेमेव गरुसु सुसुसितविये (।*) पांप्रा नेसु दयितविये (।*) सचे
 वतविये (।*) इ-
 18a म धंमगुना पवतितविया (।*) हेवं तुं'फे आनपयाथ देवानंपिय-वचनेन (।*) हे-
 18b ¹⁰पनआ वं
 19 -यथ हथियारोहानि का[र]नकानि यूयचरियानि वंभनानि च तुं'फे (।*) हेवं निवेसया-
 20a थ अंतेवासीनि या[रि]सा पोराणा पकिति (।*) इयं सुसुसितविये (।*) अपचायना
 य वा आचरि-

¹ Read from right to left : महत्पनेव सकिये ख

² These four letters are engraved above the jin

³ Read from right to left : -ता च मे जानेवु चिरडित्तक च

⁴ Read from right to left : इयं च सावने सा-

⁵ Omit देवानं

⁶ Read from right to left -वाभंपिये आहा तथा कटविये

⁷ Read from right to left : से दानि जानपदं आन-

⁸ Cf. Brahmagiri (lines 9-12), Jatiṅga-Rāmeśvara and Siddāpura versions. They end with the passages चपडेन लिखितं in Brāhmī and लिपिकरेण in Kharoṣṭhī.

⁹ These two letters are engraved at the beginning of line 18a

¹⁰ Read from right to left : -वं आनप-

20b य[स]

20c स

20d (I*) वमेहे

21 यथा वा पुन आचरियस नातिकानि यथारहं नातिकासु पंप्रवर्तितविये (I*)
हेसा [पि]

22 अन्तेवासीसु यथारहं पवर्तितविये यारिसा पोराना पकिति (I*) यथारहं यथा इयं

23 स सातिरोरेके सिया हेवं तुफे आनपयाथ निवेसयाथ च अन्तेवास[ी]नि (I*) हेवं टे-

24 (II*) तिथपनआ [ये]पिनंवा

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः एवम् आह ।—‘अधिकान् [अर्द्धक्षीणि] = सार्द्धे द्वे। संवत्सरान्] यत् अहम्
उपासकः [अस्मि] ; नो तु खलु एकं संवत्सरं प्रक्रान्तः अभूवम् । सातिरेकं च तु खलु
संवत्सरं यत् मया सङ्घः उपेतः, बाढं च मया प्रक्रान्तम् । अनेन च तु कालेन अमिश्राः [ये]
मनुष्याः देवैः, ते इदानीं मिश्रीभूताः [देवैः] । [मम] प्रक्रमस्य हि इदं [फलम्] । [नो हि
इदं] महात्मना एव शक्यं ; क्षुद्रकेण अपि प्रक्रममाणेन शक्यः विपुलः स्वर्गः आराधयितुम् ।
एतस्मै च अर्थाय इदं श्रावणं श्रावितं, यथा क्षुद्रक-महार्थकाः इदम् अपि प्रक्रमेयुः ; अन्ताः
(= प्रत्यन्तवासिनः) अपि च जानीयुः, चिरस्थितिकः च अयं प्रक्रमः भवतु ; विपुलम् अपि च
[इदं] वर्द्धिष्यते अवराधिकेन (= न्यूनाधिकतया) द्वगुह्यं (= सार्द्धे) [वर्द्धिष्यते] ।
इदं च श्रावणं श्रावितं व्युपितेन २५६ । - षट्पञ्चाशदधिक-रात्रि-शतद्वितय-व्युपितेन मया ।’
एवं देवानांप्रियः आह ।—‘यथा देवानांप्रियः आह तथा कर्तव्यं [युष्माभिः महामातैः] ।
रज्जुकः आज्ञापयितव्यः—सः इदानीं जानपदान् आज्ञापयिष्यति राष्ट्रिकान् (= जनपद-शासक-
विशेषान्) । च—‘मातापितृषु शुश्रूषितव्यम् ; एवम् एव गुरुषु शुश्रूषितव्यं ; प्राणेषु दयितव्यं,
सत्यं वक्तव्यम्, इमे धर्म-गुणाः प्रवर्त्तितव्याः ।’ एवं यूयं (= महामाताः) आज्ञापयत
देवानांप्रिय-वचनेन । एवम् आज्ञापयत हस्त्यारोहान्, कारणकान् (= कायस्थान्), युग्यचर्यान्
(= रथारोहान्), ब्राह्मणान् (= अध्यापकान्) च यूयम्—“एवं निवेशयत (= अध्यापयत)
अन्तेवासिनः यादृशी पौराणी प्रकृतिः (= पुरातनः सदाचारः—सनातनः धर्मः) । इदं
[शासनं] शुश्रूषितव्यम् । अपचायना (= पूजा) या एव आचार्यस्य, सा एवम् [शिक्षादाने] एव ।
यथा वा पुनः आचार्यस्य ज्ञातिकाः सन्ति यथार्हं [तैः तस्य] ज्ञातिकासु [इदं] प्रवर्त्तितव्यम् ।
[तथा तैः ज्ञातिकैः] एतम् अपि अन्तेवासिषु यथार्हं प्रवर्त्तितव्यं यादृशी पौराणी प्रकृतिः ।
यथार्हं यथा इदं सातिरेकं स्यात्, एवं यूयम् आज्ञापयत निवेशयत च अन्तेवासिनः ।’
एवं देवानांप्रियः आज्ञापयति ॥’

1 Read from right to left : -वानं पिये आनपयति

D—PILLAR EDICTS¹ OF ASÓKA

No. 24—First Pillar Edict : Delhi-Toprā Version

North Face of the Pillar

Originally TOPRĀ, Ambālā District., Panjāb ; now Firūz Shāh's Kotlā, Delhi.

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, pp. 304f. ; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 245 ff ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 119.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (I*) सडवोसति-
- 2 वस-अभिसितेन मे इयं धंम-लिपि लिखापिता (I*)
- 3 हिदत-पालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाया धंम-कामताया
- 4 अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सु[सु साया अगेन भयेना
- 5 अगेन उमाहेना (I*) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
- 6 धंमापेखा धंम-कामता चा सुवे सुवे वडिता वडीसति चेवा (I*)
- 7 पुलिसा पि च मे उकसा चा गोवया चा मझिमा चा अनुविधीयंती
- 8 संपटिपादयंति चा अलं च पलं³ समादपयितवे (I*) हेमेवा अंत-
- 9 महामाता पि (I*) एस हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने
- 10 धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति (II*)

¹ Asoka's pillars were found at Toprā (near the Sivālik), Mirāth (U P.), Allahābād (U.P.), Rādhiah (Lauriā-Ararāj), Māthiah (Lauriā-Navandgarh or Nandangarh) and Rāmapurvā. The last three are in the Champāraṇ District, Bihār. The pillars at Toprā and Mirāth were brought to Delhi by Sultān Firūz Shāh (1351-88 A.D.) according to Shams-i-Sirāj. The Allahābād pillar was originally at Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbi). Pillar Edicts I, IV, V and VI refer to the king's 27th regnal year; but PE VI also to the 13th year and PE VII to the 23rd regnal year.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *ibid.*, pp. xv ff. For all the Pillar Edicts, see D. C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 63ff.

³ We may also read चामं

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । पड़विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 243 B.C.) मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता । ऐह्य-पारस्वम् (= ऐहिक-पारस्विकं मङ्गलं) दुःसंप्रतिपाद्यं (= दुर्लभम्) अन्यत्र अग्रायाः (= तीव्रायाः) धर्मकामतायाः, अग्रायाः परीक्षायाः, अग्रायाः शुश्रूषायाः (= गुरुजनवश्यतायाः), अग्रात् भयात् (= पाप-भयात्), अग्रात् उत्साहात् । एषा च तु खलु मम अनुशस्याः धर्मप्रेक्षा धर्मकामता च इवःइवः (= अहरहः) वर्द्धिता वर्द्धिष्यते च एव । पुरुषाः (= राजपुरुषाः) अपि च मे उत्कर्षाः (= उत्कृष्टाः) च गोवकाः (= निकृष्टाः) च मध्यमाः च अनुविदधति [धर्मं], संप्रतिपादयन्ति च [ऐह्यपारस्वम्]; [ते] अलं (= समर्थाः) च परं समादापयितुं [= धर्माय उत्साहयितुम् । एवम् एव अन्त-महामात्राः (= प्रत्यन्तसम्बन्धिः) अपि । एषा हि विधिः, या इयं धर्मेण पाठना [प्रजानां], धर्मेण विधानः (= दण्डाभिहारदानं), धर्मेण सुखना, धर्मेण गुप्तिः (= रक्षणम्) इति ॥

No. 25—Second Pillar Edict: Delhi-Topra Version

North Face of the Pillar

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, pp. 306f.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 245 ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 120 f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹1²..... देवानंपिये पियदस्मि लाज2³ हेवं आहा (।*) धमे साधू (।*) कियं च धमे ति (।*) अपासिनवे⁴ बहु-कयाने3 दया दाने सचे सोचये (।*)⁵ चखु-दाने पि मे⁶ बहुविधे दिने (।*) दुपद-

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ibid.*, pp. xv ff.

² This is in continuation of line 10 of the whole inscription on the pillar (northern face).

³ This is line 11 of the whole inscription.

⁴ A horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower part of वे

⁵ Cf. प्राणानाम् अनानमः, etc. repeated over and over again; cf. also PE VII, line 18.

Many of these are prescribed for the Buddhist laity in works like the *Sigālōrāda-sutta* in the *Dighanikāya*. Brahmanical writers consider these to be duties common to all the Varṇas. Cf. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनियमः । दानं दमो दया चान्तिः सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम् ॥ *Yājñavalkya*, I, 122; also चमा सत्यं दमः शौचं दानमिन्द्रियसंयमः । अहिंसा गुरुश्रूषा तीर्थावसरणं दया ॥ आर्जवं लोभमन्युत्वं देवब्राह्मणपूजनम् । अनभ्यसूया च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते ॥ *Vishnu*, 2, 7-8.

⁶ There is a vertical stroke at the bottom of मे.

- 4 चतुपदेसु पखि-वाळिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-
 5 दाखिनाये (।*) अंनानि पि च मे बहुनि कयानानि कटानि ।(*) एताये मे
 6 अठाये इयं धंम-लिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपट्टिपजंतु चिलं(छ)-
 7 थितिका च होतू ती ति' ।(*) ये च हेवं संपट्टिपजीसति से सुकटं कंठती' ति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शा राजा एवम् आह ।—‘धर्मः साधुः । कियान् च तु धर्मः इति ? अल्पास्त्रवं (—अल्पास्त्रवम्, अल्पं पापं), बहु-कल्याणं [जनानां], दया, दानं, सत्यं, शौचकं (=शुचिता) [च] । चक्षुर्दानम्^१ अपि मया बहुविधं दत्तम् । द्विपद-चतुष्पदेषु पक्षिवारिचरेषु [च] विविधः मया अनुग्रहः कृतः आ प्राण-दाक्षिण्यात् (—प्राणदान-पर्यन्तम्) । अन्यानि अपि च मया बहूनि कल्याणानि कृतानि । एतस्मै मया अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता—एवं (—लेखानुसारेण) अनुप्रतिपद्यन्तां [जनाः], चिर-स्थितिका च [लिपिः] भवतु इति । यः च एवं संप्रतिपत्स्यते सः सुकृतं करिष्यति’ इति ॥

No. 26—Third Pillar Edict : Delhi-Topra Version

North Face of the Pillar

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 1ff.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 250f.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 121f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT⁴

- 1 'देवानंप्रिये प्रियदर्शे लाज हेवं अहा ।(*) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे
 2 कयाने कटे ति ।(*) नो मिन^६ पापं [दे]खति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे

¹ Better omit तौ

² Read कंठती०

³ Aśoka seems to have pardoned culprits whose eyes were ordered to be blinded by the court.

⁴ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ibid.*, pp. xvff.

⁵ This is line 17 of the whole inscription on the north face of the pillar.

⁶ The Mirāth version appears to read मिन

- 3 नामा ति (।*) दुपटिखे च खो एसा ।*) हेवं च खो एस देखिये ।*) हमानि
- 4 आसिनव-गामिनि नाम अथ चंडिये निठुलिये कोधे माने इत्या
- 5 कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं ।*) एस वाढ देखिये इयं मे
- 6 हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पाळतिकाये ॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—‘[जनः] कल्याणाम् एव पश्यति—“इदं मया कल्याणं कृतम्” इति । नो मनाक् ।—किञ्चिदपि पापं पश्यति—“इदं मया पापं कृतम्” इति ; “इदं वा आस्नवं” नाम” इति । दुष्प्रत्यवेक्ष्यं (= दुर्लक्ष्यं) च तु खलु एतत् (—पापम्) । एवं च तु खलु [जनः] एतत् पश्येत् “हमानि आस्नवगामीनि नाम—यथा चाण्डं (—कोपनता), नैष्ठ्युर्दं, क्रोधः, मानः (—दम्भः, ईर्ष्या, [एतेषां] कारणेन एव अहं मा परिभ्रंशयिष्यामि (=न [आत्मानं] धर्म-भ्रष्टं करिष्यामि ।” एतत् वाढं पश्येत्—“इदं मे ऐहिकाय इदम् अन्यत् मे पारतिकाय” ॥’

No. 27—Fourth Pillar Edict: Delhi-Topra Version

West Face of the Pillar

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 1ff.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 251ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 122f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवानंप्रिये प्रियदर्शि न[1] ज हेवं आहा ।*) सङ्गोसति-वस-
- 2 अभिसितेन मे इयं धम्म-लिपि लिखापिता ।*) लज्जूका मे
- 3 बहुसु पान-सत-सहसेसु जनसि आयता ।*) तेसं ये अभिहाले वा

¹ आसिनव means परिव्रज of RE X (*supra*, pp. 30-31). It is the same as the Jain term अणुहय which is derived from आ + हय and indicates a variety of ain.

² Cf. त्रिविधं नरकस्येदं द्वारं नाशनमात्मनः ।

कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तथादितस्त्रयं त्यजेत् ॥ गीता १६।२१

³ Cf. पैशुन्यं साहसं द्रोह ईर्ष्यायादृषणम् । मनु । ७।४८

⁴ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For reference, see *ibid.*, pp. xvff.

- 4 दंडे वा अत-पतिये मे कटे (।*) किंति लज्जूका अस्वथ अभीता
- 5 कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हित-सुखं उपदहेवू
- 6 अनुगहिनेवु चा ।*) सुखीयन-दुखीयनं जानिमंति धंमयुतेन¹ च
- 7 वियोवदिमंति जनं जानपदं (।*) किंति हिदतं च पालतं च
- 8 आळाधयेवू ति (।*) लज्जूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (।*) पुलिसानि पि मे
- 9 छंदंनानि पटिचलिमंति (।*) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिमंति येन मं लज्जूका
- 10 चवति आळाधयितवे (।*) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
- 11 अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे
- 12 हेवं ममा लज्जूका कटा जानपदस हित-सुखाये (।*) येन एते अभीता
- 13 अस्वथ संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लज्जूकानं
- 14 अ[ि]महाले व दंडे वा अत-पतिये कटे (।*) इछितविये [हि] एसा (।*) किंति
- 15 वियोहाल-समता च मिय दंड-समता चा (।*) अव इते पि च मे आवुति (।*)
- 16 बंधन-वधानं मुनिसानं तीलित-दंडानं² पत-वधानं तिंनि दिवसा[नि] मे
- 17 योते दिने (।*) नातिका व कानि निक्षपयिमंति³ जीविताये तानं
- 18 नासंतं⁴ वा निक्षपयिता⁵ दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कइंति (।*)

¹ Michelson takes धंम-युत to be a class of officials.

² Senart and Bühler: तौलीत°

³ Senart explains the passage: 'My officers will warn (निक्षपयिसंति) them that they have neither more nor less (नातिकावकानि) to live (जीविताये तानं). Warned thus (निक्षपयिता) as to the limit of their existence (नासंतं) they may give (दाहंति) alms (दानं) in view of their future life (पालतं), or may give themselves up to fasting (उपवासं वा कइंति).' Bühler explains: 'Their relations (नातिका) will make some of them (कानि) meditate deeply (निक्षपयिसंति) and in order to save the life of those men (जीविताये तानं) or in order to make [the condemned] who is to be executed (नासंतं) meditate deeply (निक्षपयिता), they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform feasts.'

⁴ नासंतं = नाशान्त has been taken by some scholars in the sense of Death, [one] whose nature or disposition (चत्त) is destruction (नाश)

⁵ Some versions have निक्षपयितवे

- 19 इहा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि¹ पालतं आलाधयेवू ति ॥*॥ जनस च
 20 वदति विविधे धंम चलने संयमे दान-सविभागे ति ॥*॥

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह ।—‘षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिपित्तेन (c. 43 B. C.) मया इयं धर्म-लिपिः लेखिता । रज्जुकाः मया बहुषु प्राणशतसहस्रेषु जने (—जनेषु) आयताः (—नियुक्ताः) । तेषां यः अभिहारः (—उपहारः वा दण्डः वा [सः=अभिहार-दण्डौ] आत्मपतिकः (=अभिहारदण्डदानविषये रज्जुकाः स्वाधीनाः मया कृतः—किमिति ?—रज्जुकाः आश्वस्ताः अभीताः [च] [सन्तः] कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुः, जनस्य जानपदस्य हित-सुखम् उपदध्युः (—विदध्युः), [जनान्] अनुगृह्णीयुः च । [रज्जुकाः] सुखन-दुःखनं ज्ञास्यन्ति, धर्मयुतेन [जनेन] च व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति जनं जानपदं—किमिति ?—[ते] इहस्यं च पारस्विकं च [मङ्गलम्] आराधयेयुः (—लभेरन्) इति । रज्जुकाः अपि रंघन्ते” (=सोत्सुकाः भवन्ति परिचरितुं माम्, पुरुषान् (—राजपुरुषान्, महामात्रान्) अपि मे छन्दज्ञान् [रज्जुकाः] परिचरिष्यन्ति । ते (—पुरुषाः) अपि च कां [श्चित् रज्जुकान्] व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति येन मां रज्जुकाः जाग्रति आराधयितुं (=तोषयितुम्)” । यथा हि प्रजाम् (=अपत्यं) व्यक्तायै (—प्राज्ञायै) धासेऽ निसृज्य आश्वस्तः भवति [जनः] “व्यक्ता धात्री जागर्ति मे प्रजां सुखं प्रतिहतुं” (—रक्षितुम्”, एवं मम रज्जुकाः [मया] कृताः जानपदस्य हित-सुखाय । येन एते अभीताः आश्वस्ताः सन्तः अविमनसः (—हृष्टाः) कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुः इति, एतेन मया रज्जुकानाम् अभिहारः वा दण्डः वा आत्मपतिकः कृतः । एष्टव्यं हि एतत्—किमिति ?—व्यवहार-समता च स्यात् दण्ड-समता च । यावत् इतः अपि च मे आवृत्तिः (=आदेशः)—बन्धन-ब्रह्मानां मनुष्याणां तीर्ण-दण्डानां (—प्राप्त-दण्डानां) प्राप्त-वधानां त्वयः दिवसाः मया [वधरोधरूपं] यौत[कं] दत्तम् । [तेषां] ज्ञातिकाः वा कां [श्चित् रज्जुकान्] निध्याययिष्यन्ति (—हेतुप्रदर्शनेन प्रबोधयिष्यन्ति) जीविताय

¹ The expression has been explained as ‘during the time of their imprisonment’ (Senart); ‘even during their imprisonment’ (Bühler); ‘even in a limited time’ (Lüders); ‘though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed [their being no निर्भूति]’ (Thomas); and ‘even when the time [of respite] has expired’ (Hultzsch). Bhandarkar takes काल in the sense of औवम-काल. Cf. also *kāra* (masculine), ‘act of worship’, ‘song of praise’, in the *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, pp. 133, line 17; 166, line 26; 329, line 20; (cf. Pali *kāra* in this sense); but *ibid.*, pp. 289, line 6; 583, line 29, use the word in its feminine form (*kārā*).

² According to Hultzsch, लघति is from Sanskrit अर्हति through अलहति = अलघति.

³ Or, पुरुषाः अपि मे छन्दज्ञाः [मां] (or छन्दाज्ञं) परिचरिष्यन्ति । ते अपि च कां [श्चित् रज्जुकान्] व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति येन मां रज्जुकाः जाग्रति आराधयितुम् । According to Hultzsch, लघति = शक्नोति

वा तेषां' ; नश्यन्त' (= वध्यं) वा निध्याययितु' (= लोकान्तरे तस्य सुखं भवेत् इति प्रतिबोधनेन प्रमादयितु') दानं दास्यन्ति पारत्रिकम्, उपवासं वा करिष्यन्ति । इच्छा हि मे एवं—निरुद्धे अपि काले (= यौतकरूपे समये ; यद्वा—निरुद्धे अपि कारे [= पूजाकार्ये]) पारत्रिकम् आराधयेयुः इति । [एवं] जनस्य च वर्धते विविधं धर्म-चरणं संयमः दान-संविभागः² [च]' इति ॥

No. 28—Fifth Pillar Edict: Rāmpurva Version

South Face of the Pillar

RAMPURVĀ, Champāran District, Bihār.

Senart and Grierson, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 73ff.; Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 256ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 152f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT³

- 1 देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (१०) मङ्गवीमनि-[व[साभिमितेन मे इमानि पि जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि' (१०) सेयथ
- 2 सके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंबा-कपिलिक दुळि अनठिक-मळे वेदवेयके
- 3 गंगा-पुण्डके संकुज-मळे कफट-सेयके पंन-ससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पटसते सेत-कपोते
- 4 गाम-कपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (१०) अजका नानि एक्का च सूकळी च गभिनी व

¹ Cf. *Mṛgchhakatika*, Act X, enumerating the reasons why the Chaṇḍāla should better not kill a condemned person as soon as he is ordered to do so: "Perchance some kind gentleman might set the condemned man at liberty by paying a ransom. Perhaps a son might be born to the king and on account of that great joyous festival all the condemned men may be released. Perchance an elephant might break loose his chains and in that commotion the condemned criminal might escape. Or sometimes there might be a change of king and then all the condemned men may be set at large."

² ऐहिकार्थदानात् पारत्रिकार्थदानस्य विभजनम् ; cf. धर्म-संविभाग in RE XI (*supra*, pp. 31-32).

³ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ibid.*, pp. xviii f.

⁴ For similar injunctions, see the *Arthashastra*, II, 16.

- 5 पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (।*) वधि-कुकुटे नो कटविये (।*)
तुसे सजीवे नो ज्ञापयितविये (।*)
- 6 दावे अनठाये व विहिंसाये व नो ज्ञापयितविये (।*) जीवेन जीवे नो पुस्तितविये (।*)
तीसु चातुं मासीसु तिस्यं पुनमासियं
- 7 तिनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनु-पोसथं महे अवध्ये नो पि
विकेतविये (।*) एतानि येव
- 8 दिवसानि नाग-वर्नामि केवट-भोगसि यानि अंनानि पि जीव-निकायानि नो
हंतवियानि (।*) अठमि-पखाये चावुदसाये
- 9 पनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुं मासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये (।*)
अजके एळके सुकले
- 10 ए वापि अने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (।*) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुं मासिये
चातुं मासि-पखाये अस्वस गोनस
- 11 लखने नो कटविये (।*) याव-सड्वीसति-वसाभिहितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये
पनवीसति बंधन-मोखानि कटानि (।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । 'षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिहितेन (c. 243 B. C.)
मया इमानि अपि जातानि अवध्यानि कृतानि ; तद्यथा—शुकः, शारिका, अरुणः चक्रवाकः,
हंसः, नन्दीमुखः (= जलपक्षिविशेषः, गेलाटः, जतूकः, अम्बापिपीलिका, डुडिः (= कमठविशेषः),
अनस्थिक-मतस्यः, वेदवेयकः, गङ्गापुपुटकः, मङ्गव-मतस्यः, कमठ-शल्यकौ, पर्न-शशः,
सुमरः = मृगविशेषः, पण्डकः, औकपिण्डः (= मार्जार-मृषिकादयः) परस्वान् (= Pāli
पलासादो = गण्डकः) इवेत-कपोतः, ग्राम-कपोतः, मर्वे (= च) चतुष्पदाः ये प्रतिभोगं न यन्ति न च
खाद्यन्ते । अजका एषा (= या) एडका च सूकरी च गर्भिणी वा पयस्विनी वा अवध्या. पोतकाः
च केचित् = ये आषाणमासिकाः । वृद्धि-कुक्कुटः (= निर्लिङ्गीकृतः) नो कर्त्तव्यः² । तुषः सजीवः
न दाहयितव्यः । दावः = अरण्यम् । अनर्थाय वा विहिंसायै वा नो दाहयितव्यः । जीवेन जीवः
नो पोषितव्यः । तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु (= कार्तिक-फाल्गुनाषाढपूर्णिमासु), तिथ्यायां (= पौषे)

¹ This shows (as suggested by other evidences also) that beef was taken by the Indians in the 3rd century B.C.

² The word may mean 'to be made' or 'to be cut (i.e. killed)'.

³ See notes on Bk. II, Nos. 26 and 40. Cf. चतुर्दशष्टमी चैव अमावस्या च पूर्णिमा ।
पर्वारखितानि राजेन्द्र रविसंक्रान्तिरेव च ॥ (Apte. Sans.-Eng. Dict., s. v. पञ्च)

पूर्णमास्यां त्रिषु दिवसेषु—चतुर्दशे पञ्चदशे प्रतिपदि [च], 'ध्रुवायाः' (= ध्रुवत्वेन च अनूपवमथं (-उपवास-दिनेषु) मत्स्यः अवध्यः नो अपि विक्रेतव्यः। एतान् एव दिवसान् नाग-वने (= हस्तिक्षेत्रे), कैवर्त-भोगे (= जालिक-ग्रामे) ये अन्ये अपि जीव-निकायाः [ते] नो हन्तव्याः। अष्टमी-पक्षे (= अष्टमीषु) चतुर्दश्यां पञ्चदश्यां, तिष्यायां, पुनर्वसौ, तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु, सुदिवसे (= पर्वदिने) गौः न निर्लक्षयितव्यः (= निर्मुष्कोकर्तव्यः)। अजकः, एडकः (= मेघः), शूकरः, ये वा अपि अन्ये निर्लक्ष्यन्ते, [ते] न निर्लक्षयितव्याः। तिष्यायां, पुनर्वसौ, चातुर्मास्यां, चातुर्मासी-पक्षे [च] अश्वस्य गोः [च] [दग्धशलाकया] लक्षणं नो कर्तव्यम् ॥ 'यावत्-षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन' मया एतस्याम् अन्तरिकायाम् (= अग्रान्तरे) पञ्चविंशतिः बन्धन-मोक्षाः [वन्दिनां] कृताः ॥

No. 29—Sixth Pillar Edict: Rāmpurvā Version

South Face of the Pillar

Senart and Grierson, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 105ff.; Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 267ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 155.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmi

TEXT²

- 1³ देवानंपिये पियदमि लाज हेवं आह (।*) द्वाडस-वमाभिसितेन मे धंम-
लिपि लिखापित लोकस हित-सुखाये (।*) से तं अपहट
- 2 तं तं धंम-वडि पापोव (।*) हेवं लोकस हित-सुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं नातिसु
हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकडेसु किमं कानि
- 3 सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (।*) हेमेव सव-[नि]कायेसु पटिवेखामि (।*)
सव-पासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (।*) ए च्च इयं
- 4 अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोख्य-मुते (।*) सडुवोम[ति]-वमाभिसितेन मे इयं
धंम-लिपि लिखापित (॥*)

¹ Aśoka seems to have ordered the release of prisoners on the anniversaries of his coronation. Cf. *Arthashastra* II 36: दिवसे पञ्च रात्रे वा वस्त्रनस्यान्विषीधयेत्। कर्मणा कायदण्डेन द्विरष्ट्यानुग्रहेण वा ॥ अपूर्वदेशाभिगमे युवराजाभिषेचने। पुत्रजन्मनि वा भोक्तो वस्त्रनस्य विधीयते ॥

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ibid.*, pp. xviii

³ This is line 12 of the inscription on the south face of the pillar.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—द्वादश-वर्षाभिषिक्तन (c. 257 B. C.) मया धर्म-लिपिः लेखिता लोकस्य हित-सुखाय ; तत् (=ततः) तां अप्रहर्ता (=अनाशयिता = पालयिता) तां तां धर्म-वृद्धिं प्राप्नुयात् । ‘एवं लोकस्य हित-सुखम्’ इति प्रत्यवेक्षे—यथा इदं ज्ञातिषु, एवं प्रत्यासन्नेषु, एवम् अपकृष्टेषु = विप्रकृष्टेषु = दूरस्थेषु)—कथं कां [श्चित् जनान्] सुखम् आवहामि इति, तथा च विदधामि । एवम् एव सर्व-निकायेषु प्रत्यवेक्षे । सर्व-पार्षदाः अपि मया पूजिताः विविधया पूजया । यत् च तु इदम् आत्मना प्रत्युपगमनं (=स्वयं गत्वा जनानां परिदर्शनं) तत् मे मुख्य-मतम् । पड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तने (c. 243 B. C.) मया इयं धर्म-लिपिः लेखिता ॥’

No. 30—Seventh Pillar Edict : Delhi-Topra¹

BÜHLER. *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 245ff.; HULIZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 130ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmi

TEXT²

East Face of the Pillar

- 1³ देवानंप्रिये प्रियदमि लाजा हेवं आहा (।*) ये अतिकंतं
- 2 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इळिसु कथं जने
- 3 धंम-वडिया वडेया (।*) नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंम-वडिया
- 4 वडिया (।*) एतं देवानंप्रिये प्रियदमि लाजा हेवं आहा (।*) एम मे
- 5 हुया (।*) अतिकंतं च अंतलं⁴ हेवं इळिसु लाजाने कथं जने
- 6 अनुलुपाया धंम-वडिया वडेया ति (।*) नो च जने अनुलुपाया
- 7 धंम-वडिया वडिया (।*) से किनसु जने अनुप⁵टिपजेया⁵ (।*)
- 8 किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंम-वडिया वडेया ति (।*) [] किनसु कानि

1 This edict is not found on the other pillars.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

3 This is line 11 of the inscription on the east face of the pillar.

4 Read अंतलं

5 प of उपजेया is engraved above the line.

- 9 अभ्यु^१नामयेहं धंम-वड्डिया ति (।*) एतं देवानंपिये पियदमि लाजा हेवं
 10 आहा (।*) एस मे हुथा (।*) धंम-सावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि
 11 अनुस[र]सामि (।*) एतं जने सुनु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्यु^१नमिसति

Round the Pillar

- 12 धंम-वड्डिया च बाढं वडिस[ति] (।*) एताये मे अठाये धंम-सावनानि सावापितानि
 धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि यथा* [पुनि*][म]¹ पि बहुने जनसि
 आयता ए ते² पल्लियेवदिसंति पि पविथलिसंति पि (।*) लज्जका पि बहुकेसु पान-सत्त-
 महेसेसु आयता (।*) ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पल्लियोवदाथ
 13 जनं धंम-यु[त] (।*) [देव]ानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (।*) एतमेव
 मे अनुवेखमाने धंम-थंभानि कटानि धंम-महामाता कटा धंम[स]-[सावने*] कटे (।*)
 देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (।*) मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपा-
 पितानि छायोपगानि होहंति पसु-मुनिमानं अंबा-वड्डिक्या लोपापिता (।*)
 अढ[कोसि]क्यानि पि मे उदुपानानि
 14 खानापापितानि निंसि[द]या³ च काळापिता (।*) आपानानि मे ब[हु]कानि तत्त
 तत्त क[र]लापितानि पटीभोगाये पसु-मुनिसानं (।*) [छ][हुके*] [चु*] एस पटीभोगे
 नाम (।*) विविधाया हि सुखायनाया पुल्लिमेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते
 छोके (।*) इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदथा मे
 15 एस कटे (।*) देवानंपिये पियदमि हेवं आहा (।*) धंम-महामाता पि मे ते
 बहुविधेसु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटामे पवजीतानं चेव गिहियानं च सव-[पासं*]-
 डेसु पि च वियापटामे (।*) संघठमि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव
 बाभनेसु आ[ज]ीविकेसु पि मे कटे
 16 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगंठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नाना-पासंडेसु
 पि मे [क]टे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु [ते] [ते*]
 [महा*]माता (।*) धंम-महामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव वियापटा सवेसु च
 अनेसु पासंडेसु (।*) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (।*)

1 The restoration is due to Hultzsch.

2 Senart and Bühler read एते as one word.

3 Bühler : (निंसिदिया = निषिदिया from नि + सद), "rest-houses."

- 17 एते च अने च बहुका मुखा दान-विमगसि वियापटासे मम चेव देविनं च (।०) सवसि च मे ओलोधनसि ते बहुविधेन आका लेन तानि तानि तुठायतन[नि पटी ...] हिद चेव दिसासु च (।*) दालकानां पि च मे कटे अंतानं च देवि-कुमालानं इमे दान-विमगसे वियापटा होहंति ति
- 18 धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये (।- एम हि धंमापदाने धंम-पटीपति च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साधवे ' च लोकस हेवं वडिमति ति (।०) देवानंपिये [पियदसि*] लाजा हेवं आहा (।०) यानि हि [कानिचि ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपने तं च अनुविधियंति (।०) तेन वडिता च
- 19 ऋद्धिमंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलुसु सुसुसाया वयो-महालकानं अनुपटीपतिया बाभन-ममनेसु कपन-वलाकेसु आव दास-मटकेसु संपटीपतिया (।*) देवानंपि[ये*] [पि*][य]दसि लाजा हेवं आहा (।०) मुनिमानं च या इयं धंम-वडि वडिता इवेहि येव आकालेहि धंम-नियमेन च निझतिया च (।*)
- 20 तत च लहु से धंम-नियमे निझतिया व भुये (।*) धंम-नियमे च खो एम ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि (।*) अंतानि पि च बहुकानि* धंम-नियमानि यानि मे कटानि (।*) निझतिया व च भुये मुनिमानं धंम-वडि वडिता अविहिंसाये भूतानं
- 21 अनालभाये पानानं (।*) से एताये अथ[ये] इयं कटे पुता-पपोतिके चंदम-सुलियिके होतु ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति (।*) हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हि[द]त-[पाल]ते
- आळधे होति (।०) सतविमति-वसाभिम्भितेन मे इयं धंम-लिबि लिखापापिता ति (।*) एतं देवानंपिये आहा (।०) इयं
- 22 धंम-लिबि अत अथि मिला-थंभानि वा सिला-फलकानि वा तत कटविया एन एम चिल-ठितिके सिया (।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—‘ये अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं (= भूत-काले) राजानः अभूवन् [ते] एवम् ऐषिषुः—‘कथं जनः धर्मवृद्धा वद्धंत ? नो च तु जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्धा अवर्द्धन्त’ । एतत् देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘एतत् मे [मनसि]

¹ Bühler restored पटीपद्यन्ति, “they point out”. Hultzsch suggests पटीवेद्यन्ति, “they are reporting”.

² Cf. PE II. lines 2-3, *supra*, p. 54; also *Manu*, VI. 92.

अभूत्—अतिक्रान्तं च अन्तरम् एवम् एषिषुः राजानः कथं जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या वर्द्धेत इति, नो च जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या अवर्द्धिष्ट। तत् केनस्वित् जनः [धर्मम्] अनुप्रतिपद्येत; केनस्वित् जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या वर्द्धेत' इति। 'केनस्वित् कां- [स्वित् जनान्] अभ्युत्थामयेयं धर्मवृद्ध्या' इति। एतत् देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह।—'एतत् मे [मनसि] अभूत्—धर्म-श्रावणानि श्रावयामि धर्मानुशस्तोः [च] अनुशास्त्रि। एतत् जनः श्रुत्वा [धर्मम्] अनुप्रतिपत्स्यते, अभ्युन्नंस्यति, धर्मवृद्ध्या च वाढं वर्द्धिष्यते। एतस्मै मया अर्थाय धर्म-श्रावणानि श्रावितानि, धर्मानुशस्तयः विविधाः आज्ञाः, यथा [राज]पुरुषाः अपि—बहौ जने आयताः (=व्यापृताः) ये ते—[धर्मं] पर्यवदेक्ष्यन्ति (=उपदेक्ष्यन्ति) अपि प्रविस्तारयिष्यन्ति अपि। रज्जुकाः अपि बहुकेषु प्राण-शतसहस्रेषु आयताः। ते अपि मया आज्ञाः—'एवं च एवं च पर्यवदिशत जनं धर्मयुतम्'। देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी एवम् आह—'एतस्मिन् एव मया अनुवीक्ष्यमाणे धर्म-स्तम्भाः कृताः, धर्म-महामात्राः कृताः, धर्म-श्रावणं कृतम्'। देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह।—'मार्गेषु अपि मया न्यग्रोधाः (=वटाः) रोपिताः छायोपगाः (=छायया उपकारकाः) भविष्यन्ति पशु-मनुष्याणाम् [इति]; आश्र-वाटिकाः [च] रोपिताः। आष्टकौशिकानि' (=अष्टक्रोशान्तराणि) अपि मया उदपानानि (=कूपाः) खानितानि, निःश्लिष्टकाः (=सोपानानि) च कारिताः। आपानानि (=जलदान-गृहाणि) मया बहुकानि तत्र तत्र कारितानि प्रतिभोगाय पशु-मनुष्याणाम्। लघुकः च तु एषः प्रतिभोगः नाम। विविधया हि सुखनया पूर्वं अपि राजभिः मया च सुखितः लोकः। इमां च तु धर्मानुप्रतिपत्तिं (=धर्माचरणम्) अनुप्रतिपद्यतां [जनाः] इति एतदर्थाय मया एतत् कृतम्'। देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह।—'धर्म-महामात्राः अपि मे ते बहुविधेषु अर्थेषु आनुग्रहिकेषु व्यापृताः प्रवर्जितानां च एव गृहस्थानां च, सर्व-पार्षदेषु अपि च व्यापृताः। सङ्घार्थे (=बौद्ध-भिक्षु-सङ्घार्थम्) अपि मया कृतम्—इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति; एवम् एव ब्राह्मणेषु आजीविकेषु [च] अपि मया कृतम्—इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति; निर्ग्रन्थेषु (=जैनेषु) अपि मया कृतम्—इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति; नाना-पार्षदेषु अपि मया कृतम्—इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति; प्रतिविशिष्टं प्रतिविशिष्टं = विशिष्टेषु विशिष्टेषु सम्प्रदायेषु) तेषु तेषु [विषयेषु] ते ते महामात्राः [व्यापृताः]। धर्म-महामात्राः च तु मे एतेषु च एव व्यापृताः सर्वेषु च अन्येषु पार्षदेषु'। देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह।—'एते च अन्ये च बहुकाः सुख्याः [राजपुरुषाः] दान-वित्तर्गे (=अर्थिभ्यः दान-प्रापणे व्यापृताः मम च एव देवीनां च; सर्वस्मिन्

1 One *yojana* (=4 *krośas*=9 miles) was considered a 'day's march' of an army in ancient India.

2 I.e., the followers of Mañkhaliputta Gosā'la, a staunch fatalist and a contemporary of Mahāvīra and the Buddha. For the omission of *cha*, see e.g. *op. cit.*, No. 35, line 8.

3 I.e., the followers of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta (Vardhamāna Mahāvīra).

च मे अवरोधने ते बहुविधेन आकारेण तानि तानि तुष्टायतनानि (= तुष्टिपात्राणि = प्राथिनः)
 [अस्मान्] प्रतिवेदयन्ति इह च एव [सर्वासु] दिशासु च । दारकाणां (= स्व-पुत्राणाम्) अपि च
 मया कृतम् अन्येषां च देवी-कुमाराणाम् इमे [महामाताः] दान-विसर्गेषु व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति
 इति धर्मापदानार्थाय (= धर्म-कार्याय) धर्मानुप्रतिपत्तये [च] । एतत् हि धर्मापदानं
 धर्म-प्रतिपत्तिः च—या इयं दया, दानं, सत्यं, शौचकं, मार्दवं (= मृदुत्वं), साधवं (= साधुत्वं)
 च—लोकस्य एवं वर्द्धिष्यते' इति । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'यानि हि
 कानिचित् मया साधवानि कृतानि, तानि लोकः अनुप्रतिपन्नः, तानि च अनुविधीयन्ते
 [लोकेन] । तेन [लोकाः] वर्द्धिताः च वर्द्धिष्यन्ते च—मातापितृषु शुश्रूषया, गुरुषु
 शुश्रूषया, वयो-महार्थकाणां (= वयो-वृद्धानाम्) अनुप्रतिपत्त्या (= सम्प्रतिपत्त्या), ब्राह्मण-श्रमणेषु
 कृपण-वराकेषु (= दीनानाथेषु) यावत् दास-भृतकान् सम्प्रतिपत्त्या' । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी
 राजा एवम् आह—'मनुष्याणां च तु या इयं धर्मवृद्धिः [सा] वर्द्धिता द्वाभ्याम् एव
 आकाराभ्यां—धर्म-नियमेन च, निध्यात्या (= धर्म-संबोधनेन) च । तत्र च तु लघुः सः
 धर्म-नियमः, निध्यात्या एव भूयः [वर्द्धिता धर्म-वृद्धिः] । धर्म-नियमः च तु खलु एषः, यत्
 मया इदं कृतम्—इमानि च इमानि [च] जातानि अवध्यानि । अन्ये अपि च तु बहुकाः
 धर्म-नियमाः ये मया कृताः । निध्यात्या एव च तु भूयः मनुष्याणां धर्म-वृद्धिः वर्द्धिता
 अविहिंसायै भूतानाम्, अनालम्भाय प्राणानां [च] । तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं [धर्म-लिपिः] कृता
 पौत्र-प्रापौत्तिकी चान्द्रमः-सौर्यिकी (= चिरस्थायिनी) भवतु इति, तथा च अनुप्रतिपद्यन्ताम्
 [इमां धर्मलिपिं जनाः] इति । एवं हि अनुप्रतिपद्यमाने [धर्मे] ऐह्य-पारस्यं [मङ्गलम्]
 आराद्धं (= लब्धं) भवति । सप्तविंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 242 B. C.) मया इयं धर्म-लिपिः
 लेखिता' इति । एतत् देवानांप्रियः आह ।—'इयं धर्मलिपिः यत्र सन्ति शिला-स्तम्भाः वा
 शिला-फलकानि वा तत्र कर्तव्या, येन एषा चिर-स्थितिका स्यात्' ॥

E—MINOR PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚOKA

No. 31—Rummindeī Pillar Inscription¹

RUMMINDEĪ TEMPLE near PARARIYĀ, Nepalese Tarāi

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 1ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 164.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसति-वसाभिसितेन
- 2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुद्ध जाते सक्क-सुनी ति. (1*)
- 3 सिला-विगड-भीचा³ कालापित सिला-थमे च उसपापिते (1*)
- 4 हिद भगवं⁴ जाते ति लु⁵मिनि-गामे उबलिके कटे
- 5 अठ-भागिये च (||*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

‘देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 249 B.C.) आत्मना (=स्वयम्) आगत्य महीयित’ (= पूजा विहिता, इह बुद्धः जातः शाक्यमुनिः इति, शिला-विकृत-भित्तिकाः (=प्रतर-खचिताः इष्टक-प्राकाराः)⁵ कारिताः, शिला-स्तम्भः च उत्सर्पितः (=उत्थापितः) ।

¹ A sourious copy of this record has been discovered near Bhubaneswar in the Pur District, Orissa (*Pratāśi Śrāvaṇa*, 1335 B.S.). *Rummin-deī* is the same as *Lumbini-deī*. The birth-place of the Buddha was the holiest Buddhist Tīrtha. Hiuen-tsang refers to a pillar with a horse capital set up by Aśoka in the Lumbini garden.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I; for other references, see *ibid.*, pp. 164-65, notes.

³ Charpentier and Hultzsch make it सिला विगडभी चा (a stone bearing a horse?).

⁴ A *bhagatā* is one possessing *īssarīya*, *dhamma*, *paśa*, *sirī*, *kāma* and *payatana*.

⁵ भित्तिका may possibly be भीचा through the intermediate forms भित्तिचा = *भित्त्वा = *भिच्चा. According to some, विगड = विकट.

इह भगवान् (= बुद्धः) जातः इति लुम्बिनीग्रामः उद्धलिकः (= कर-रहितः) कृतः, आष्ट-
भागिकः (= शस्याष्टमांशदः) ¹ च ।

No. 32—Nigālī Sāgar Pillar Inscription

Western bank of the NIGĀLĪ SĀGAR TANK, near NIGLIVĀ, Nepalese
Tarāi

BÖHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 1 ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 165.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 देवानंपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन चोदस-वसा[भिसितेन]
- 2 बुधस कोनाकमनस थुवे दुतिथं वढिने (॥*)
- 3 [वोमति-व*]साभिसितेन³ च अतन आगाच महीयिते
- 4 [सिका-थमे*] [च*] [उस*]पापिते⁴ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा चतुर्दश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 255 B. C.) बुद्धस्य
कनकमुनेः⁵ स्तूपः द्वितीयं (= द्विगुणं) ⁶ वर्द्धितः । विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 249 B. C.)
च आत्मना आगत्य महीयितं, शिला-स्तम्भः च उत्सर्पितः (= उत्थापितः) ॥

¹ The normal rate was 1/8 of the produce (Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 58). For other interpretations, see Hultzs. p. 165, n. 3. According to some scholars, *baḥi* here means not a tax over and above the king's grain-share of *bhāga* but a cess collected at holy places.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

³ Restoration due to Bühler.

⁴ Restoration due to Bühler.

⁵ Kanakamuni was a Pratyeka-Buddha, i.e. one who attained the knowledge necessary for Nirvāṇa, but did not preach it to men. His Stūpa was a Buddhist Tirtha and was visited by Hsüan-tsang who also noticed the Aśoka pillar with an inscription. This record shows that the cult of the previous Buddha was prevalent in the 3rd century B.C. Of the five Buddhas of the present Kalpa, called Bhadda-Kappa, four (Kakusandha, Koṇagamana, Kassapa and Gotama) have already appeared; the fifth (Metteyya) is still to appear.

⁶ According to some दुतिथं=द्वितीयं वारम् which would imply that the Stūpa had been once enlarged previously.

No. 33—'Queen's Edict'

On the Allāhābād Pillar

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 308f.; BÜHLER, *ibid.*, XIX, pp. 122 f.;
HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 158f.; C. D. Chatterjee, *An. Bhand.*
Or. Res. Inst., XXXIII, pp. 57ff.; XXXIV, pp. 30ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवानंप्रियषा वचनेना सवत महमता
- 2 वतविया (I*) ए हेता दुतियाये देवीये दाने
- 3 अंवा-वडिका वा आलमे व दान-[गहे] [व] [ए] [वा] [पि] [अ] 'ने
- 4 कीछि गनीयति ताये देविये पे (I*) नानि [हे] वं [ग*] [न] [येथ*]
- 5 दुतीयाये देविये ति तीवल-मातु कालुवाकिये (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन सर्वत्र महामाताः वक्तव्याः ।—‘यत् अत्र द्वितीयायाः देव्याः
(=राज्ञ्याः) दानम् - आम्न-वाटिका वा आरामः वा दान-गृहं वा, यत् वा अपि अन्यत् किञ्चित्
[दानं] गण्यते (=गणितं भवति), तस्याः देव्याः तत् । [युष्माभिः] एनानि एवं गणयेत्—
“द्वितीयायाः देव्याः” इति “तीवर-मातुः कारुवाक्याः” ” ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

² Hultzsch restores विनति (=विजति) and Chatterjee गनये

³ Cf. the name Tivara in later inscriptions; see also *Back of the Knobel Sargass.*
II, pp 128 ff. According to some, Kāruvāli belonged to the Kāru or Kāruvāka Gotra;
others think Kāruvāli=Chāruvāk.

No. 34—Kausambi Pillar Edict

On the Allāhābād Pillar

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 301 f.; BÜHLER, *ibid.*, XIX, pp. 122 ff.;
BOYER, *Journ. As.*, X, x, pp. 120 ff., 141; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins*
Ind., I, p. 159.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 [देवानं*][पि]ये आनपयति (I*) कोसंबियं महाम[र]त
- 2[स]म[गे] [कटे] (I*) स[']घसि नो² लहिये
- 3[संघं] [भा]खति³ मि[खु] व[र] मि[खु]नि वा [से] [पि]⁴ चा
- 4 [ओ*]दात[र]नि दुसानि [स]नंघापयितु अ[नावा]स[सि]⁵ [आ]व[र]सयि[ये]⁶ (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

*देवानांमियः आज्ञपयति । कौशाभ्यां महामातः [एवं वक्तव्यः] । — § '....[सङ्घः] समग्रः
(= भेदविहीनः) कृतः । सङ्घे नो लभ्यः [दुश्चरितः भिक्षुः] । [यः] सङ्घं भङ्क्षयति भिक्षुः वा
भिक्षुणो (= स्त्री-भिक्षुः) वा सः अपि च अवदातानि दृष्यानि । = [पीतवास-धारिणः भिक्षोः
अयोग्यानि] श्वेत-वस्त्राणि) सन्निधाप्य अनावासे (= भिक्षुवासानर्हं स्थाने) आवास्यः
(= दूरीकर्त्तव्यः)' ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. Nos. 34-36 were probably issued after the Third Buddhist Council held at Pāṭaliputra under Aśoka's patronage.

2 Bühler and Boyer : ०विघ. Kauśāmbī (mod. Kosam), the ancient capital of Vatsa, was on the Jumna in the Allāhābād District.

3 Bühler and Boyer : न

4 Bühler and Boyer : भोखति.

5 Boyer : [प]चा. He and Bühler add श्री at the end of the line.

6 Bühler : आन[पे]स; Boyer : आनावससि

7 Boyer : अवा०.

8 According to Buddhist tradition, Aśoka gave white robes to the heretical monks whom he expelled. *Saṅghabhedo* is the fifth of the six *abhiplānas* or deadly sins. See Childers, s. v.

No. 35—Sānchī Pillar Inscription

SĀNCHĪ, Raisen District, Madhya Pradesh

HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 160f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1
 2[य]१ भे[त]२.....(१*) [सं*][धि] [म*]मगे कटे
 3 [भि*]खून[] च भि[खुनी]नं चा ति [पु]त-प-
 4 [पो*]तिके चं[द]म-[सू]रि[यि]के (१*) ये संघं
 5 भ[१]खति^३ भिखु वा भिखुनि वा ओदाता-
 6 नि दुस[ानि] सनं[धापयि]तु अना[वा]-
 7 ससि वा[सा]पेतवि[ये] (१*) इच्छा हि मे किं-
 8 ति संघे समगे^४ चिल-थितीके सिया ति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

.....[तथा कर्त्तव्यं, येन सङ्घः केन अपि न शक्यः] भेत्तुम् । सङ्घः समग्रः कृतः
 भिक्षूणां च [स्त्री]भिक्षूणां च इति पौल-प्रापौलिकं चान्द्रमः-सौर्यिकं [च] । यः सङ्घं
 भङ्क्षयति भिक्षुः वा [स्त्री]-भिक्षुः वा [सः] अवदातानि दूष्यानि (= वसनानि) सन्निधाप्य
 अनावसे (= भिक्षुवासानर्हं स्थाने) वासयितव्यः । इच्छा हि मे—किमिति ?—सङ्घः समग्रः
 चिरस्थितिकः [च] स्यात् इति ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. This edict seems to have been addressed to the monks of the Kākanādabāṇa-mahāvihāra (cf. Sānchī inscription of Chandragupta II, *myra*).

² Possibly भेतवे ; cf. Sārnāth version, line 3.

³ Bühler and Boyer : भोखति.

⁴ Bühler and Boyer : संघस मगे

No. 36—Sarnath Pillar Edict

SĀRNĀTH, Vārāṇasī District., U.P.

BOYER, *Journ. As.*, X, x, pp. 119 ff.; SENART, *C. R.*, 1907, pp. 25 ff.;
VENIS, *J. P. A. S. B.*, III, pp. 1 ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I,
pp. 161f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवा[नंपिये*].....
- 2 ए छ.....
- 3 पाट².....ये³ केन पि संघे भेतवे (।*) ए चुं खो
- 4 [भिखू] [वा] [भिखु]नि वा संघं भ[त्खति]⁴ [से] ओदावानि दुस[ानि] [स] नंधापयिया आनावाससि
- 5 आवासयिथे (।*) हेवं इयं सासने भिखु-संघसि च भिखुनि-संघसि च विन-पयितविथे (।*)
- 6 हेवं देवानंपिये आहा (।*) हेदिसा च इका लिपी तुफाकंतिकं हुवा ति संसरनसि निखिता (।*)
- 7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाथ (।*) ते पि च उपासका अनु-पोसथं यावु

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

² It has been suggested that पाट may be the first two *alshuras* of the name पाटलिपुत्र

³ Boyer restores न सक्रिये

⁴ This reading is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart : भिखति ; Boyer : भोखति

- 8 एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे (१०) अनु-पोसथं च ध्रुवाये इकिके महामाति पोसथाये
 9 याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे आजानितवे च (१०) आवते च तुफाकं आहाले
 10 सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन विथंजनेन (१०) हेमेव सवेसु कोट-विषवेसु एतेन
 11 विथंजनेन विवासापयाथा (॥०)¹

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

¹ देवानांप्रियः..... पाटलिपुत्रे
[तथा कर्त्तव्यं, येन न] शक्यः केन अपि सङ्घः भेत्तुम् । यः तु खलु भिक्षुः
 वा [स्त्री]-भिक्षुः वा सङ्घं भङ्क्ष्यति, सः अवदातानि दूष्यानि सन्निधाप्य अनावासे आवास्यः ।
 एवं इदं शासनं भिक्षु-सङ्घे च [स्त्री]भिक्षु-सङ्घे च [भिक्षवः] विज्ञपयितव्यम् । एवं देवानां-
 प्रिय आह ।—ईदृशी च एका लिपिः युष्माकम् अन्तिके भूयात् इति संसरणे (= आवासे ;
 यद्वा—पथि) निक्षिप्ता ; एकां च लिपिं ईदृशीम् एव उपासकानाम् अन्तिके
 निक्षिपत । ते अपि च उपासकाः अनूपवसथं (= उपवासदिनेषु) [शासनान्तिकं] यायुः
² एतत् एव शासनम् (= एतस्मिन् एव शासने) [आत्मनः] विश्वासयितुम् । अनूपवसथं च
³ ध्रुवायाः (= ध्रुवत्वेन) एकैकः (= प्रत्येकं) महामातः उपवसथाय याति⁴ एतत् एव शासनं
 [आत्मानं] विश्वासयितुम् आज्ञातुं (= ज्ञातुं, बोद्धुं) च । यावत्कं [स्थानं व्याप्य] च युष्माकम्
 आहारः (= प्रदेशः), सर्वत्र विवासयत यूयं [राजपुरुषान्] एतेन व्यञ्जनेन (= अनुशासनानु-
 सारेण) । एवम् एव सर्वेषु कोट-विषयेषु (= दुर्गरक्षित-प्रदेशांशेषु) एतेन व्यञ्जनेन विवासयत ॥

¹ The edict was addressed primarily to the Mahāmātrās possibly of Pāṭaliputra. It was made available to monks and nuns (*bhikkhu-bhikkhunī*), to lay worshippers (*upāsaka-upāsikā*) and to officers and the people of the districts (*āhāra*) and sub-divisions (*viśaya*). According to some, *saṃsalāna* is some locality or an office or an assembly hall. If it is believed that the edict was addressed to the Mahāmātrās of Kausāmbī, there was probably a reference to the Buddhist council held at Pāṭaliputra.

² I.e., goes for the *uposatha*-day service which is held on the full-moon day, the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight and the eighth days of the bright and dark fortnights. It is to the Buddhists a day of religious observance and abstinence from sensual enjoyments, as the Sunday is to the Catholics, and the lay worshippers on that occasion make vows to keep the ten *Sīlas*. On the two *uposatha* days of the 14th and 15th, all monks assemble in the monastery and the *Pātimokkha* is read out section by section. See Childers, s. v. *Upasatha*.

F—STONE-SLAB¹ EDICT OF ASÓKA

No. 37—Bairāt Inscription

Originally BAIRĀT, near Bhābrū, Jaipur District. Rājasthān; now in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp. 165ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 172f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 पिं(प्रि)यदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादे[त्]नं आहा अप[ि]वाधतं च
फासु-विहाळतं च (1*)
- 2 विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधसि धंमसि संघसी ति गाळवे चं(च) पं(प्र)सादे
च (1*) ए केचि भंते
- 3 भगवता बुधे[न] भासिते सवे से सुभासिते वा (1*) ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया
हेवं सधंमे
- 4 चिल-[ठि]तीके होसती ति अळहामि हकं तं व[ि]तवे (1*) इमानि भंते [धं]म-
पलियायानि विनयसमुकसे
- 5 अलियवसाणि अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा मोनियसूते उपतिसर्प(प्र)सिने
ए चा लाघुलो-
- 6 वादे मुसा-वादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंम-
पलियायानि इळामि
- 7 किंति बहुके भिखु[प]ाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं सु[ने]यु चा उपधालयेयू चा (1*)
- 8 हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (1*) एतेनि भंते इमं लिखा[प]यामि अभिपेतं
मे जानंतू ति (11*)

¹ Cf. *śilā-phalaka* (stone-slab) mentioned in PE VII, line 12

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ibid.*, p. xxv; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 374, note 3. This edict and the reference to Aśoka's visit to Buddhist holy places prove that he was certainly a Buddhist.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

प्रियदर्शी राजा मागधः (= मगधदेशीयः) सङ्घं (= बौद्ध-भिक्षु-सङ्घम्) अभिवाद्य
 आह ।—अपावाधतां (= स्वास्थ्यं च सुख-विहारतां¹ च । 'विदितम् एव, [हे] भवन्तः²,
 यावत् अस्माकं बुद्धे धर्मे सङ्गे इति गौरवं (= श्रद्धा) च प्रसादः³ (= परानुरक्तिः) च । यत्
 किञ्चित्, [हे] भवन्तः, भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितं सर्वं तत् सुभाषितम् एव । यत् च तु खलु, [हे]
 भवन्तः, अस्माभिः दृश्यते एवं सद्धर्मः (= बौद्धधर्मः) चिरस्थितिकः भविष्यति इति, अहमि
 अहं तत् वक्तुम् । इमे, [हे] भवन्तः, धर्म-पर्यायाः (= धर्म-ग्रन्थाः)—विनयसमुत्कर्षः,
 आर्यवंशाः (यद्वा—आर्यवासाः), अनागतभयानि, मुनिगाथा, मौनेयसूत्रम्, उपतिष्यप्रश्नः, यः च
 राहुल-वादः सृषा-वादम् अधिकृत्य भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितः—एतान्, [हे] भवन्तः,
 धर्म-पर्यायान् इच्छामि—किमिति ?—बहुकः भिक्षुपादः [स्त्री]-भिक्षवः च अभीक्ष्णं (—पुनः
 पुनः) शृण्वन्तु च उपधारयेयुः च । एवम् एव उपासकाः च उपासिकाः च । एतेन, [हे]
 भवन्तः, इमां [धर्म-लिपिं] लेखयामि, अमिप्रेतं मे जानन्तु इति' ॥

G—CAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASÓKA

Nos. 38, 39 & 40—Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions

BARĀBAR HILL, Gayā District, Bihār.

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp. 168ff.; BÜHLER, *ibid.*, XX, pp. 361f.;
 HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 181f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmi

¹ Better *spārma-vihāratā*; cf. Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, s. v. *phasu*.

² See *infra*, p. 77, note 3.

³ The word *pasāda* (literally, 'rejoicing'; Sanskrit *prasāda*), together with *cettha-pasāda* and *mano-pasāda*, is invariably used in Pali in the sense of faith in the Buddha because of the joy or peace of mind which belief in the Buddha brings with it. See Childers, *op cit.*, s. v.

⁴ The first work is differently identified with the *Dhammacakkhavarattanasutta*, *Pātimokkha*, *Tuṭṭhikasutta* (*Sutta-nipāta*), *Sappurisasutta* (*Majjhima-nikāya*), *Sigālōdasuttanta* (*Digha-nikāya*) and *Attharasavagga* (*Āṅguttara-nikāya*). The last of these seems to be actually intended by Aśoka: see J.D.L., XX. *Attharasāni* = *Attharasāni* (*Āṅguttara-nikāya*, II) or *Attharasāni* (*ibid.*, III); *Anāgatalahavāni* (*ibid.*, III); *Maniyāthā* = *Munisutta* (*Sutta-nipāta*); *Maniyāthā* = *Nālakasutta* (*ibid.*); *Upatisapāsane* = *Rāthar-nīlasutta* (*Majjhima-nikāya*); *Lāhuv'ecāda* = *Rāhulōdasuttanta* (*ibid.*). See V. Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Texts as recommended by Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1918.

TEXT¹

I

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवाडस वसा[भिसितेना]
- 2 [इयं] [निगोह]-कुभा दि[ना] [आजीविकेहि] (॥*)

II

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा-
- 2 डस-वसाभिसितेना इयं
- 3 कुभा खलतिक-पवतसि²
- 4 दिना [आजीवि]केहि (॥*)

III

- 1 लाजा पियदसी एकुनवी-
- 2 सति-वसा[भि]सिते ज[लघो]-
- 3 [सागमे] थात[वे] इ[यं] [कुभा]
- 4 सुपि[ये] (य) ख[लतिकपवतसि*] [दि]-
- 5 ना (॥*)³

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—राजा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 257 B. C.) इयं न्यग्रोध-गुहा दत्ता आजीविकेभ्यः । II—राजा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन इयं गुहा खलतिक-पर्वते दत्ता आजीविकेभ्यः । III—राजा प्रियदर्शी एकोनविंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तः (c. 250 B.C.) [यदा तदा] जलघोषागमे (= वर्षासु) स्थातवे (= स्थातुं = वासाय [आजीविकानां ?]) [राजा प्रियदर्शिना] इयं गुहा सुप्रियः [इति] खलतिक-पर्वते दत्ता ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references see *ibid.*, p. xxviii.

² The Khalatika-parvata (Barābar Hill, or possibly the whole group of hills) is mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* under Pāṇini, I 2. 52. Barābar has been called Pravaraḡiri in an inscription of Maukhari Anantavarman.

³ Hultzsch : जनघोषागमथात मे in lines 2-3. S. N. Mitra (*Ind. Cult.*, XV, pp. 78ff.) reads जलघा (or जलघा) उगम (or उगम) थातवे (= जलघात् उदम्य स्थातवे = स्थातुम्), "to dwell aloft beyond the reach of flood". The first three letters of line 4 have been read by Hultzsch as सुपिदे and by Mitra doubtfully as ततिथे

H—OTHER MAURYA INSCRIPTIONS

Nos. 41, 42 & 43—Nāgārjunī Hill Cave Inscriptions of
Das'aratha (c. 220 B. C.)

NĀGĀRJUNĪ HILL, Gayā District, Bihār.

BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 264; Lüders, *List*, Nos. 954-56.**Language:** Prakrit**Script:** BrāhmīTEXT¹

I

- 1 वहियक[1] कुभा दधलथेन² देवानपियेना
- 2 आनंतलियं अभिपितेना [आजीविकेहि]
- 3 भदंतेहि³ वाष-निपिदियाये निपिठे
- 4 आ-चंदम-पूलियं (||*)

II

- 1 गोपिका कुभा दधलथेना देवा[न] पि-
- 2 येना आनंतलियं अभिपितेना आजी-
- 3 विके[हि] [भदं]तेहि वाष-निसिदियाये
- 4 निसिठा आ-चंदम-पूलियं (||*)

III

- 1 वडधिका कुभा दधलथेना देवानं-
- 2 पियेना आनंतलियं अ[भि]पितेना [आ]-

¹ From the facsimile in *Mem. I.S.I.*, No. 1, Plate I. For other references, see Lüders, *loc. cit.*

² The name *Dasaratha* appears to mean "one who is equal to ten *Rathas*"; cf. *atiratha*, *ardharatha*, etc.

³ Both भन्त and भदन्त appear to be derived from भवत्. For the *āgama* of द, cf. Pālī *सदय* = Sanskrit स्वार्थ. Some scholars think भदन्त = भद्रान्त (Barua and Sinha, *Burhop Inscriptions*, pp. 4f.) It is also suggested that *bhadanta* is derived from *bhadra* to which the monks responded to the greetings of the people.

3 [जी]विके हि भदंतेहि वा[प-निषि]दियाये

4 निषिठा आ-चंद्रम-पुल्लियं (॥*)¹

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—वहियका [इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेण (= अभिषेक-वर्ष-आजीविकेभ्यः [तत्त]भवद्भ्यः (= महीनीयेभ्यः) वर्ष-निषद्याये (= वर्षा-वासाय) निस्पृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्यम् । II—गोपिका [इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेन आजीविकेभ्यः [तत्त]भवद्भ्यः वर्षा-निषद्याये निस्पृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्यम् । III—वडथिका [इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेन आजीविकेभ्यः [तत्त]भवद्भ्यः वर्षा-निषद्याये निस्पृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्यम् ॥

No. 44—Taxila Fragmentary Aramaic Inscription of a Maurya King

TAXILA (= Takshaśilā), Rāwalpindī District, West Pakistan.

E. HERZFELD, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 251.

Language	}	Aramaic of about the first half of the 3rd century B.C.
Script		

TEXT²

- 1 ut
- 2 l³kyrty 'l...
- 3 kynvta³ 'l...
- 4 a⁴k_n zv shkynvta³...
- 5 v labvhy⁴ huh⁵...

¹ In some cases, the word आजीविकेहि has been chiselled away in the Barābar and Nāgarjūnī cave inscriptions. This may have been done at the time of Maukhari Anantavarman who dedicated one Barābar cave to Kṛishṇa and two Nāgarjūnī caves to Śiva and Pārvatī.

² From the eye-copy in *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, with the help of Herzfeld's transcript. The second half of all the lines is lost. The Indian Kharoṣṭhī script was derived from Aramaic.

³ They may be the same word, meaning "dwellings" and possibly we have to restore a *sh* at the end of line 2.

⁴ The first two words mean "and to his father".

⁵ According to Herzfeld, the word with *hu*⁵ may be one belonging to the moral sphere of ideas, like the Zoroastrian "good thoughts, good words, good deeds". Cf. the Buddhist idiom of *apīra aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*, such as *sammā diṭṭhi*, etc.

- 6 hvpty¹kh²ty zoh¹...
 7 zk bhv¹v² rh²...
 8 hvbsh¹tv² r¹z² hut...
 9 imran **Prydr**...³
 10 h..... lk¹th¹...
 11 vap bnv¹hy²...
 12 Imran **Prydr**sh⁶...

CHAPTER III

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

No. 45—Mahāsthān Fragmentary Stone Plaque Inscription

MAHĀSTHĀN, Bogrā District, East Pakistan.

D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 85; B. M. BARUA, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1934, pp. 57 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa 3rd century B.C.

TEXT

- 1 ...नेन (।*) स[*]वगिगी िय[।]नं [तल दिन स]-।^१ सम दिन । [सु]-

¹ The word means "this".

² If this be an Indian word, it may be the same as बहुव्रीहि

³ I.e., *mārāna Priyadar[shī]*, "our lord Priyadarśī". Herzfeld takes the title to refer to Aśoka Maurya. It is however known that Chandragupta was also called प्रियदर्शन. The record (palaeographically assigned to the first half of the 3rd cent B.C.) may therefore belong to Chandragupta Maurya. But, if reference is to be found to the Buddhistic *ayiro atthahiko maggo*, the possibility of the record being one of Aśoka is greater. For a bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription of Aśoka discovered near Kandahar in Afghanistan, see *East and West*, Vol. 9, Parts 1-2, pp. 4-6 and Plate.

⁴ Herzfeld is inclined to supply *em* in the lacuna and to read *emlkrth*, "and his queens" or less probably "his kingdoms".

⁵ The line means, "and also his sons".

⁶ I.e., *li-mārāna Priyadarsh[ī]*, "to our lord Priyadarśī".

⁷ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. Some of the सुs here look like ष

⁸ The *danḍas* are unnecessary. Cf. Kāśī RE XIII, अडवषा । भिवित । षा, etc.

- 2 [म]ते¹ । सुलखिते पुण्डनगलते² । ए[त]³
 3 [नि*]वहिपयिसति । संवगियानं [च] [दि*]ने *
 4 [धा]नियं । निवहिसति । दग-तिया[ि*]यके *
 5 ***[यि]कसि । सुअ-तियायिक[सि]³ पि । गंड[केहि*]
 6 *** [यि]केहि⁴ एस कोठागाले कोसं***
 7 *****

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[...महामातागां वच]नेन । षड्वर्गीयेभ्यः (यद्वा—संवर्गीयेभ्यः⁵ तिलः दत्तः, सर्षपं⁶)
 [च] दत्तम् । सुमातः (= तदाख्यः पुरुषः) सुलक्ष्मीतः (= ऋद्धिमतः) पुण्ड्रनगरतः एतत्
 निवाहयिष्यति ; षड्वर्गीयेभ्यः च दत्तं धान्यं निवक्ष्यति । [उ]दकात्ययिकाय (= तन्निवा-
 रणाय⁴, देवात्ययिकाय (यद्वा—अग्न्यात्ययिकाय), शुकात्ययिकाय [च] अपि गण्डकैः
 (= मुद्राभिः⁴ धान्यैः [च] एषः क्रोष्टागारः कोपः [च] परिपूरणीयौ] ॥⁶

¹ Bhandarkar : गलदनस । दुमदिन-[सङ्गा]माते ; Barua : तलदनस । 'दुमं दिन समाते.
 Barua translates : By this (अनेन) [token], should there be any oil or tree given to the
 Shadvargikas, (the person concerned) shall cause that to be conveyed from Sumā, Sulakshmi
 and Puṇḍranagara.

² Puṇḍranagara, "city of the Puṇḍras", was probably the older name of Puṇḍravara-
 dhana, identified with Mahāsthān, the find-spot of the record.

³ Bhandarkar : द[...]गतियायिके [देवा]तियायिकसि म-अतियायिकसि ; Barua दगातियायिके
 [अगि]तियायिकसि. The last part of the first word may have been ०केसि. The word आत्ययिक
 means "emergency".

⁴ Bhandarkar : [धानि]यिकेहि ; Barua : [काकनि]यिकेहि. The Pāli literature speaks
 of धन कोठागार (treasury), धान्य-कोठागार (granary) and वस्तु-कोठागार (general stores).

⁵ Bhandarkar : संवङ्गीयानां, 'of the Samvāṅgiya people'; Barua : षड्वर्गिकानां,
 'of persons of the Shadvargika sect of the Buddhists'. Samvarga however might have
 been the name of a locality.

⁶ It is difficult to understand whether the keeper of the store-house is ordered to
 replenish the stores in apprehension of an impending scarcity or it was the persons receiving
 grains who had to pay them back.

No. 46—Piprahwā Buddhist Vase Inscription

PIPRĀHWĀ¹, Basti District, U.P.

BÜHLER, J. R. A. S., 1898, pp. 387ff.; FÜHRER, *An. Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, N. W. P. and Oudh, 1898, p. 3; PÈPPE, J. R. A. S., 1898, pp. 576 f.; SMITH-DAVIDS-HOEY, *ibid.*, pp. 586ff.; BLOCH, *ibid.*, 1899, pp. 42 f.; DAVIDS, *ibid.*, 1901, p. 398; PISCHEL, Z. W. M. G., LVI, pp. 157 f.; *Sitz. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, 1905, p. 526; LÈVI, *Jour. des Savants*, 1905, pp. 540ff.; FLEET, J. R. A. S., 1905, pp. 679ff.; *ibid.*, 1906, pp. 149ff.; THOMAS, *ibid.*, pp. 452f.; SENART, *Jour. As.*, N, vii, pp. 132ff.; BARTH, *Jour. des Savants*, 1906, pp. 541ff.; FLEET, J. R. A. S., 1907, pp. 105ff.; BARTH, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVI, pp. 117ff.; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 931.

Language: Prakrit**Script:** Brāhmī of circa 3rd century B.C.**Metre:** IrregularTEXT²

- 1 सुकिति-भतिनं³ स-भगिनीकनं स-पुत-दलनं⁴ (१०)
इयं सलिल-निधने⁵ बुधस भगवते सकि[यान]⁶ (॥*)⁷

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सुकीर्ति-भक्त्योः स-भगिनीकयोः स-पुत्र-दारयोः ।
इदं शरीर-निधानं बुद्धस्य भगवतः शाक्यानां ॥

¹ Within half a mile of the Nepāl border, in the north-eastern extremity of the Basti Dist.

² From the facsimile in *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, IV.

³ According to scholars, Sanskrit सुकीर्ति-भ्रातृणां (according to some सुकृति०). It is generally translated "of the brothers of Sukīrti"; but some scholars think that सुकृति indicates the Buddha himself. It may be suggested that सुकिति-भतिनं indicates "of Sukīrti and Bhakti."

⁴ I.e., "with sons and wives".

⁵ I.e., "receptacle of the corporeal remains or relics [of the Buddha]".

⁶ The inscription is incised around the vase; यानं has been engraved above the line owing to want of space. The word is generally taken to be the same as Sanskrit शाक्यानां. Fleet however took it to be Sanskrit स्वकीयानां, "of the relatives".

⁷ The absence of signs for lengthened vowels in the record led some scholars to believe that it is much anterior to Aśoka. The argument is by no means conclusive. Lengthened vowels are usually neglected in early records. It is moreover too small a record for any clear indication on the point. Thomas recognised in the epigraph a very irregular Āryā stanza, while Fleet wanted to scan the lines as उपनीतिरु उद्गोति

No. 47—Sohgaurā Bronze Plaque Inscription

SOHGaurā, Gorakhpur District, U.P.

SMITH and HOERNLE, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1894, pp. 85ff.; BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, 1896, p. 261; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, pp. 510ff.; BARUA, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XI, pp. 32ff.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, X, pp. 54ff.; K. P. JAYASWAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 2; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 937; S. N. Chakravarti, *J. R. A. S. B. L.*, VII, pp. 203ff.; D. C. Sircar, *ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 1-3.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 3rd century B.C.

TEXT¹

- 1 सवतियन महमगन² ससने मनवसिति-क-
- 2 द³ (I*) सिलिमते⁴ वसगमे व एते दवे कोठगलनि
- 3 तिघवनि (I*) माथुल-च[च]-मोदम-भलकन छ⁵
- 4 ल कयियति अतियाधिकय (I*) नो गहिग(त)वय (II*)

¹ From the original now in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. This record is supposed by scholars to be pre-Aśoka or even pre-Maurya. But there is no reason to believe that it is earlier than Aśoka. Above the lines are two three-storeyed structures together with the tree-in-railing, lotus-bud and moon-on-mount symbols. The structures refer to the two store-houses mentioned in the record.

² Read महमतन. Fleet translates: 'Notice for all the three great roads for vehicles!'

³ This letter is usually read as *qa*.

⁴ The name is possibly *Srimān* (cf. Bk. II, No. 76), but may also be *Śrīmātra*. The first letter of the following name cannot be read as *u*.

⁵ Bühler: क्ल (= चारं, collection); Fleet: वल (= वार = storage); Jayaswal: क्लिकयियति (चरौ = to be distributed). Bühler translates: 'These two store-houses with three partitions (तिघवनि), [situated] even in famous Vamśagrāma (Bansgaon, 6 miles west of Sohgaūrā), require the storage of loads (भारक) of Madhuka (माथु = मधु), parched grain (लच = लाज), cummin-seed (अचुमोदा = अजमोदा) and Āmba (आम) for times of urgent need.' Fleet: 'At the junction called Manavasi, these two store-houses are prepared for the sheltering (वारय) of loads of commodities of Tiyavani = Tryaveṇī, Mathurā and Chañchu'. Barua: 'These two store-houses of fodder and wheat (तिन-यवनि for तिघवनि) and loads of ladders, canopies, yoke-pins and ropes are used in times of urgent need.' Jayaswal: 'only to the tenants (सौरि-माव), only on the advent of drought (उषागमे), store-houses of Trivenī', etc. The readings *usagame*, *tiyavani* and *vala* are however clearly wrong.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

श्रावस्तीयानां महामाताणां शासनं मानवाशीति-कटतः । श्रीमान् वंशग्रामः (= तदाख्य-ग्रामद्वयस्थितौ) एव एतौ द्वौ कोष्ठागारौ लिगभौ (= लिखितौ) । [एतौ महामातैः] माथुर-चञ्च-मयुदाम-भल्लकानां [ग्रामानां] क्षारः (= शस्यादि-वितरणं) कार्येते आत्ययिकायां (= दुर्भिक्षादि-विपत्काले) । [सुभिक्षकाले कैश्चित्] नो ग्रहीतव्यम् ॥

No. 48—Inscription¹ on the Silver coins of
Sophutes² (Saubhuti)

(circa 330-300 B. C.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 7; RAPSON, *Indian Coins*, pp. 3f.

*First Side*³

Head of the king or a warrior to right, in close-fitting helmet, bound with wreath; wing on cheek-piece.

Second Side

Cock standing to right; Caduceus in left upper field; inscription in Greek characters in right:—

[ΣΩ]ΦΥΤΟΥ (= Sōphutou = [coin] of Sophutes).

¹ Though the characters are not actually "inscribed" on coins, many numismatists refer to the coin-legends as "inscription" which would then mean any writing; cf. Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. 1ff.

² At the time of Alexander's invasion Sophutes ruled a district on the banks of the Akesines (= Asiknī = Chenāb). "These coins, apparently copied from an issue of Seleukos Nikator, evidently were struck when he invaded India in 305 B.C., and Sophutes presumably submitted to him. The portrait of Sophutes is that of an elderly man. He must have been young when he met Alexander in 326 B.C., according to Plutarch. Probably Seleukos was not allowed to advance far beyond the Hydaspes (Jhelam), which formed the eastern boundary of the dominions of Sophutes."—Smith, *loc. cit.* See, however, *C. H. I.*, I, pp. 338, 414, 463, 623. Strabo calls him a *nomarkh* possibly because he had offered allegiance to Alexander.

R. B. Whitehead in a paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1943) has tried to prove, on the basis of the similarity of this type with certain coins found near the Oxus, that the Sophutes coins actually belong not to any Indian ruler but to some king of Central Asia. Cf. *J. N. S. I.*, VII, pp. 23-26. His arguments are however unconvincing and inconclusive. Lévi believes that the name is associated with the Saubhūta country mentioned in the *Gaṇapāṭha*.

³ From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*. Plate I, No. 1.

BOOK II

Inscriptions of the Post-Maurya Period down to the Gupta Age

CHAPTER I

NORTHERN INDIA

A—INSCRIPTIONS OF INDIGENOUS DYNASTIES AND CONNECTED RECORDS

(i) CENTRAL AND WESTERN INDIA

No. 1—Barhut Buddhist Pillar Inscription of the time of the Śūṅgas

BARHUT¹, former Nāgaudh State, Madhya Pradesh.

CUNNINGHAM, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pp. 128f., No. 1, Plates XII and LIII; R. L. MITRA *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1890, pp. 58ff.; HULTZSCH, *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, pp. 138f. and Plate; Z. D. M. G., XL, p. 60, No. 1; *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, p. 227, No. 1; BARUA and SINHA, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 1f.; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 687.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.²

TEXT³

- 1 सुगनं⁴ रजो गागी-पुतस विसदेवस
- 2 पौतेण गोति-पुतस⁵ आगरजुस⁶ पूतेण
- 3 वाह्नि-पुतेन धनभूतिन कारितं तोरनां
- 4 सिला-कंमंतो च उपणं (॥*)

¹ The name is also written Bharhut, Bhārbut and Bharaut.

² The lower part of the *akshara* व is of the triangular shape.

³ From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 139, and *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, Plate V, No. 20.

⁴ Cunningham and Mitra took it to stand for शुङ्ग-राज्ये, "in the kingdom of Śrughna". The absence of the Śūṅga king's name in the inscription may suggest that the Śūṅga power was then on the decline.

⁵ Cunningham equated it with Sanskrit कौत्सीपुत्रस्य

⁶ Cunningham and Mitra equated it with Sanskrit अग्रराजस्य

शुङ्गानां राज्ये राज्ञः मार्गी-पुत्रस्य विश्वदेवस्य¹ पौत्रेण गौसी-पुत्रस्य अङ्गारयुतः पुत्रेण
वात्स्यीपुत्रेण धनभूतिना कारितं तोरणम् । शिल्पाकर्मान्तः (= प्रस्तर-निर्मित-प्राकारादिः)
च [तेन] उत्पन्नः ॥

No. 2—Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhāgabhadra.—Regnal Year 14

BESNAGAR², Bilisa District, Madhya Pradesh.

VOGEL, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1908-09, p. 126; RAPSON, *Ancient India*, p. 157; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XXIII, p. 104; RAYCHAUDHURI, *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect.*, pp. 99ff.; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 669.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa end of the 2nd century B.C.

TEXT³

Part I

- 1 [दे]वदेवस वा[सुदे*]वस गरुडध्वजे अयं
- 2 कारिते इ[अ] हेलिओदोरेण भाग-
- 3 वतेन दियस पुत्रेण तखखसिलाकेन
- 4 योन-दूतेन [आ]गतेन महाराजस⁴
- 5 अंतलिकितस उप[*]ता सकासं रजो

¹ King Viśvadeva appears to have been the feudatory of a Later Śuṅga king of Vidiśā. Note that the Śuṅgas were still ruling when Śimuka defeated the last Kāṇva king Suśarman about 30 B. C.

² Ancient Vidiśā, capital of Ākura or Daśārṇa (East Mālwa)

³ From the facsimile in *Mém. I. S. I.*, No. 1, Plate II, and *I. S. I.*, A. R., 1908-09. For several papers on this record, see *J. R. A. S.*, 1909 and 1910.

⁴ Note the difference between the epithets of the Indian king and the Greek king. Titles like महाराज and राजातिराज (cf. later महाराजाधिराज) were popularised by the foreigners. Many coins of the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas have been found in the Panjāb. Bhāgabhadra may be identified with Bhadraka, the fifth Śuṅga king according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

- 6 कासी-पु[त्र]स¹ [भ]ागभद्रस खातारस²
 7 वसेन च[तु]र्दसेन³ राजेन वधमानस⁴ (॥*)

Part II

- 1 विनि अमृत-पदानि [इअ*] [सु]-अनुठितानि
 2 नेयंति [स्वर्गं] दम चाग अप्रमाद⁵ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—देवदेवस्य वासुदेवस्य गहड-ध्वजः (—शिवरस्थ-गहडमूर्तिसनाथः शिखामयः ध्वज-स्तम्भः) अयं कारितः इह हेलियोदोरेण (Heliodoros) भागवतेन (—वैष्णवधर्मान्तर्गत-भागवतमार्गानुसारिणा) दियस्य (Dion) पुत्रेण ताक्षशिलाकेन (=तक्षशिला-निवासिना) यवन-दूतेन आगतेन महाराजस्य अन्तर्लिकितस्य (Antialkidas) उपान्तात् (—समीपात्) सकाशं राज्ञः काशी-पुत्रस्य (=काश-गोत्रीया०) भागभद्रस्य खातुः वर्षेण चतुर्दशेन राज्येन [च] वर्द्धमानस्य । II—स्त्रीणि अमृत-पदानि इह स्वनुष्ठितानि नयन्ति स्वर्गं—दमः त्यागः अप्रमादः [च] ॥

No. 2A—Barli Stone Inscription of the time of Bhagavata

Barli, Ajmer District, Rājasthān.

K. P. Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI, pp. 67-68; D. C. Sircar, *J. B. R. S.*, XXXVII, Parts 1-2, pp. 1-5; *ibid.*, XL, Part 1, pp. 8-16.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the close of the 2nd century B.C.

¹ Bhandarkar reads कौसीपुत्रस (कौकीपुत्रस्य). But कौकीपुत्र would have been कौकीपुत्र in Prakrit. The paternal *gotra* of Bhāgabhadra's mother seems to have been Kāśa. For the absence of *gotrāntara* in some forms of ancient Indian marriage, see *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1945, pp. 48ff.

² This word which is a translation of Greek *Soteros* and found on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings shows that a Greek (possibly Heliodoros himself) was responsible for the draft of the record.

³ Read ०दसेन

⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar reads in this line : वासिना मभ[दि]से नईराजे नवध[']मा[नुसा]-[सनाथ*]

⁵ Cf. *Mbh.*, V, 43, 22 : दमत्यागीऽप्रमादश्च एतेष्वमृतमाहितम् । Cf. अप्रमादो अमृतपदं पमादो मधुनो पदं (*Dharmapada*, II, 1).

TEXT¹

1 (A) द्वं ²	(B) रय भगव-	(C) त ..
2 (A) ठ[भ]	(B) चतुरसिति ³ व-	(C) [व]...
3 (A) काये	(B) साला मालिनि-	(C) [ये]...
4 (A) रं निसि-	(B) ठं माझिमिके-	(C) [न]...

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् (१) ॥ राजनि भागवते .स्तम्भाः चतुरशीतिः .कायां साला, मालिनिः ..
निसृष्टं माध्यमिकेन (= मध्यमिकावासिना) ..

No. 3—Ghosundī Stone Inscription of King Sarvatata

GHOSUNDI, near Nagarī, Chitorgaḍh District, Rājasthān.

Kavirāja ŚHYĀMAL DĀS, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, LVI, Part. i, pp. 77 ff.;
K. P. JAYASWAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 27; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 6.

Language: Sanskrit slightly influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.

TEXT⁴

1 [कारितो अयं राजा भागव*][ते]न⁵ गाजायनेन पाराशरी-पुत्रेण स-

¹ From impressions and the facsimile in *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI.

² The intended reading may be सिद्धं. Jayaswal: वीराय भगवते. He believed that the passage refers to Mahāvira, the founder of Jainism.

³ Ojha suggested that this word indicates Year 84 of the Jain Nirvāṇa era (*Bhāratiya Prāchīna Lipi-mālā*, 1918, pp. 2-3), which is never known to have been used in early records. Jayaswal referred the year to an imaginary era starting in 374 or 373 B.C. The word may also refer to a unit of 84 villages, in which case the preceding letters may stand for a geographical name.

⁴ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, with the help of the facsimile and text of the Hāthibādā inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, pp. 203 f.

⁵ व is clear before ते in the Hāthibādā record. Read कारितोयं

- 2 [वर्ततेन अश्वमेध-या*]जिना¹ भगव(द्*)भ्यां² संकर्षण-वासुदेवाभ्यां
 3 [अनिहताभ्यां सर्वेश्वरा*]भ्यां³ पूजा-शिला-प्राकारो नारायण-वाटका⁴ ॥*

Nos. 4, 5 & 6—Badvā Stone Pillar (Yūpa) Inscriptions
 of the Maukharis.—Kṛita Year 295 (=238 A.D.)

BADVĀ, former Kotāh State, Rājasthān.

A. S. ALTEKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 52.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT⁵

No. 1.

- 1 सिद्धं द्दम् (।*) क्रितेहि⁶ २०० (+*) ९० (+*) ५ फ[।*]ल्युण-शुक्लस्य⁷ पञ्चे⁸ दि०

¹ The Hāthibādā inscription supplies सर्वतानेन अश्वमेधयाजिना after पाराशरीपुटेण. Sarvatāta has been supposed to be a Kāpva king. He however seems to have been a local ruler. The name may be actually Sarvatrāta.

² Cf. ऐश्वर्यस्य समयस्य धर्मस्य यशसः श्रियः ।

ज्ञानवैराग्ययोश्चैव पक्षां भग इतीदृजिना ॥ विष्णुपराय ॥६॥७३

³ The Hāthibādā inscription supplies अनिहताभ्यां सर्वेश्वराभ्यां after वासुदेवाभ्यां

⁴ Read वाटका: *I.e.*, a stone-enclosure for the place of worship (or, an enclosure for the Śālagrāma) called the Nārāyaṇa-vātaka. The enclosure is supposed to be the structure now known as Hāthibādā at Nagari.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII.

⁶ Read कृतैः. The passage means कृतैषु २८५ वर्षेषु अतीतेषु, "when 295 years of the Kṛita era had passed away." It has been supposed that the era was invented (कृत) by astronomers or founded by Kṛita. It was an era of Skytho-Parthian origin, brought by the Mālavas from their original home in the Jhang District, Panāb, to Rājputānā before the time of Śaka Usavadāta (c. 118-23 A.D.). It then became known as the era used by the Mālava tribe. With the growth of the tradition of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī (capital of the country later called Mālava), who is no other than Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (c. 376-414 A.D.), conqueror of Mālava from the Śakas, the era was gradually connected with Vikrama and was eventually known as the Vikrama Samvat beginning from 58 B.C. It should be noted that the use of an era was popularised in India by the Skytho-Parthians and Kusāṇas. See notes on Ek. IV, No. 21; also *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 125, note.

⁷ Read: फाल्गुन

⁸ Read पञ्चमे, दि is the abbreviated form of दिवसे

श्री-महासेनापतेः¹ मोखरेः² बल-पुत्रस्य बलवर्द्धनस्य यूपः (1*) त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य दक्षिण्यं³ गवां सहस्रं [१०००]⁴ (1*)

No. 2.

- 1 सिद्धं दम् (1*) क्रितेहि⁵ २०० (+*) ९० (+*) ५ फ [I] ल्गुण-शुक्लस्य पञ्चे⁶ दि० श्री-महासेनापतेः मोखरेः² बल-पुत्रस्य सोमदेवस्य यूपः (1*) त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य दक्षिण्यं³ गव [i] सह [स्र] [१०००]⁴ (1*)

No. 3.

- 1 क्रितेहि⁵ २००(+*) ९०(+*) ५ फ [I] ल्गुण-शुक्लस्य पञ्चे⁶ [f] द० श्री-महा-सेनापतेः [॥] [मो] खरे-
2 बल-पुत्रस्य² बलसिंहास्य⁷ यूपः⁸ (1*) त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य दक्षिण्यं³ गवां सहस्रं⁴ [१०००] (1*)

(ii) MADHYADEŚA AND EASTERN INDIA

No. 7—Parkham Image Inscription

PARKHAM, now Mathurā Museum.

CUNNINGHAM, *A. S. I. R.*, XX, p. 41, Plate VI; VOGEL, *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*, p. 83; SIEN KONOW, *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, p. 147; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, V, pp. 550f.; *ibid.*, VI, pp. 173ff.; R. P. CHANDA, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, pp. 20-22; *Journ. Dep.*

¹ Read श्री०. The title *Mahāsenāpati* was sometimes used by feudatory rulers. Bala may have been subordinate to the Mālavās of Nagari (old Mālavānagarī, in the Tenk District, Rājasthān).

² Read मोखरेः बलस्य पुत्रस्य. It is improbable that Bala's three sons were *Mahāsenāpati* at the same time.

³ Read दक्षिणा. त्रिरात्र-संमित is the same as the त्रिरात्र sacrifice.

⁴ Altekar : सहस्रं (स्र). There is a symbol after सहस्रं in all the three inscriptions—a triangle at the head of a vertical line. It may indicate the number 1000.

⁵ Read कृतेः.

⁶ Read फाल्गुन-शुक्लस्य पञ्चमे.

⁷ Read सिंहस्य.

⁸ Altekar : यूपः (प).

Lett., IV, Calcutta University, 1921, pp. 47ff.; O. C. GANGOLY, *Mod. Rev.*, October, 1919, pp. 419 ff.; LUDERS, *List*, No. 150.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa second half of the 1st century B C.¹

TEXT²

(Right side) [म*][नि]भद पुगरिका³ * * * राजो ज १)⁴ (1*)

(Between the legs) अठि * * * * पि * (1*)⁵

(Left side) कुनिकतेवासिना गोमितकेन कतो (॥*)⁶

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

मणिभद्रः पुगरिकायां (यद्वा—पुगरिकासु, पुगरिकाणां) यक्ष-राजः (यद्वा—नाग-राजः) ।
अर्थप्रियेण (१) स्थापितः । कुनिकान्तेवासिना गोमितकेन कृतः ॥

No. 8—Pāṭnā Image Inscriptions

PĀṬNĀ, Bihār

CUNNINGHAM, *A. S. R.*, XV, 1 p. 2 f.; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, V, pp. 88 ff.; 214 f.; 516 ff.; R. D. BANERJI, *ibid.*, pp. 210 ff.; SMITH and BARNETT, *ibid.*, pp. 512 ff.; H. P. SASTRI, *ibid.*, pp. 552 ff.; R. P. CHANDA, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 25 ff.; *Journ. Dep. Lett.*

¹ Note the angular shape of प. Jayaswal and his followers believed that the image is a portrait statue of the Śaśunāga king Kuṇika Ajātaśatru. After the publication of Chanda's learned article in *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, Jayaswal's theory may be passed over in silence. That the Pāṭnā and Patnā images represent Yakṣas has been conclusively proved by Gargoly.

² From facsimiles in *J.B.O.R.S.* and *Journ. Dep. Lett.*

³ Vogel and Chanda read पुगरिना; but in that case the last *akṣara* is only half the size of the other *akṣaras*. The intended reading may be पुगरिकाये or पुगरिकासु or पुगरिकान्.

⁴ The *akṣara* before र has been suggested by some to be ग. It may possibly also be read as ख. The reading intended may be नागरज or यक्षरज.

⁵ The *akṣara* after अठ may be पि. The intended reading seems to be अठपियेन थपित

⁶ Different readings :—Vogel :...[नि] भदपुगरिका[क]...; ग अठ...पि; ...कुनिक[क]तेवासिना [गोमितकेन] कता. Sten Konow: ओम् भदपुगरिका ग...रज; अठ...र...Jayaswal: निभद्र प्रशेनि अका*श्व राजो सिरि; ४ थ (=१०) दो (=१०) ४ क्रि (=८); कुनिक शेवासिनागो माग[धान] राजा.

IV, pp. 47 ff.; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 29 ff.; O. C. GANGOLY, *Mod. Rev.*, October, 1919, pp. 419 ff.; LÜDERS, *List*, Nos. 957-58.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa 1st century A.D.

I¹

[यखे]² अचछनीवीके³ (= यक्षः अत्यक्षयनीविकः ?)

II

यखे⁴ [स]वटनडे⁵ (= यक्षः संवृत्तनन्दः ; यद्वा—संवर्त्तनन्दः ; यद्वा—आनन्दः)

No. 9—Ayodhya Stone Inscription of Dhana[deva]

AYODHYĀ, Fyzābād District, U. P.

J. D. RATNAKARA, *Nāgarīprachārīnī Patrikā*, V, Pt. 1, pp. 99-104; G. H. OJHA, *ibid.*, pp. 201 ff.; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, X, pp. 202-03; *ibid.*, XIII, pp. 247-49; N. K. BHATTASALI, *Mod. Rev.*, February, 1925, p. 202; A. BANERJĠ-SASTRI, *ibid.*,

¹ From the photographs, facsimiles and eye-copies in *J. B. O. R. S.*, V, and *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, IV. The triangular form of व in वी, the curved bar of क in के and base of न in नं, the developed slanting form of च—all go to show the unsoundness of the theory of Jayaswal and his followers that the statues are of two Śaśunāga emperors and that the *aksharas* are pre-Mauryan. These are evidently much later images of Yakshas. Coomaraswamy (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Fig. 67) assigns them stylistically to the 2nd century B.C. Cunningham assigned them to the 1st century A.D., apparently on palaeographic grounds. I am inclined to rely more on palaeographic than on stylistic grounds.

² Only the upper part of these two *aksharas* are clear, the ground line of य, as also the lower part of ख, being obscured by the horizontal lines.

It must be noted that Cunningham, the earliest decipherer of the inscription, read यखे. Later writers have read भगे, भग or गने and have tried to explain away the difficulties of such readings.

³ Cunningham : अचुसनीगीक ; Jayaswal : अचो छोनीधीगी ; Larnett : अचिक्नीवीके ; Chanda : अचक्नीवीक ; Majumdar : लेक्के[वि*] ४०(+*)४. In my opinion Jayaswal and Majumdar are beside the mark. For अचक् = अत्यक्षय, cf. मोगल्लान = मौद्धल्यायण.

⁴ Jayaswal : सप or सव

⁵ Or ०नंदे. Jayaswal : ०खते (or ०खेते) वट (or वेट)-रंदी ; Chanda : यख स (?) रंदि ; Majumdar : यखे सं वजिनां ७०

January, 1925, p. 59 ; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Am. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, VII, Pts. 1-2, pp. 160-63 ; D. R. SAHNI, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 57.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa 1st century A.D.

TEXT¹

- 1 कौसलाधिपेन द्विरश्वमेध-याजिनः सेनापतेः² पुष्यमित्रस्य षष्ठेन³ कौशिको-
पुत्रेण धन...⁴
- 2 धर्मराज्ञा⁵ पितुः फल्गुदेवस्य केतनं⁶ कारितं तम् (॥*)

No. 10—Pabhosa Cave Inscriptions of the time of Udaka.—Regnal Year 10.

PABHOSĀ, near Kosam, Allahābād District, U. P.

HOERNLE, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1887, p. 104 ; A. FÜHRER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 242f. ; LÜDERS, *List*, Nos. 904-05.

¹ From the facsimile in *J. B. O. R. S.*, X. The equalization of the upper verticals of consonants except ल, the constant use of *serif* and the angular forms of न, ज, प, फ, स, ल and ष show beyond doubt that the record cannot be much earlier than the first century A.D.

² Pushyamitra's horse-sacrifice is referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* which also styles him as *Senāpati*. The title appears to have been popular even after his accession to the throne. Pushyamitra possibly never assumed any royal title even after his accession to imperial power. Cf. the case of the Peshwas.

³ I.e., sixth in descent from Pushyamitra probably from the side of the mother. This interpretation is supported by the palaeography of the record. Sanskrit usage would require पुष्यमित्रात् ; but the language of the record is influenced by Prakrit. The interpretation "sixth brother of Pushyamitra" is out of the question.

⁴ We may have धनदेवेन, धनदेन, धनकेन, धननन्दिना, धनभूतिना, धनमित्रेण, धनदेनेन, धनदासिन, etc. But the father's name फल्गुदेव makes the case of धनदेवेन a little better. He was apparently a local ruler of the Ayodhyā region.

⁵ Read धर्मराजिन.

⁶ A building (for the accommodation of an image of the deceased); or, a structure or pillar (ध्वज-स्तम्भ) on the cremation ground in memory of Phalgudeva.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B.C.

No. I

(on a rock outside the cave)

TEXT²

- 1 राज्ञो गोपाली-पुत्रस
- 2 बहसतिमितस³
- 3 मातुलेन गोपालिया-
- 4 वैह[ी]दरी-पुत्रेन [आसा]⁴
- 5 आसाढसेनेन लेनं
- 6 कारितं उदाक[स]⁵ दस-
- 7 म-सवक्करे * * हि * स⁶ अरहं-
- 8 [त*]। (॥*)

¹ Führer assigns the records to the 2nd or 1st century B.C. and Bühler to circa 150 B.C. The characters have however some peculiarities in common with the inscriptions of the Śakas of Mathurā. They exhibit angular forms of *aksharas* and also the *serif*; cf. व in lines 1-2, न in line. 2, etc., in No. I. Note also the developed sign for medial i, and the curved base of न and developed medial u in No. II.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

³ He appears to be the king whose coins have been discovered at Rāmpagar (ancient Abichebhatra, capital of Pañchāla), Bareilly District, and Kosam (ancient Kauśāmtī, capital of 'atsa), Allāhābād District, U. P. See Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 146, 155, 185. This king may possibly be identified with Bahasatimita, king of the Magadhas, mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (end of the 1st century B.C.). For two names of Mitra kings on the Bodhgayā rail pillars and on coins found at Kumrahar (Gayā District), see Raychaudhuri, *P. H. A. I.*, 4th ed., p. 327. The line is carried further by the Mora inscription describing the daughter of Bahasatimita as the wife of the king (possibly of Mathurā) and as the mother of living sons. Cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 120; *C. H. I.*, I, p. 525.

⁴ These redundant letters of the name were afterwards erased.

⁵ Führer: उदा०.स is partially preserved. Udāka was apparently a king of the Kosam region. He has been identified with the Śuṅga king who succeeded Vasumitra. This record however cannot be placed so early as the 2nd century B. C.

⁶ Führer: कश्चपयानं; but the last letter is certainly न, not न; या is different in shape from या in line 3; श्य is doubtful. The reading may be: १० अहिक्क

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

राज्ञः गोपाळी-पुत्रस्य बृहस्पतिमित्रस्य (यद्वा—बृहत्स्वातीमित्रस्य) मातुलेन गोपाळिका-
वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन लयनं (=गुहावासः) कारितम् ऊदाकस्य द्दाम-संवत्सरे
अहिच्छन्नाहतां [सुपरिमहे = ०ग्रहाय] ॥

No. II

(inside the cave)

TEXT¹

- 1 अधिच्छन्नाया राज्ञो शौनकायन-पुत्रस्य² वंगपालस्य
- 2 पुत्रस्य राज[१] तेवणी-पुत्रस्य भ्रागवतस्य³ पुत्रेण
- 3 वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण अ[१*]षाढसेनेन कारितं (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अधिच्छन्नायाः (=अहिच्छन्नायाः⁴) राज्ञः शौनकायनी-पुत्रस्य वंगपालस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः
सैवर्णी-पुत्रस्य भागवतस्य पुत्रेण वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन कारितं [लयनम्] ॥

No. 10A—Kosam Stone Inscription

MASHARFA near Kosam, Allahabad District, U.P.

D. R. SAHNI, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 158-9 ; D. C. SIRCAR, *J. B. R. S.*,
XXXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 1-5.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B.C.

TEXT⁵1 नमो भगव[तो]⁶

2 सथवाहस

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

² Read शौनकायनी. Faint traces of a medial i are visible. The metronymics may have something to do with the matriarchal state of ancient non-Aryan society. But they are certainly directly connected with Indian polygyny. A metronymic distinguished a person from the issues of his many step-mothers.

³ Read भाग०.

⁴ The more popular अहिच्छन् is a Prakritized form of अधिच्छन्.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII.

⁶ Sahni : भगवते.

3 मानिभद्रस ¹ (1*)	9 तस पुतेन
4 गहपतिकस	10 गहपतिकेन
5 एजावति-पुतस	11 गोतिपुतेन
6 वारिस ² पुतस गहपतिको	12 अशिकायं कारिता
7 सेलिया-पुतो	13 वेदिका (1*) पियतं
8 कुसपालो(ल)-नामा (1*)	14 [भगवा] (1*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः भगवते सार्थवाहाय³ माणिभद्राय (=मणिभद्र इति यक्षाय) । गृहपतिकस्य इज्यावती-पुतस्य वारिणः पुतः गृहपतिकः शैलिका-पुतः कुसपाल-नामा । तस्य पुत्रेण गृहपतिकेन गौरीपुत्रेण अशिकायां (=अशिकाख्य-स्थाने)⁴ कारिता वेदिका [मणिभद्र-मन्दिरे] (यद्वा—मणिभद्र-प्रतिमा-स्थापनार्थ-पीठः) । प्रीयतां भगवान् [मणिभद्रः] ॥

No. 10B—Jagatpur Brick Inscriptions of Śilavarman

JAGATPUR, Dehradun District, U.P.

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, *J.O.R.*, XXI, pp. 1-31; XXII, p. 100; *Indian Archaeology 1953-54—A Review*, ed. by A. GHOSH, p. 11.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī of the third century A.D.

Metre: श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्)

¹ Sahni takes *Māṇibhadra* to mean 'a devotee of Yaksha Maṇibhadra'. But *Māṇibhadra* is just another form of the Yaksha's name.

² These letters had been omitted and were later incised above the line.

³ The Yaksha Maṇibhadra or Māṇibhadra was especially worshipped by the merchants and seems to have been conceived as a merchant or a leader of caravans; cf. *Mahābhārata*, III. 65. 22. See also *Journ. Or. Inst.*, II, pp. 352, 354.

⁴ *Śīkā* may be the old name of Mashāṭa in the vicinity of Kāśmīr (ancient Kāśāmbī). Sahni takes *śīkā* to s and for *śmīkā* and translates *śīkāyam.....redīkā* as "this railing of stone".

TEXT¹

No. 1

1 सिद्धम्²

युगेश्वरस्याश्वमेधे युगशैल-महीपतेः (।*)

इष्टका वार्षगण्यस्य नृपतेः शैलवर्मणः (।*)³

No. 2

नृपतेर्वार्षगण्यस्य पोण-पष्टस्य धीमतः (।*)

चतुर्थस्याश्वमेधस्य चित्योऽयं शैलवर्मणः (।*)⁴

No. 10C—Bhadrak Stone Inscription of the time of Gana—Regnal Year 8

A locality near BHADRAK, Balasore District, Orissa.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, pp. 169-74.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the third century A. D.

TEXT⁵

1 'महराज-सिरि-ग[णम सं ८ ।] मूलजपे[न] देवा ३ दत्ता (।*)

2 * * वप' ८० (।*) महाकुलपति-अय्य-अगिसमेणं पानिदे वडिदं पडिडिदं (।*)

3⁶[भद] अपवस महासर खलि अडसम [।]

¹ From the text quoted and Plates published by Ghosh and Ramachandran.

² This is followed by a symbol often found in Kushāṇa inscriptions (see No. 49 below).

³ The inscribed bricks belonged to king Śīlavarman of the Vṛishagaṇa or Vārshagaṇya gotra. He is called 'lord of Yuga' and 'lord of the Yuga hill'. It is difficult to determine whether Yuga-śaila and Yuga were the names Śīlavarman's capital and kingdom. Ramachandran sometimes reads वार्षगण्यस्य which is unwarranted.

⁴ Śīlavarman performed no less than four Āśvamedhas. He was the sixth in descent from Poṇa who seems to have been the progenitor of his family. This line of kings possibly succeeded in founding a kingdom about the present Dehradun region on the ruins of the Kushāṇa empire. The bricks were used to build the *chitya* of the Śīlavarman's fourth horse-sacrifice. The word has been used in the sense of *chitya*, "an altar," or "a sacrificial shed". In this sense, both *chitya* and *chityā* are sometimes used in literature. Ramachandran sometimes wrongly reads पनपष्टस्य (पुनपष्टस्य).

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ There are traces of the *siddham* symbol at this place.

⁷ Probably a land measure like *āḥarāpa* is intended.

⁸ Traces of the damaged letters here suggest a word like *adhīrāsika*.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य श्रीगणस्य सं ८ (=संवत्सरे अष्टमे) । मूलजपेन देवाः
 ३ दत्ताः (=तिस्रः देव-प्रतिमाः उत्सर्गिताः) । [आढ]वापाः ८० (=अशीत्याढवापात्मिका
 भूमिः च प्रदत्ता) । [तत् सर्वं] महाकुलपत्यार्याग्निशर्मणा (=तदाख्य-मन्दिराध्यक्षेण)
 पानिदे (=तदाख्य-स्थाने) वंदितं (-भूमिवष्टनं - भूमिभागः) प्रतीच्छितं (=परिगृहीतम्) ।
अग्निवासिकाः (-अमुक-स्थान-वास्तव्याः) भद्रः अपवर्षः महासारः खली अटशर्मा
 [इति दानकर्मणः साक्षिणः] ॥

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE INDO-GREEKS¹No. 11—Inscription on some Coins of Demetrios
(c. 190—160 B.C.)²SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 9, No. 1³*First Side*⁴

Bust of king to right, diademed, wearing elephant's scalp.

¹ The Bactrian Greeks (=Yavanas) were a factor in Indian politics from the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.; but they had gradually to give way to the Skytho-Parthians from about the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. Sometimes several Indo-Greek kings of more than one royal house ruled contemporaneously from their capitals at places like Kāpiśi, (capital of Kāpiśa = Kafirstan), Pushkavāvatī (Charsadda), Takshaśilā and Śākala (Sialkot). Duplication of kings and their relation or contemporaneity are sometimes suggested on the basis of similarity or dissimilarity of coin types. But in some cases they may be due to local or other reasons. See *supra*, p. 83, n. 1; *infra*, p. 111, n. 3.

² About the middle of the 3rd century B.C., Diodotos I, governor of Bactria, revolted against the Seleukid emperor of Syria. He was succeeded by Diodotos II whose successor was Euthydemus. Demetrios, son of Euthydemus and son-in-law of Antiochos II (the Seleukid emperor who had given him a daughter when the independence of Bactria was recognised), conquered portions of Northern and Western India including probably Kābul, the Punjab and Sind about 190 B.C. The scalp of the Indian elephant refers to conquests in India.

³ For the coins noticed in these pages, consult also other Catalogues of Coins, such as the British Museum Catalogue of Gardner and the Punjab Museum Catalogue of Whitehead and also works like those of Cunningham. The wide extent of the empire of Demetrios is suggested by the existence of a city named Demetriaspolis in Arakhosia and of another named Dattāmitrī (after Dattāmitra = Demetrios) in Sauvira (eastern part of lower Sind). He has been identified with Timitt of a Besnagar seal. See Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, 4th ed., p. 319.

⁴ From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate I, No. 9.

Second Side

Young Herakles¹ standing, facing, crowning himself with right hand, and holding club and lion's skin in the left; monogram; inscription in Greek characters:—

(right) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (= *basilēōs*)

(left) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (= *Demetriou*).²

No. 12—Inscription on some oblong Copper Coins of Pantaleon (c. 160-155 B.C.)³

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 10. No. 1

*First Side*⁴

Leopard,⁵ standing to right, in square incuse; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΑ[ΕΩΣ] (= *basilēōs*)

(below) ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ (= *Pantalēontos*)

Second Side

Female figure⁶ to left, dancing, clad in loose robe and trousers,⁷ with long ear-rings; flower in right hand⁸; no monogram; inscription in Brāhmī characters:—

(right) रजने (left) पतलवस (= राज्ञः पन्तलेवस्य ।)

¹ Herakles (Roman Hercules) is the Greek god of strength.

² *Basilēōs Demetriou* = [the coin] of king Demetrios.

³ Pantaleon was a king of the north-western part of Ind'a about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. The oblong shape and Brāhmī script are peculiarly Indian. He was probably related to Agathokles (c. 155-135 B.C.), Antimakhos (c. 150-135 B.C.) and Apollodotos I (c. 140-120 B.C.), all possibly belonging to the house of Demetrios. The provenance and script of Pantaleon's coins show that he ruled over a wide area for a short time. The suggestion that Pantaleon and Agathokles were kings of Western Paropanisadae and Arakhosia (*C. H. I.*, I, p. 546) is rendered doubtful by their use of Brāhmī.

⁴ From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate II, No. 1. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of king Pantaleon".

⁵ Maneless lion, according to Smith.

⁶ She is generally regarded as a dancing girl. Coomaraswamy suggests Śrī or Lakṣmī (*Eastern Art*, I, pp. 175 ff.).

⁷ The dress is described as "oriental costume" by Whitehead.

⁸ Possibly the lotus held in the hand is what is called *lilā-kamala*.

No. 13—Inscription on some Coins of Eukratides (c. 175-155 B.C.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 13, No. 29

*First Side*²

Bust of king to right, diademed and with helmet in the shape of high-crowned *Kausia* (flat cap), adorned with ear and horn of bull and crest; astragalus border; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above in semicircle) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(= *basilēōs mēgalou*)

(below) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (= *Eukratidou*).

Second Side

The Dioskuroi³ standing, facing, each holding a long spear, and wearing a sword; monogram E and Y combined; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters:—

(above) रजस महतकस

(below) एवक्रतिदस

(— राजः महतः एवक्रतिदस ।)

No. 14—Shinkot Steatite Casket Inscriptions of the time of Menander

(c. 115-90 B.C.) and of Vijayamitra—Regnal year 5

SHINKOT, Bajaur Tribal Territory⁴

N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Ep. Ind.* XXIV, p. 7; D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.*, XXVI, pp. 318ff.; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 114-15; Sten Konow, *N.I.A.*, January, 1940, pp. 639-48; *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 52ff.

¹ Eukratides became the lord first of Bactria and then of North-Western India. He was contemporary with the early kings of Euthydemes's line and wrested many parts of the Kabul Valley and North-Western India from the latter.

² From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate II, No. 9. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of the great king Eukratides". *Rajasa mahatakasa* in the Indian translation was soon changed to *maharajasa*. See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 12, No. 17.

³ The Greek twin gods Kastor and Pollux like the Indian Aśvinikumāras. They were typically represented as horsemen and were patrons of games and equestrian exercises, Kastor being a horse-tamer and Pollux a boxer.

⁴ The place is about 20 miles west of the Panjkora-Swat confluence beyond the borders of the former North-West Frontier Province.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi¹

TEXT²

Group I

A

(on the rim of the lid)

.....मिनेद्र³ महरजस कटिग्रस दिवस ४(+*) ४(+*) ४(+*) १ (+ -) १⁴
प्र[ण]-[स]मे[द]...

¹ In Gr. I the letters are formed by bold and deeply incised strokes; but in Gr. II the writing is shallow and the letters are smaller in size. The first has ण with a rounded head; in the second it has an acute angle. The letter न in Gr. I has a long sweep in its top curve as in Aśoka's edicts; in Gr. II however the curve has taken an angular or hook-like appearance as in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. The letter स of the first Group is generally of the closed type as in Aśoka's edicts and Graeco-Bactrian coin-legends, while in Gr. II the letter shows a gap at the upper left side of the crowning loop as in the records of the Saka period. These characteristics have led Majumdar to think that there is a gap of more than 50 years between the two Groups. He places Gr. I in the 2nd and Gr. II in the first century B.C. According to Sten Konow, the record does not mention any feudatory of Menander who himself installed the relics and Vijayamitra, the same as Vijayamitra, restored the relics about a century after Menander. None of the suggestions appears to be acceptable. We are inclined to suggest that Vijayamitra was the son or more probably the grandson of Viyakamitra (Virvaka^o or Viryāṅkamitra), a feudatory of Menander. He was the father of the *Apracharāja* Indravarman whose coins have been discovered (*Num. Chron.*, 1944, pp. 99 ff.). This Indravarman was the father of Aspavarman who was a *strategos* first under Azes II and then under Gondophernes (21-46 A.D.). The approximate chronology of these rulers would thus be as follows: Viyakamitra—close of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st century B.C.; Vijayamitra—2nd and 3rd quarters of the 1st century B.C.; Indravarman—3rd and 4th quarters of the 1st century B.C.; Aspavarman—1st half of the 1st century A.D. This seems to suggest that Menander could not have flourished so early as the middle of the 2nd century B.C. as is usually supposed (see note on No. 15 below). The absence of the mention of Vijayamitra's overlord in the latter part of the inscription seems to suggest that Vijayamitra was ruling at a period when the Greek power was already on the decline after Menander's death.

² From Plates in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV.

³ The date portion at the beginning is lost. Note the Indianisation of the name.

⁴ The third figure is inscribed below the line. It is to be noted that the number 14 is here not expressed as in Brāhmī with 10 and 4. The months' names were popularised in Indian epigraphy by foreigners.

A₁

(in the centre of the lid)

.... ...[प्रति*][थवि]त (।*)

A₂

(inner face of the lid)

प्रण-समे[द] [शरिर*] [भगव*][तो] शकमुनिस (।*)¹B²

(inside of the casket)

वियकमित्स³ अप्रचरजस (।*)

Group II

C

(centre of the lid)

1 विजय[मिते]ण⁴...

2 पते प्रदियविदे (।*)

¹ According to Sten Konow, sections A, A₁ and A₂ only belong to Menander's time.

² Sten Konow reads section B between पंचविश्वे and इयो in section D, line 2.

³ The additional stroke at the foot of स may indicate that the *akshara* is स्य. Viyakamitra appears to have been a feudatory of Menander प्राण-समेत refers to the Buddhist belief that the Buddha's relics could perform miracles.

⁴ च is clear, but ignored by Majumdar. There were at least two *aksharas* after ण, the lower parts of which are visible. Konow: विजयमित [प्रवर]. Vijayamitra successor of Viyakamitra, has been identified with the king of that name whose son's coins bearing legends in Greek and Kharoshthī characters and belonging to the first century B. C. have been discovered in Taxila. See R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, p. 168, Plate XVII. He reads the legend on the coins as विजयमित-पुत्रस इववर्णस अप्रचरजस (cf. *Num Chron.*, 1944, pp. 90-104).

D

(inside of the casket)

- 1 इमे शरिर पलुगभुद्रओ न सकरे अखित (1*) स शरिअखि कलद्रे नो¹ शओ न पिंडोयकेयि पित्ति पिणयत्ति (1*)²
- 2 तस ये पत्ते अपोमुअ वषये पंचमये ४(+*)^१ वैशखस मसस दिवस पंचविशये इयो
- 3 प्रलिथविले विजयमित्तेन अप्रचरजेन भगवतु शक्तिमुणिस समस[']बुधस शरिर (1*)

E

(on the back of the casket)

विडिपलेन अणंकतेन³ लिखिले (1*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

Gr. I : A [संवत्सरे]... मीनेन्द्रस्य महाराजस्य कार्तिकस्य [मासस्य] दिवसे १४ प्राण-समेतं [शरीरं] A₁ [भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः] प्रतिष्ठापितम् । A₂ प्राणसमेतं शरीरं (= देहावशेषः) भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः । B वीर्यकमिलस्य अप्रत्यग्राजस्य⁴ (= महाराजासम-राजस्य - सामन्तस्य । यद्वा - अपत्यराजस्य) ॥ Gr. II : B विजयमित्तेन....पात्रं प्रतिष्ठापितम् । C इदं शरीरं 'प्ररुग्ण-भूतकं' (= भग्नं भूतं) न सत्कारः आदृतम् । तत् शीर्यते कालतः, [अथ कः अपि] न श्रद्धः (= श्रद्धालुः) न [च] पिण्डोदकानि पितॄन् ग्राहयति । तस्य एतत् पात्रं वर्षके पञ्चमके^५ वैशाखस्य मासस्य दिवसे पंचविंशके इह पुनः] प्रतिष्ठापितं

¹ Sten Konow : इमे शरिर पलुग भुत् उन सकरेअत्ति ; तस शरिअत्ति कलद्रे नो शओ न [पिंत्तो]यकेयि पित्ति पिणयत्ति, 'This relic, its place having become damaged, is caused to be repaired. Its periodical offering is discontinued: not does anybody let the Pitaras get Śrāddha, not Piṇḍodaka.'

² Majumdar : न

³ Sten Konow : अणंकतेन. According to this scholar, *anamkaya* = Greek *anamkaia* was used to indicate the king's advisors, court and friends and became something like an horrific title (cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1939, p. 265). Both the reading and interpretation are unconvincing.

⁴ *Apracharāja* has been interpreted as "king without a rival" "king of the west (*a-prāchya*)", etc.

विजयमित्रेन अप्रत्यग्राजेन, भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य [नवं] शरीरं [च अस्मिन्
पात्रे प्रतिष्ठापितम्] । E विद्विक्तेन आज्ञाकृता (= आज्ञाकारिणा लिखितम् ॥

No. 15—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Menander (c. 115-90 B.C.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 22

*First Side*²

Bust of king to right, helmeted; inscription in Greek characters: —

(above, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (= *basilēōs sōteros*)

(below) ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ (*Mēnandrou*)

Second Side

Pallas Athene³ to left, holding aegis in left hand and hurling thunderbolt with right hand; monogram; inscription in Kharoshthi characters:—

(above) महारजस्य व्रतरस

(below) मेन्द्रस

(= महाराजस्य व्रातुः मेन्द्रस्य ॥)

¹ He seems to have extended his power over some parts of Western India. The author of the *Periplus* (c. 80 A.D.) refers to the coins of Apollodotus and Menander current in his time at Baragaza (Brosch). Numismatists usually assign Menander to the middle of the 2nd century B.C.; but Gardner placed him about 110 B.C. (Smith, *E.H.I.*, 4th ed., p. 258). He has been identified with the Yona (=Yavana or Greek) king Milinda who became a disciple of the Buddhist teacher Nāgaseṇa, according to the *Milindapañho* which places him 500 years (i.e. in the 5th century) after Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* that occurred in 544 B.C. according to the Ceylonese tradition. Milinda's capital was at Śākala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab). He possibly ruled about the end of the second century B.C. The name is found as Milindra in the *Aradānakalpalatā* of Kshemend's and the Tibetan Tangyur collections (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 4n.).

² From Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate V No. 1. The Greek inscription means: "[the coin] of king Menander, the saviour."

³ The Greek goddess of prosperity, strength and wisdom (=Roman Minerva).

No. 16—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Strato
I¹ and [his mother] Agathokleia the
Queen-regent (c. 90-85 B.C.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 21

*First Side*²

Bust of queen to right, bare-headed; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above) BA[ΣΙΑΙΣΣΗΣ] [ΘΕ]ΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ (= *basilisses thēotropou*)³

(below) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ (= *Agathoklēias*)

Second Side

Herakles seated to left on rock; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters:—

(above) [महरजस] व्रतरस धर्मिकस

(below) [ख]तम

(= महाराजस्य व्रतुः धार्मिकस्य स्वतस्य ॥)

¹ He ruled probably in the Eastern Punjab from about 85 to about 90 B. C. He is supposed to have been the son of Menander and to have been ousted by Helioke's (c. 130-90 B.C.) from Nikaea (*C. H. I.*, I, p. 699). This Helioke's need not have been the son and immediate successor of Eukratides.

² From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate IV, No. 11.

³ It is interesting that the obverse refers to the queen-regent and the reverse to the minor king. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of queen Agathokleia true to the gods." She may have been the daughter of Agathokles and the wife of Menander.

No. 17—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Antialkidas (c. 110-80 B.C.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 15, No. 1

*First Side*²

Bust of king to right, diademed : inscription in Greek characters :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΕΦΟΡΟΥ (= *basilēōs nikēphorou*)

(below) ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ (= *Antialkidou*)

Second Side

Zeus³ on throne, to left, laureate, holding long sceptre in left hand; and, in right hand, a small figure of Nikē⁴ who holds palm and a wreath, towards which the forepart of a small elephant⁵ to left, with bell round neck, extends its trunk; monogram; inscription in Kharoshthī characters :—

(above) महरजस जयधरस

(below) अंतिअलिकितस

(= महाराजस्य जयधरस्य अन्तियलिकितस्य ॥)

¹ Antialkidas belonging to the house of Eukratides ruled in the Taxila region about the end of the second century B.C. He is mentioned in the Benagar inscription of the 11th year of Bhāgabhadra who must be placed some years later than Pushyamitra (c. 184-148 B.C.) and Agnimitra (c. 148-140 B.C.) and possibly after their two successors who ruled for 17 years according to the Purāṇas. He might have sought assistance of the Vidiśā king against the aggression of the great conqueror Menander, king of Śākala and a scion of the rival house of Euthydemus.

² From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate III, No. 1. On some copper specimens modified later forms of *sigma* and *omega* are noticed.

³ Roman Jupiter, the parallel of Indian Indra.

⁴ The Greek goddess of victory; cf. the title *nikēphoros* = जयधर. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of the victorious king Antialkidas"

⁵ The elephant which reminds us of Indra's Airāvata possibly indicates an approach towards the identification of Zeus with Indra.

No. 18—Inscription on some Coins of Hermaios¹
(c. 20-30 A.D.) and [his queen] Kalliope

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 31

*First Side*²

Busts of king and queen to right, both diademed ; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (= *basilēōs sōteros Ermaiou*)

(below) ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ (= *kai Kalliopes*)

Second Side

King helmeted and diademed, on prancing horse to right, with bow and spear at his back ; monogram ; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

(above) महरजस क्षतरस हेरमयस

(below) कलियपय

(= महाराजस्य त्रातुः हेरमयस्य कलियपायाः [च] ॥)

¹ He seems to have belonged to the house of Eukratides and to have ruled in the first half of the first century A. D. He was the last Greek king of the Kabul region and was supplanted by the Parthians, probably by Gondophernes. These joint issues may indicate a union of the rival houses of Eukratides and Euthydemos.

² From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate VI, No. 11. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of king Hermaios, the saviour, and of Kalliope."

No. 19—Inscription on some Copper Coins of
Hermaios and of the Kushana Yavuga
Kujula Kasa¹ (c. 25-55 A.D.)

SMITH,² *Catalogue*, p. 33

First Side

Bust of Hermaios to right, diademed ; inscription in Greek characters :—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [ΣΤΗΡΟ]ΣΣΥ³ ΕΡ[ΜΑΙΟΥ] (= *basilēōs sterosou*
Ermaiou)

Second Side

Herakles facing, diademed ; with right hand he holds club resting on ground, and with left hand lion's skin ; circular inscription in Kharoshthī characters :—

कुजुल-कसस [कूषन-यवु]गस धर्म-स्थितस⁴

(= कुजुल-कसस्य कुषाण-यवुगस्य [= कुषाणवंशीय-नायकस्य] धर्म-स्थितस्य ॥)

¹ He has been identified with Kadphises I. *Yavuga* is supposed to be a Turkish word meaning "a prince". The Kushāṇas gradually ousted the Greeks and the Skytho-Parthians from the sovereignty of the Kabul region and the north-western part of India. The joint issues may indicate that Kadphises I at first accepted the nominal suzerainty of the Greeks of Kabul. They may be similar to the coins of the East India Company issued in the name of Shāh 'Alam II (Whitehead, *Cat.*, II Nos. 2964-67). In Kabul the Greeks were supplanted by the Parthians and the Parthians by the Kushāṇas. Kadphises I did not conquer the region of the Indus.

² From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate VI, No. 14.

³ Read ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. ΣΥ was regarded by Cunningham as a prefix to the king's name. The Greek inscription means : " [the coin] of king Hermaios, the saviour ; " but in some cases *sōtēros* is wrongly translated as महत्स.

⁴ On Kadphises' own coins (see *infra*) we sometimes get सुव-धर्म-उत्तम (= सुव-धर्म-स्थितस्य) which possibly refers to his devotion to the religion of the Buddha.

No. 20—Swat Relic Vase Inscription of the Meridarkh Theodoros

A Paṭhān village in the SWĀT VALLEY ; now Panjab Museum.

F. W. THOMAS, *Fest. Ernst Windisch*, p. 362 ; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 4.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshṭhī of circa 1st century B. C.

TEXT¹

1. येउदोरेन मेरिदख्खेन प्रतिठविद्र हमे शरिर शकमुणिस भगवतो बहु-जण- [हिति]ये² [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

येवदोरेण मेरिदख्खेण (=विषयपतिना=प्रदेश-शासकेन ; Greek *meridarkhes*)
पतिष्ठापितम् इदं शरोरं (=देहावशेषः) शाक्यमुनेः (=बुद्धस्य) भगवतः बहुजन-हिताय ॥

C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SKYTHO-PARTHIANS AND THE KUSHĀNAS

(i) INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN THE OLDER SKYTHO-PARTHIAN
RECKONING AND CONNECTED RECORDS

No. 21—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Maues (c. 20 B.C.-20 A.D.)³

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 39

First Side⁴

Zeus standing to left, clad in himation ; grasping long sceptre

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i.

² Thomas : ०ज्जटितिये ; Konow : ०ज्जसत्तिये

³ This date of Maues is based on the supposition that he is the same as Moga of the Taxila record (*infra*, No. 27). He seems to have originally been a subordinate of Vonones of East Iran and to have carried to India the use of the latter's era which started from 58 B.C. and was later called the Kṛita, Māliya or Vikrama era. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 125 ff. Maues imitated the coin-types of Demetrios and Strato I

⁴ From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate VIII, No. 2.

with left hand ; right arm extended ; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above, in semicircle) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(= *basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou*)

(below) ΜΑΥΟΥ (= *Mauou*)

Second Side

Nikē standing to right, holding out wreath in right hand and palm bound with fillet in left hand ; monogram in right field ; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters :—

(above, in semicircle) रजदिरजस महत्तस

(below) [मो]अस¹

(= राजातिराजस्य महतः मोयस्य [= मोगस्य] ॥)

No. 22—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Azēs I² (c. 10-35 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 43

*First Side*³

Zeus standing to left ; right hand extended ; long sceptre with fillet in left hand ; inscription in Greek characters⁴ :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(= *basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou*)

(below) ΑΖΟΥ (= *Azou*)

¹ Another Indian form of the name is *Moga*. The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of Maues, the great king of kings." The title is derived from *Khshāyathiyānam Khshāyathiya* of Old Persian inscriptions.

² He possibly succeeded Maues = *Moga* in the Gandhāra region and conquered the Eastern Punjab from Hippostratos. He was probably the son of Spalirises of East Iran and the son-in-law of Maues and succeeded to the Indian possessions of Maues. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 126.

³ From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate VIII, No. 9. On some specimens the square *omicron* is noticed.

⁴ The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of Azēs, the great king of kings."

Second Side

Winged Nikē standing to right, holding out wreath in right hand, and palm with fillet in left hand; monogram to right; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

(above) महरजस रजरजस महत्तस

(below) अयस

(= महाराजस्य राजराजस्य महत्तः अयस्य ॥)

No. 23—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Azilises¹ (c. 30-40 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 49

First Side

King on horse-back to right, with lance; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(= *basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou*)

(below) ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ (= *Azilisou*)²

Second Side

Pallas Athene to left, thunder-bolt in right hand and aegis in left hand; monogram in the left and Kharoshthī 𑀅 in the right field; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

(above) महरजस रजरजस महत्तस

(below) अयिलिपस

(= महाराजस्य राजराजस्य महत्तः अयिलिपस्य ॥)

¹ He was succeeded by Azes II (c. 35-75 A.D.). Aspavarnan was a *strategos* (= सेनापति or governor) first under Azes II and then under Gonioharnes, while his nephew Sasa under the latter and Pakores.

² The Greek inscription means "[the coin] of Azilises, the great king of kings"

No. 24—Mathurā Lion-Capital Inscriptions of the
time of Rañjuvula (c. 1-15 A.D.) and Śoḍasa
(c. 10-25 A.D.)

MATHURĀ, Mathurā (Muttra) District, U.P.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., XXVI, pp. 542-44; F. W. THOMAS, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 141 ff.; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II., i, p. 48 (No. XV).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT:

Group I

A (i)

- 1 महक्ष[ल]वस रजुलस
- 2 अग्रमहेषि अयसिअ
- 3 कमु[स]अ^१ धित
- 4 स्वर(हं?)ओस्तस युवरज
- 5 मत्र नददि(सि?)अकस[ण]^२

¹ From the Plates in *Ep. Ind.*, IX, and *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II i. The seemingly unnecessary subscript *r* modifies the sound of the superscript consonant

² The first section may be and has been differently interpreted: "By the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Rājula, daughter of Ayasī Komūsā (masculine), mother of the Heir Apparent Kharaosta, Nandasi-Akasā [by name]" (Thomas); "The chief queen of the Mahākshatrapa Rajula, Ayasīa Komuīa, the daughter of the Yuvarāja Kharaosta, the mother of Naīa Diaka" (Konow). *Kshatrapa* is from Old Persian *Khshathrapāvan*, "a provincial governor". The late Marāṭhī royal title *Chhatrapati* is an echo of *Chhatrapa*, the Prakrit form of *Kshatrapa*. The relation between the Mahākshatrapa and the Kshatrapa was something like that between the Rājan and the Yuvarāja ruling at the same time from the same station or from different stations. Rājula and Rañjuvula are different forms of the same name.

³ Konow: कमुइअ. Kharaosta is from Old Persian *khshathra-osta*, 'the blessing of sovereignty'. Konow identifies him with Kharaosta, son of Arṣa.

⁴ Konow: नद दिअकम [लये]

A (ii)

- 6 सध मल अबुहोल[ए]
- 7 पिलमहि¹ पिप्रस्रिअ अ-
- 8 व ह्युअरन सध हन धि[व]²
- 9 अतेउरेन होरक-प³-
- 10 रिवरेन इअ प्रद्वि-प्रसे-
- 11 अ्रे निसिमे⁴ शरिर प्रत्रिठविलो
- 12 भक्रवत्रो शकमुनिस बुधस
- 13 म(?)किहि(?)र(त?)य⁵ सअप [अ]भुसवित(?)⁶
- 14 थुव च सघरम च चवु-
- 15 दिअस सघस सर्व-
- 16 स्तिवन्नन परिग्रहे (॥*)⁷

C

- 1 कलुइ-अ-
- 2 वरजो

D

- 1 नउलुदो (॥*)

¹ Better read "महिअ.

² Konow takes Hana to be the daughter of Hayuata.

³ Konow and Lüders think होरक=होरमुत⁶, a Skythic rendering of दानपति. But cf. *hūr* in Arabic and Persian meaning 'a virgin' or 'a celestial virgin'.

⁴ Bühler explained निसिम (= नि:सम) as an equivalent to सूप, and Thomas as नि:सीम, a सूप outside the सीमा.

⁵ Konow : मुकि[मि]रय. etc., "after having performed solemnities over the illustrious king Muki (=Maues) and his horse." Thomas : म(स?)किटे.हि(?)र(?)य; Indrajī : मुकिहितय (=मुक्तिहिताय). The reading and interpretation of line 13 are doubtful.

⁶ Thomas : सअप भुसवेति ? (=शाश्वतं भूयात् इति). Better read अअप

⁷ Konow reads section E after A.

Group II

B

- 1 महक्षत्रवस
- 2 वज्रुलस्य¹ पुत्र²
- 3 शुडसे क्षत्रवे³

E

- 1 खर(हं)ओस्तो युवरय
- 2 खलमस कुमार
- 3 मज कनिठ
- 4 समनमोत्र-

E (b)

- 1 क्र (I*) करित

K and L

- 1 अयरिअस
- 2 बुधत्तेवस
- 3 उत्तएन अयिमित्त(स ?)-

H

- 1 गुहविहरे

H(a)

- 1 धमदन (?)

F

- 1 बुधिलस नक्ररअस
- 2 भिल्लुस सर्वस्तिवग्रस (I*)

¹ Read रज्जुल०

² Konow reads section C here.

³ Konow reads section D here.

G

- 1 महक्ष[व]वस्य कुसुलअस पदिकस मेव(?)किस¹
- 2 मियिकस क्षत्रवस पुयए (॥*)

E (a)

- 1 कमुइओ (।*)

Group III

M

- 1 क्षत्रवे शुडिसे
- 2 इमो पढवि-
- 3 प्रवेओ

I

- 1 वेयउदिर्न² कधवरो वुसप-
- 2 रो कध-
- 3 वरो
- 4 वियउ-

J (1 and 2)

- 1 वं * * * * * पलिछिन (?)³
- 2 निसिमो करित नियविवो

J (3)

- 1 सर्वस्तिवत्तन परि(?)ग्रहे

¹ This Patika may have been identical with the person of the same name mentioned in No. 27 below. Mevaki (Maues?) may be the same as Moga of that record. The families of all these Saka chiefs may have been interrelated. But a difficulty in identifying Patika of the two records is that the date of the present inscription, in which Śoḍāsa is called a Kshatrapa, is earlier than the Mathura inscription of year 72 (15 A.D.) when Śoḍāsa was a Mahākshatrapa. Kusuluka Patika is here called a Mahākshatrapa; but in the Taxila epigraph of year 78 (21 A.D.) he is represented as a Mahādānapati under his father, Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka. Kusuluka Patika of this record thus seems to have been the father of Mahākshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka and grandfather of Mahādānapati Patika of the latter record.

² वेयउ seems to be the same as वियउ in section I, line 4.

³ Konow reads here उवरपरिण पलिछिन, 'limited by Urvarapara.' Thomas however notes that 7 or 8 aksharas before पलि are quite obscure owing to the stones having peeled away. Thomas : पलिछे(?)न. Konow's reading छ here as well as in No 33, line 2, is justified by the form of the letter in the Central Asian documents. See *Khar. Ins.*, III, Plate XIV, Nos. 35-37.

N

- 1 अयरिअस बुधिलस नकरकस भिलु-
- 2 स सर्वस्तिवत्रस पग्र-
- 3 न महसघिअन प्र-
- 4 म(?)अ-विस्त्रवे खलुलस (॥*)

O

- 1 सर्वबुधन पुय (१*) धमस
- 2 पुय (१*) सघस पुय (१*)

P

- 1 सर्वस सकस्त-
- 2 नस पुयए (१*)

Q

- 1 खर्दअस
- 2 क्षस्त्रवस (१*)

R

- 1 रक्षिलस
- 2 क्रोनिनस (१*)

J (a)

- 1 खलशमु-
- 2 शो (१*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

Group I: A (i). महाक्षत्रपस्य राजूलस्य अग्र-महिषी, आयसेः कोमुसाः दुहिता, खरवस्तस्य युवराजस्य माता [या, तया] नदसियकसया —

A (ii). सार्द्धं माता आबुहोल्या, पितामह्या पिश्रपस्या, भ्राता हयुरेण, सार्द्धं हना [इति] दुहिता, आन्तःपुरेण 'होरका-परिवारेण (= अन्तःपुरस्य स्त्रीसङ्घेन [च]) अस्मिन् पृथिवी-प्रदेशे निःसीमे (= स्तूपवहिःस्थे परंतु तत्संलग्ने तत्स्वत्वके च स्थाने) शरीरं (= देहावशेषः) प्रतिष्ठापितं भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः बुद्धस्य, [सर्वेषां] मुक्ति-हिताय (?) अभ्युत्सर्पितः (= उत्थापितः = कारितः) स्तूपः च सङ्कारामः च चातुर्दिशस्य सङ्घस्य सर्वास्तिवादानां (= ०वादिनां) परिग्रहे (= ०ग्रहाय) ॥

C कालुष्यवरजः

D नवूल्लः [इति नवकर्मिकः ?] ।

Group II : B महाक्षत्रपस्य राजलस्य पुत्रे शोडाशे क्षत्रपे [शासति],

E खरवस्तः युवराजः, खलमसः कुमारः, मजः कनिष्ठः [च इति] समनुमोद-

E(b) काः [वक्ष्यमानस्य धर्मदानस्य] ; कारितम्

K and L आचार्यस्य बुद्धदेवस्य [शिष्येण] उदयेन आजिमिल (यद्वा—आयिमेः) -

H, H (a). गुहाविहारे धर्मदानं

F बुद्धिलाय नागरकाय (= नगर-वास्तव्याय)¹ भिक्षवे सर्वास्तिवादाय (= तस्य परिग्रहाय ।

G महाक्षत्रपस्य कुसुलुकस्य (कूसुलुक-पुत्रस्य ?) पतिकस्य, मेवकेः (मेवकि-पुत्रस्य ?)
मियिकस्य [च] पूजायै ।

E(a) कामूयीयः [इति नवकर्मिकः ?] ।

Group III : M क्षत्रपे शोडासे [शासति] अयं पृथिवी-प्रदेशः

I, J (1&2).—विजयोदीर्णम् [इति] स्कन्धावारः, पुसापुरम् [इति] स्कन्धावारः.
[तं स्कन्धावारद्वये] विजयोर्व ...परीक्षणा (= तदाख्यपुरुषेण) निःसीमः (= स्तूपवहिःस्थं परंतु
तदधीनं तत्स्वत्वकं च स्थानं) कारितः, निर्यातितः (= दत्तः) [च]

J (3). सर्वास्तिवादानां (= वादिनां) परिग्रहे,

N आचार्याय बुद्धिलाय नागरकाय भिक्षवे, प्राग्रानां माहासाहिकानां प्रामाण्यविश्वे
‘खल्लराय’ ? = मल्लभुवे = निकषसदृशाय ॥

O सर्व-बुद्धानां पूजा । धर्मस्य पूजा । सङ्गस्य पूजा ।

P सर्वस्य शक-स्थानस्य (= शकदेशस्य ; Skythia, Indo-Skythia)² पूजायै ।

Q, R खर्दकस्य क्षत्रपस्य [पूजायै] । रक्षिलस्य, क्रोगिनस्य [च] [पूजायै] ॥

J (a) खलशमुशः [इति नवकर्मिकः ?] ।

¹ Possibly Nagara or Nagarahāra, modern Jalālabād. We may also have: आचार्याय बुद्धदेवाय (= तस्य परिग्रहाय) उदयेन...धर्मदानम् । बुद्धिलस्य...सर्वास्तिवादस्य [पूजायै] ।

² I.e., “with reference to the knowledge of proof of the vanguard of the Māhāsāṅghikas (a Buddhist sect that was antagonistic to the sect of the Sāvastivādins).” Konow makes प्रमां ज्ञपयितुम्, “to teach the truth”.

³ Fleet makes खक-स्थान and Majumdar शक-स्थान. Some take सर्वे as a proper name.

No. 25—The Mathurā Votive Tablet Inscription of the time of Śodasa—Year 72(=A.D. 15)

Kaṅkāli Tīlā at MATHURĀ

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 199; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 59; *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 243-44.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 नम अरहतो वर्धमानस² (1*)
- 2 स्व[१]मिस महक्षत्रपस शोडासस स[१]वत्सरे ७०^३ (+*^२ हेम[१]त-मासे २ दिवसे
९ हरिनि-पुत्रस पालस भयाये सम(न*)-स[१]विकाये^४
- 3 कोछिये अमोहिनिये सहा पुत्रेहि पालघोषेन पोठघोषेन धनघोषेन आर्यवत्ति^५
[प्र]तिथापिता (1*) प्रिय***^६

¹ From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

² Vardhamāna, Jina or Mahāvira was the 24th Jain tīrthāṅkara. An arhat is described as सर्वज्ञो जितरागादिदोषस्त्वैलोकपूजितः । यथास्थिताश्चार्वादी च देवोहन् परमेश्वरः ॥ Vardhamāna was the actual founder of Jainism. The name Kaṅkāliṭīlā means the mound of Kaṅkāli, one of the 64 Yoginis according to Jain works.

³ Bühler suggested that the first figure of the date may be 40 (see, however, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 55, n. 2 where he gives up that view) or 70. It is 40 according to Rapson (*C.H.I.*, I, p. 875). Though it may be confused with the figure for 40 on the Kshatrapa coins (*Ind. Pal.*, Taf. ix, Col. v), there is no doubt that it is the same figure for 70 which is found in Kushāṇa inscriptions (*op. cit.*, Col. vii); see also *this very figure* in the Plate for the record No. 42 of the same Mathurā series (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 212) where Bühler definitely reads it as 70. Most scholars (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 257, n.) now agree that the figure is to be read as 70. For the controversy between Rapson and Lüders, see *Acta Orientalia*, X, p. 118f; XI, p. 260f. The year has to be referred to the old Skytho-Parthian era which we identify with the Vikrama era of 59 B.C. See note on No. 33 below.

⁴ The restoration is due to Bühler.

⁵ Bühler : आर्यवत्ती. The name seems to refer to the figure of the Ārya or Arhat on the Āyāgaśilā.

⁶ Bühler : प्राय*भ* The reading intended seems to be प्रियतां भगवती

† आयवन्ति¹ अरहत-पूजाये (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः अर्हते वर्धमानाय । स्वामिनः² (= प्रजापालकस्य) महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य संवत्सरे [द्विसप्ततितमे] ७२ हेमन्तमासे [द्वितीये] २ (= चातुर्मासिकस्य हेमन्तर्तौः द्वितीये मासे)³ दिवसे [नवमे] ९ हारीती-पुत्रस्य पालस्य भार्यया श्रमग-श्रत्रिकया (= जैनभिक्षु-शिष्यया) कौत्स्या (= कौत्सगोत्रजया) अमोहिन्या सह पुत्रैः पालघोषेण, प्रोष्ठघोषेण, धनघोषेण [च] आर्यवती (= जैनानां आयागपटारूया पूजाशिला) प्रतिष्ठापिता । [प्रियतां भगवती] आर्यवती अर्हत-पूजाये ॥

No. 26—Mathura Stone Inscription of the
time of Śodāsa (c. 10-25 A.D.)

MATHURA, U. P.

DOWSON, *J.R.A.S.*, N. S., V, p. 188, No. 29; CUNNINGHAM, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, III, p. 30; H. LÜDERS, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 247.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT⁴

- 1 स्वामिस्य महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य⁵ गजवरेण⁶ ब्राह्मणेन शेषव-सगोत्रेण [पुष्क*]-
- 2 रणि इमाषां यमड-पुष्करणीं पश्चिमा पुष्करणि उदपानो आरामो स्तम्भो इ[मो*]
- 3 [शिला] पट्टो च (॥*)

¹ Bühler : आर्यवती

² See notes on *infra*, No. 62.

³ The ancient Indian year was divided into three seasons, viz., *grīshma* (Chaitra-Vaiśākha-Jyāishṭha-Āshāḍha), *varshā* (Śrāvaṇa-Bhādra-Āśvina-Kārttika) and *hemanta* (Mārgaśīrsha-Pauṣha-Māgha-Phālguna), each ending with a *chāturmāsī* (cf. notes on Bk. I, No. 28 above and on No. 40 below). Here is a compromise between the Greek (cf. date of No. 14 above) and Indian (cf. Śā.avāhana inscriptions, *infra*) systems of dating.

⁴ From the facsimile in *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, III.

⁵ Possibly Śodāsa and Śonḍāsa were two forms of the name; cf. Rājūla = Rāñjuvula.

⁶ This word is originally Persian. The *Rājatar.*, VII, 42 (Stein, *Intro.*, pp. 37-38) speaks of an office concerned with *griha-kṛitya* (domestic affairs) placed in charge of a *gañjavarā* (treasurer) and five *dibirā* (secretaries). *Dibirā* is another Persian word.

स्वामिनः महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य राज्ञवरेण (=कोषाध्यक्षेणः ब्राह्मणेन श्रौमन्-सगोत्रेण पुष्करिणी—आभ्यां यमल-पुष्करिणीभ्यां पश्चिमा (=पश्चिमायां दिशि स्थिता) पुष्करिणी, उदपानः (=कूपः, आरामः, स्तम्भः, अयं शिलापट्टः च [कारितः] ॥

No. 26A—Mathura Stone Inscription of the time of Śodasa (c. 10-25 A.D.)

From a well at MORA, 7 miles from Mathurā, U. P.

CUNNINGHAM, *A.S.R.*, XX, p. 49, Plate V, No. 4; J. Ph. VOGEL, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Math.*, p. 184, No. Q. 1; H. LÜDERS, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 194.

Language: Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

Metre: Bhujaṅgavijrimbhita

TEXT¹

- 1 [Svastika] महाक्षत्रपस राजवुलस पुलस स्वामि[स्य² महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य संवत्सरे*]...
- 2 भगवतां वृष्णीणां पंचवीराणां³ प्रतिमाः शैल-देवगृ[हे स्थापिताः*]...
- 3 यस्तोष[१०]याः शैलं श्रीमद्रुहमतुलमुदधसमधार (१)⁴ — — — — —
- 5 आर्चादेशां(१)⁵ शैलां पंच ज्वलत इव परम-वपुषा — — — — — (1*)
- 6 — — — — —
- 7 — — — — — (॥०)

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV.

² In Sanskrit : महाक्षत्रपस्य राजवुलस्य पुलस्य स्वामिनः

³ For the five deified Vṛishṇi heroes, see the *Vāyu Purāṇa.*, LXXIX, 1-2 :

सप्तवंशी वासुदेवः प्रद्युम्नः सांख्य एव च ।

अनिरुद्धश्च पञ्चैते वंशवीराः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

See J. N. Banerjĳa, *Journ. Ind. Soc. Or. Art.*, X, pp. 65-68.

⁴ The meaning of the section is not clear. The reading is also not beyond doubt.

⁵ The meaning of the passage is doubtful.

No. 26B—Mathura Stone Inscription of the
time of Sódasa (c. 10-25 A.D.)

MATHURĀ, U. P.

R. P. CHANDA, *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 5, pp. 169-73; H. LÜDERS, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 208; D. C. SIRCAR, *J.B.R.S.*, XXXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 45-48.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

1-5²

6 वसुना भगव[तो वासुदे*]

7 वस्य महास्थान[के देवकु*]-³

8 लं तोरण वे[दिका प्रति*]-

9 ष्ठापितं(तम्)⁴ (॥*) प्रीतो भ[गवान् वासु*]-⁵

10 देवः स्वामि[स्य'नः) महाक्षत्र*]-

11 पस्य शोडास[स्य शासनं*]-⁶

12 संवर्त्तयतां'ताम्'⁷ (॥*)

¹ From impressions.

² Only traces of some letters in this part are visible.

³ Chanda : महास्थान...[चतुःश]लं ; Lüders : ...[शै]लं

⁴ Others read °ष्ठापितो. Chanda : वेदिका;

Chanda : भ[वतु वासु]⁰

⁶ Lüders : ऐश्वर्यं or आयुर्बलं. Chanda suggests a word meaning 'dominion' but used in the dual number.

⁷ Chanda reads संवर्त्तयतां and suggests the emendation संवर्त्तयतां

No. 27—Taxila Copper Plate Inscription of Patika—Year 78 (= A.D. 21)

THUPKIA, near Taxila, Rawalpindi District, West Punjab

Dowson, *J.R.A.S.*, XX, pp. 221ff. : Bhagawanlal INDRAJI, *ibid.*, 1894, pp. 551ff. ; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 55f. ; KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 28 (No. XIII).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 [संवत्स]रये² अठमततिमए २०(+*)२०(+*)२०(+*)१०(+*)४(+*)४
महरयस महंतस [मो]गस प[ने*]मस मसस दिवसे पंचमे ४ + *)१ एतये पुर्वये
क्षहर[स]⁴
- 2 चुस्सस च क्षत्तपस लिअकी कुसुलुकी नम तस पुत्तो [पति][को*] तखशिलये
नगरे (।*) उत्तरेण प्रचु-देशो क्षेम नम (।*) अत्र
- 3 (दे*)शे³ पतिको अप्रतिठवित भगवत शकमुनिस शरिरं (प्र*)[ति]थ[वेति]⁵ [सं]घरमं
च सर्व-बुधन पुयए मत-पितरं पुयए[तो]
- 4 क्षत्तपस स-पुत्त-दरस अयु-बल्ल-वर्धिण अतर सर्व [च] [जतिग]धवस⁶ च पुययंतो
महदनपति पतिक सज उव[क्ष]ए[न*]
- 5 रोहिणिमिहेण य इमं मि⁷ संघरमे नवकमिक (॥*)

¹ See *supra*, No. 21. From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II; *Ep. Ind.* IV

² The conjunct त्स is read by some as त्स

³ The restoration is due to Dowson. The Macedonian month Panemos is equivalent to the Indian Āshāḍha-Śrāvaṇa (July).

⁴ Bhagwanlal and others: क्षहर[स]. In that case, the meaning would be : "the Kshaharāta and the Kahatīra of Chukhsa (mod Chach, N. W. of Taxila)."

⁵ The restoration is due to Bühler.

⁶ The restoration is due to Dowson.

⁷ Bühler suggests the emendation *ñatiga-bañdhava*. But *ñatigadhavasa* may stand for Sanskrit *jñātik-ādhirvāsān*. *Adhirvāsa* means a neighbour.

⁸ See F. W. Thomas in *Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 6. Konow who found the word जउवजए, 'by the Jaūra order', after Patika's name, has accepted (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI p 257, note 6) this reading and the translation of the passage as "the great gift-lord Patika together with the उपाध्याय Robinīmitra who is overseer of works in this सङ्काराम". The original suggestion was जउ वजए = जय; वजएते.

Second Side

6 पतिकस क्षत्तप लिअक (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरके अष्टससति[त]मके ७८ महाराजस्य महतः मोगस्य [Manes] 'पनेमस्य (= यवनानां मासविशेषस्य ; Macedonian Panemos) मासस्य दिवसे पञ्चमे ५-एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तियाँ = पूर्वोक्त-दिवसे] क्षइरस्य चुल्सस्य च [देशस्य] क्षत्तपस्य, लियकः कुसुलकः नाम [यस्य], तस्य पुत्रः पतिकः तक्षशिलायां नगरे [स्थितः] । उत्तरेण प्राच्य-देशः (= उत्तरस्थ-विभाग-पूर्वांशः) क्षेमः नाम । अत्र देशे पतिकः अ-प्रतिष्ठापितं भगवतः शाकममुनेः शरीरं (= देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति । सङ्घारामं च सर्व-बुद्धानां^१ पूजायै, मातापितरौ पूजयन्, क्षत्तपस्य स-गुल्ल-दारस्य आयुर्बलवृद्धये, भ्रातृन् सर्वान् च ज्ञातिकाधिवासान् (= ज्ञातिकान् प्रतिवेशिकान् च) च पूजयन् [प्रतिष्ठापयति] महादानयतिः पतिकः, सार्द्धम् उपाध्यायेन रोहिणीमित्तेण यः अस्मिन् सङ्घारामे नवकर्मिकः (= निर्माणसंस्कारादिकार्यनियुक्तः) ॥

पतिकाय क्षत्तपः लियकः (= पतिकमुद्दिश्य क्षत्तपेण लियकेन फलकः अयं प्रेषितः) ॥

No. 28—Takht-i-Bahī² Stone Inscription of Gondophernes—[Regnal] year 26; Year 103 (= A.D. 46)

TAKHT-I-BĀHĪ, near Mardān, Yūsufzai territory, Peshawar District,
West Pakistan

DOWSON, *Trübner's Record*, June, 1871; *J. R. A. S.*, 1875, pp. 376ff.; 1877, pp. 141ff.; CUNNINGHAM, *Trübner's Record*, June, 1873 (*Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 242); *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, V, 1875, pp. 58ff.; SENART, *Journ. As.*, VIII, xv. 1890, pp. 144ff.; BOYER, *ibid*, 1940, X, iii, pp. 457ff.; STEN KOSOW, *Ep. Ind*, XVIII, p. 282; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, 1, p. 62 (No. XX).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

¹ According to Buddhist conception, there are many past Buddhas and one future Buddha.

² There is no absolute certainty that the stone was discovered at Takht-i-Bāhī. It was possibly found at Shāhbāzgarhī. Both the places are situated in the same neighbourhood. Shāhbāzgarhī is 6½ miles east and Takht-i-Bāhī about 8 miles north-west of Mardān in Yūsufzai.

TEXT¹

- 1 महारयस गुटुहरस² वष २०(+ *)४(+ *)१(+ *)१
- 2 संव[त्सर] [ति]शतिमए १(× *)१००(+ *)१(+ *)१(+ *)१ वेशखस मसस
दिवसे
- 3 [प्रठमे] [पुजे] (ब*)[ह]ले पक्षे व(वि?)लसमिस [बो(गो?)][यणम]
- 4 [परि]वर शध-दग स-पुअस केगमिर(स?)बोअगस
- 5 एम्मुण³ कप⁴ * * * * * स पुअए⁵ (।*) मदु-
- 6 पिदु पुअए (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य गुटुहरस्य [राज्य]-वर्षे [षड्विंशे] २६, संवत्सरके [च] त्रिंशत्[त]मके
(= अथधिक-शततमे) १०३, वैशाखस्य मासस्य दिवसे प्रथमे पुण्ये बहुले पक्षे⁶ बल्लस्वामिने
बोयनस्य परिवारः (= प्राकारः ; यद्वा-क्षुद्र-वासगृहं) श्रद्धा-दानं - सपुत्रस्य केनमिर-बोयनस्य,
एम्मुन (= कुमार?) - कप...स्य [च] पूजायै ; मातापितोः पूजायै (-संमाननाय) ॥

No. 29—Inscription on some Coins of Gondophernes (c. 21-50 A.D.)⁶

SMITH, *Catalogue* p. 54

*First Side*⁷

King diademed on horseback to right; monogram to right; inscription
in Greek⁸ characters:—

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII.

² Two *aksharas* are erased between टु and वङ्ग

³ Buyer read एम्मुन and saw⁷ in this word the name of a prince. Konow reads एम्मुण which is according to him a Khotani word meaning कुमार

⁴ Konow, who ignores the fact that some 8 letters are lost between प and स, reads *Kap[sha]sa* as he thinks that there are traces of a श or ष under प. He identifies *Kapsha* with *Kadphises* I. The stone however, as noticed by Cunningham, was used as a *Śilā* (a flat stone for grinding condiments on) and some letters are apparently lost owing to the rubbing by the muller. The reading of lines 3-5 is doubtful in many places.

⁵ This shows that the month was regarded as *Pūrṇimānta*.

⁶ See No. 28. He was a Parthian king of Southern Afghanistan, but later conquered the Indus Valley. He is known from Christian traditions to have been a contemporary of Saint Thomas (first half of the 1st century A.D.). See notes on Bk. III, No. 21.

⁷ From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate IX, No. 8.

⁸ *Sigma* on these coins has a developed form.

BACIAEΩ[C] [BACIAEΩN] [MEΓAΛOY] YNΔOΦ[EPPOY]
(=basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou Undophērou)¹

Second Side

Pallas Athene standing to right, with spear and shield²; monogram to right; Kharoshthī monogram reading मि and व (?) ; inscription in Kharoshthī characters :—

(above) महरज-रजतिरज-[वतरस] [देवव्रतस]

(below) [गु]दव्ह १)रस

(=महाराज-राजातिराज-तातुः देवव्रतस्य गुन्दुपर्णस्य ॥)

No. 29A—Inscription on some Billon¹ Coins of Gondophernes and As'pavarman

R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 150

First Side

King on horseback to left with right hand extended; some symbols; inscription in Greek characters corrupt and illegible.

Second Side

Zeus to right; some symbols; inscription in Kharoshthī characters :—

(left) इन्द्रवर्मपुत्रस

(above) खतेगस

(right) जयतस वतरस

(below) अश्ववर्मम

(=इन्द्रवर्मपुत्रस्य¹ खतेगस्य² जयतः तातुः अश्ववर्मणः ॥)

¹ I. c. "[the coin] of Undophernes, the great king of kings".

² Not the aegis, usually represented as bordered with serpents and set with the Gorgon's head and signifying a life-charm.

³ The reading देवव्रत is due to Rapson (*J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 286). Some specimens clearly read गुदुव्हरस (*C.H.I.*, Plate VIII, No. 51). व्ह was formerly read as फ. Rapson later took व्र to be a modified व and Sanskritised the word as *Devapāta* (*Khar. Ins.*, III, p. 309 n.). Some scholars take व्ह to be a modified फ.

⁴ Billon is an alloy of silver with copper, tin or the like.

⁵ *Stratega*=Greek *strategos*=Sanskrit *senāpati*. As'pavarman was ruling in the N.W.F.P. region as a viceroy of Gondophernes. He was previously ruling the same area as a subordinate of Azes II. This is indicated by coins bearing the name of Azes on the obverse and of As'pavarman on the reverse (Whitehead. *op. cit.*, pp. 130-33)

No. 30—Inscription on some Copper Coins of Kujula Kadphises I (c. 25-55 A.D.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, pp. 65f.

First Side

Bust of Hermaios², diademed; very corrupt inscription in Greek³ characters intended for:—

KOPANO-KOZOYΛO-KAΔΦIZOY (= *Koshano-Kozoulo-Kadphizou*)⁴

Second Side

Herakles standing, facing; right hand resting on club, lion-skin over left arm; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

[कुजुल-कप्स कुषन-यवुगस] [धर्म-स्थितस]
(= कुजुल-कप्सस्य कुषाण-यवुगस्य धर्म-स्थितस्य ॥)

¹ See *supra*, No. 19. He possibly ruled over the region extending from the Jaxartes to the borders of the Indus region.

² On some coins the head resembles very closely that of Augustus in his later years (c. 12 A.D.). See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

³ Note the peculiar character *P* indicating *sh* and the letter *U* for *Y*.

⁴ I.e., "the coin] of Kozoula-Kadphises, the Kushāṇa." Some coins have the Greek inscription:—

XOPANCY ZAOOY KOZOΛA KAΔAΦEΣ (= *Khushansu Zaoou Kozola Kadaphes*) and the Kharoshthī inscription:—*खुषनस यवुगस कुजुल-कप्सस सचधर्मस्थितस* (= *कुषाणस्य यवुगस्य कुजुल-कप्सस्य सत्य-धर्म-स्थितस्य*). See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 66, No. 6. According to Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 66), the full Kharoshthī legends on some coins are:—

(a) *महरजस रययस देवपुत्रस कुजुल-कर-कप्सस* (= *महाराजस्य राजराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कुजुल-कर-कप्सस्य*);

(b) *कुजुल-कर-कप्स महरजस रयतिरजस* (= *कुजुल-कर-कप्सस्य महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य*);

(c) *महरजस महतस कुषण-कुजुल-कप्स* (= *महाराजस्य महतः कुषाण-कुजुल-कप्सस्य*);

(d) *महरजस रजतिरजस कुजुल-कप्स* (= *महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य कुजुलकप्सस्य*).

The title *देव-पुत्र* is of Chinese origin. Kujula Kara Kadphises is usually supposed to be different from Kujula Kadphises I. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 140-41.

No. 31—Inscription on Some Gold Coins of Wema Kadphises (II)¹ (c. 55-75 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 68

*First Side*²

Upper part of king, diademed, to right; emerging from clouds; without the usual cap or helmet³; flames arising from his shoulders; club in the right and elephant-goad in the left hand; monogram behind the head; inscription⁴ in Greek characters:—

BACIAEYC OOHMO KAΔΦICHC (= *basilēus Ooemo Kadphises*).

Second Side

Two-armed Siva, facing, head to left, with hair in spiral top-knot, and a skin⁵ over left arm; grasping combined trident and battle-axe in right hand;⁶ monograms to right and to left; inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters:—

[महरजस*] [रज]दिरजस सर्वलोकेश्वरस महेश्वरस विम-कथिजस [वतरस*]
(= महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य सर्वलोकेश्वरस्य माहेश्वरस्य [यद्वा—महेश्वरस्य] विम-
कथिजस्य वातुः ॥)

¹ He was the successor of Kujula-Kadphises I and extended his dominions over a large portion of Northern India.

² From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate XI, No. 5.

³ On some copper coins we have: king diademed, wearing high cap and long coat, standing to left, with right hand over altar; trident with battle-axe to left in left field; monogram in right field.

⁴ The inscription means: "[the coin] of king Ooema Kadphises." On some copper coins, the Greek legend is OOHMO KAΔΦICHC BACIAEYC BACIAEΩN CωTHP MEΓAC (= *Ooemo Kadphises Basilēus Fasilēon Sōter Mēgas*). Note the developed form of the Greek letters. He seems to be the ruler referred to in the so-called *Sōter Mēgas* coins. They were issued possibly by one or more kings who contended for sovereignty during the troubled period following Wema's death.

⁵ Cf. Siva's name कृत्तिवास.

⁶ On some copper coins we have:—Siva two-armed, standing, facing, in front of bull standing to right; holding trident in right hand.

⁷ The subscript *r* is used to modify the pronunciation of व. Rapson reads कथिजस (*Khar. Ins.*, II, p. 316) which is supported by the Central Asian Kharoshṭhī documents, is the real reading कळ् पिजस = कङ् पिजस ?

No. 32—Panjtār Stone Inscription of a Kushana King.¹ —Year 122 (= A.D. 65)

PANJTĀR (72°31' E, 34°4' N), below the Mahābān Range between the Swat and the Indus near the borders of the Peshawar and Hazara Districts, West Pakistan.

CUNNINGHAM, *J.A.S.B.*, XXIII, 1854, p. 705, Plate 4; *ibid.*, XXXII, 1863, pp. 141, 145, 150; *A.S.I.*, V, pp. 616f., Plate XVI, 4; SENART, *J.A.*, VIII, xv, 1890, p. 130, no. i; IX, xiii, 1899, p. 535; BÜHLER, *Academy*, 1896, no. 1252, p. 368; *W.Z.K.M.*, X, p. 173; R. D. BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVII, 1903, pp. 31, 44; FLEET, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 1010 f.; 1914, pp. 372; pp. 1002f.; STAEL HOLSTEIN, *ibid.*, 1914, pp. 81n., pp. 753 f.; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *List*, No 47; KONOW, *S.B.A.W.*, 1916, pp. 802f.; *Ep. Ind.*, XIV., p. 134; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 70 (No. XXVI).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT²

- 1 सं १(×*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) १(+*)१ अ॒व॒ण॒स म॒स॒स दि प्र॒द॒मे
१ म॒ह॒र॒य॒स गु॒ष॒ण॒स र॒ज[मि]
- 2 स्प॒सु॒सत^१ प्र॒च-[दे॒शो*]^४ मो॒ड्के उ॒रु॒मु॒ज-पु॒त्रे क॒र॒वि॒दे शि॒व॒थ॒ले (१*) त॒त्र दे मे^५
- 3 द॒न॒मि त॒र॒क १(+*)१ (१*) प॒ज॒क॒रे ण॒णे॒व अ॒म॒त^६ शि॒व॒थ॒ल॒ र॒म * * म॒*

¹ We may identify this king with one of the semi-independent governors of the Indian possessions of Wema Kadphises. He may have been responsible for the issue of the *Sōter Mēgas* coins without using his personal name. Note the absence of the ruler's personal name in this inscription as well as in No. 34 below. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 140-41.

² From Cunningham's eye copy in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II i. The original stone is missing, and the reading especially of line 3 is doubtful.

³ The first *akshara* may also be read as म्ये, क or के.

⁴ The eye-copy suggests the restoration.

⁵ Cunningham: ख॒व दे मे; Konow च मे.

⁶ Cunningham: ह॒मु॒ख.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरे द्वाविंशत्यधिक-शततमे] १२२ श्रावणस्य मासस्य दि[वसे] प्रथमे १, महाराजस्य
 कुषाणस्य राज्ये 'स्वसुवस्य प्राच्यदेशः (= पूर्वभागः) [तत्र] मोयिकेन उरुमुज-पुत्रेण कारित'
 शिवस्थलं (= शिवमन्दिरम्) । तत्र द्वौ मे (= मोयिकस्य ?) दाने [स्नः] तरुौ (= वृक्षौ)
 २ । पुण्यकरं नवम् अमृतं (= चिरस्थितिकं) शिवस्थलम्

No. 33—Kalawan Coper-plate Inscription

—Year 134 (= A.D. 77)

KALAWĀN, near Sirkap (Taxila), Rawalpindi District, West Pakistan.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 259.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

1 मवत्सरये १(×*)१००(+*)२०(+*)१०(+*)४ अजस^२ अयस मसस
 दिवसे लेविशे २०(+*) १(+*) १(+*) १ इमेण क्षुणेण चंद्रभि उअसिअ

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI.

² See *infra*, No. 34. According to Marshall, the expression अजस or अयस means "of the era of Azes." Fleet pointed out the absence of royal titles and rejected the theory. Konow at first proposed to take it as an equivalent of Sanskrit आद्यस्य, "of the first [Śrāvaṇa]", there having been two in the year including the intercalary one, though it is impossible to have an intercalary Śrāvaṇa in the year 134 and an intercalary Āshāḍha in the year 136 of the same reckoning (cf. No. 34 below). He also showed that it cannot stand for आद्यस्य in the language of the Kharoshthī inscriptions. He now wants to explain अयस as meaning "of Azes," i.e. in the year so-and-so, Azes style (i.e. of the era used by Azes). The suggestion is not convincing. The reading सक १२१ in the Taxila silver vase inscription (*infra* No. 36) to which Konow refers is problematical, and I do not think अयस is satisfactorily explained even if we accept the reading. The original of No. 36 has no trace of any letter before क, though the photograph shows another क before it. For another date क ४००, see Majumdar, *Guide*, II, p. 92. क seems to stand for कलि=कालि. The style, e.g., of the Taxila copper plate of Patika which reads संवत्सर ए अठसतिसप्त

- 2 धर्मस ग्रहवतिम धित भद्रवलस भय छडशिल्प शरिर प्रद्वस्तेति गहय-
 3 बमि सध अद्रुण नंदिवढणेण ग्रहवतिण सध पुत्तेहि शमेग सइतेण च धितुण च
 4 धमए सध ण्णपएहि रजए इद्रए य' सध जिवणदिण शमपुत्तेण अयरिण' य
 स[र्व]स्ति-
 5 वअग परिग्रहे रठ-णिकमो पुयइत सर्व-स्वत्वग' पुयए (1*) णिवणस प्रतिअए
 होतु (1*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरके [चतुस्त्रिंशदधिकशततमे] १३४ अयस्य [Azes II] श्रावणस्य मासस्य दिवसे
 त्रयोविंशे २३—अनेन क्षणेन चंद्राभी [इति] उपासिका, धर्मस्य गृहपतेः दुहिता, भद्रपालस्य
 भार्या, छत्रशिल्पके' शरीरं (= भगवतः बुद्धस्य देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति गृह-स्तूपे' सार्द्धं
 भ्राता नन्दिवर्धनेन गृहपतिना, सार्द्धं पुत्राभ्यां शमेन सजितेन च, दुहित्रा च धर्मया, सार्द्धं
 स्नुषाभ्यां लज्जया इन्द्रया च, सार्द्धं जीवनन्दिना शम-पुत्रेण आचार्याणां च सर्वास्तिवादानां
 (= वादिनां) परिग्रहे, राष्ट्रनिगमौ (= जनपदं नगरं च) पूजयित्वा, सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै ।
 निर्वाणस्य प्रत्याये (= लाभाय) भवतु ॥

७८ महरयस महंतस भोगस पनेमस मसस दिवसे पंचमे would prove that अयस also refers to a king, though he is not called a महरय and महंत. Raychaudhuri seems to be right in comparing these dates with the *atīta-rājya* years of Govindapāla and Lakshmanasena. Azes II lost the region to foreigners who were not favoured by the people. Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 434, and *supra*, No. 32. The founder of this Skytho-Parthian era is not known; but I do not think it possible to connect its origin with Azes on the strength of the word अजस or अयस. Azes II is often considered to have been a predecessor of Gondophernes (21-44 A.D.) and his reign period is assigned to c. 1-19 A.D. (R. B. Whitehead, *Num. Chron.*, 1941, pp. 99-104). Elsewhere we have suggested that the old Skytho-Parthian era was started from the foundation of an independent kingdom in East Iran by Vonones, that its use was carried to India by his Śaka feudatories and that Azes II was being mentioned as the reigning king by some people even after his overthrow by Gondophernes. The Kushāṇas probably conquered the country from the Parthians on behalf of Azes II and the fiction of the latter's rule continued for some time. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 125, 131.

1 I.e. च

2 Read अयरिअण

3 The Sanskrit word is सत्त्व ।

4 This may be the name of a locality (modern Kalawan?) or of a Vihāra.

5 I.e., 'in the *Stūpa* (a conical or bell-shaped shrine containing a relic) in her house.'

No. 34—Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription of a Kushana King—Year 136 (= A. D. 79)

TAXILA, Rawalpindi District, West Pakistan.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.* XIV, p. 295; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 77 (No. XXVII).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT¹

- 1 स १(×*)१०० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*) ४ (+*) १ (+*) १ अयस अषडस
मसस दिवसे १० (+) ४ (+*) १ इश दिवसे प्रदिस्तवित भगवतो धतु[ओ] उर[स]-
- 2 केण इ'तब्धिअ-पुषण' बहुलिएण' णोअचए णगरे वस्तवेण (1*) तेण इमे प्रदिस्तवित
भगवतो धतुओ धमर-
- 3 इए⁴ तक्षशि(ल*)ए तणुवए बोसिमत्व-गहमि⁵ महरजस रजतिरजस देवपुसस
खुषणस अरोग-दक्षिणए
- 4 सर्व-बुषण पुयए प्रचग-बुधण⁶ पुयए अरह'त*)ण पुयए सर्व-स(त्व*)ण पुयए मत-पितु
पुयए मित्रमच-जति-स-
- 5 लोहि(त*)ण पुयए अत्वणो अरोग-दक्षिणए णि[व]णए (1*) होतु अ[व]दे
सम-परिचगो (1*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे षट्त्रिंशदधिकशततमे] १३६ अयस्य [Azes II] आपाढस्य मासस्य दिवसे
[पञ्चदशे] १५—अस्मिन् दिवसे प्रतिष्ठापिताः भगवतः धातवः (= देहावशेषाः) औरशकेन

¹ From the facsimile in *C.I.I.* For references, *ibid.*, pp. 70f. See *supra*, No. 33. The king may have been one of the issuers of the *Sôter Megas* coins (p. 129, n. 4) who appears to have contended for the throne with Kanishka I (rec. 78 A. D.). The discovery of the earlier records of Kanishka I in the eastern part of U. P. may suggest that he was originally employed about the eastern fringe of the empire of the Kushāṇas.

² May be लोतवृद्धिय०.

³ Some take Urasaka as a proper name and Bahalia as "belonging to Balkh".

⁴ Dharmarāja is an epithet of the Buddha. A Dharmarājā seems to be a Stūpa with the Buddha's relics.

⁵ Bodhisattva is one who is destined to be a Buddha in future. Gautama was a Bodhisattva in his previous births and also before his enlightenment.

⁶ Read प्रचेग०. See *supra*, p. 68, n. 5.

(= उरशा-देशीयेन) इन्तप्रिय-पुत्रेण (यद्वा—०पुत्राणां=तत्स्थानजातानां [केनचित्]) बाहलिकेन नवाजये (१) नगरे वास्तव्येन । तेन इमे प्रतिष्ठापिताः भगवतः धातवः धार्मराजिके (= धर्म-राजिका-स्तूपे) तक्षशिलके (यद्वा—‘शिलायां’) तनुवके (= स्वकीये) बोधिसत्त्व-गृहे—महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कुषाणस्य आरोग्य-दक्षिणायै (= आरोग्य-दान-प्राप्तये), सर्वबुद्धानां पूजायै, प्रत्येकबुद्धानां पूजायै, अर्हतां पूजायै, सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै, मातापित्तोः पूजायै, मित्रामात्य (= ०स्वगृहवासि० ; यद्वा—प्रतिवेशि०)-ज्ञाति-सलोहितानां (= ०रक्तसम्बन्ध-युक्तानां) पूजायै, आत्मनः आरोग्य-दक्षिणायै निर्वाणाय [च] । भवतु आयातः सम्यक्-परित्यागः ।

No. 35—Khalatse Stone Inscription of Uvimikastu(?)

—Year 187 (? = A. D. 130 ?)

KHALATSE, Ladakh, Kāshmir.

STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, 1, p. 81 (No. XXIX) ; cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 139 n.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT¹

1 सं १ (×*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) + २० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) ४
(+*) [१ (+*) १ (+*) १]

1 महरजस उविमिकस्तु(वटु?)सस² (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे सप्ताशीत्यधिकशततमे] १८१ महाराजस्य उविमिकस्तुस्य (यद्वा—उविमिकस्तोः स) ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The record may be incomplete.

2 Konow reads उविम-कद्विसस and identifies the king with Wema Kadphises (II). But his reading and interpretation are doubtful. The second *akshara* may also be read as च, रि or ति and the third as द or दे. The fifth *akshara* is doubtful. The date may also be the year 184. The identity of the alien king mentioned in the record cannot be settled in the present state of our knowledge.

No. 36—Taxila Silver Vase Inscription of Jihonika—Year 191 (= A. D. 134)

SIRKAP (Taxila), Rawalpindi District, West Pakistan.

STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 82 (No. XXX).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

1 क^२ १ (×*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*)
१ महरज* * * * स^३ पुत्रम जिहोणिकस चुखसस क्षत्रपस (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

काले (= संवत्सरे) एकनवत्यधिकशततमे] १९१ महाराजस्य [मणिगुलस्य १] पुत्रस्य
जिहोणिकस्य चुखसस्य (= चुखसाख्य-प्रदेशस्य)^४ क्षत्रपस्य (= राजाधीन-प्रदेशशासकस्य) ॥

(ii)—INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN KANISHKA'S RECKON- ING AND CONNECTED RECORDS

No. 36A—Kosam Image Inscription of the time of Kanishka I (78-102 A. D.)—Year 3 (= A. D. 81)

KOSAM, Allahabad District, U. P.

K. G. Goswami, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 210-12.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i.

² क appears to have the same value as सं. It may, as formerly suggested by Konow, be an abbreviation of कले = Sanskrit काले, "in the year." I do not think that we can restore सक्त (= शक्त). See *supra*, p. 131, n. 2.

³ Konow restores महरज-सप्त-मणिगुलम. Jihonika has been identified with the Satrap Zeionises of the coins, who was son of the Satrap Manigala and is supposed to have been a contemporary of Azes II. This Jihonika was apparently the son of a Mahārāja and may have been the grandson of Zeionises. The old Skytho-Parthian era was for sometime being used in certain areas side by side with the Kanishka era during the suzerainty of the house of Kanishka I. Cf. the simultaneous use of the Mālava and Gupta eras in Western India during the suzerainty of the Guptas.

⁴ See *supra*, No. 27. Chukhsa is identified with the Plain of Chach near Taxila.

TEXT¹

- 1 महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे ३^२ हे २ दि ८ बोधिसत्त्वो(त्त्वं) प्रति-
 2 द्यापयति भिक्षुनि बुद्धमिता लेपिटिका भगवतो बुद्धस चक्रमे^३ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य [राज्य]-संवत्सरे [तृतीये] ३ हे[मन्त-मासे द्वितीये] २
 (= पूर्णिमान्त पाँचे) दि[वसे अष्टमे] ८ बोधिसत्त्वं (=बोधिसत्त्व-प्रतिमां) प्रतिद्यापयति
 *भिक्षुणी बुद्धमिता लेपिटिका (= लिपिटिकाचार्या, भगवतः बुद्धस्य चङ्क्रमे ॥

Nos. 37-39—Sarnath Buddhist Image Inscriptions of the
 time of Kanishka I (c. 78-102 A. D.)—Year 3 (= A. D. 81).

SĀRNĀTH, near Banaras, U. P.

VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 173ff.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

No. 1

TEXT⁴

- 1 महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य सं ३ हे ३ दि २० (+*)२
 2 एताये पूर्वये भिक्षुस्य पुष्यबुद्धिस्य सद्धेवि-
 3 हारिस्य भिक्षुस्य वल्लस्य लेपिटकस्य

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV.

² Goswami reads the date as the year 2. Kanishka I was the founder of an era, that is to say, his regnal reckoning was continued by his successors for some reason (e. g., assumption of power by the successor during the life time of the predecessor owing to the latter's prolonged illness, infirmity due to old age, etc.). This era seems to be the other early Indian era (beg. 78 A. D.), known as 'Śaka' owing to its constant use by the West Indian Śakas. Traditions assigning Kanishka to the 2nd century A. D. probably refer to Kanishka II of the Āra inscription. Kanishka I's dates range between years 1 and 23. He may have been originally in charge of the easternmost district of the Kushāṇa empire. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 141ff.

³ The *chaṅkrama* of a *vihāra* is a piece of ground cleared and levelled for the purpose of walking up and down for exercise and meditation. See Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, trans., p. 45, n. 4.

⁴ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

- 4 बोधिसत्त्वो छत्तयष्टि [च] प्रतिष्ठापितो
- 5 वाराणसिये भगवतो च[']कमे सहा मात[!]*-
- 6 पितिहि सहा उपद्गयाचर्येहि¹ सद्धेजविहारि-
- 7 हि अन्तेवासिकेहि च सहा बुद्धमित्तये लेपिटिक-
- 8 ये सहा क्षत्रपेण² वनस्परेन खरपल्लान-
- 9 नेन च सहा च च[तु]हि परिषाहि सर्वसत्त्वानं
- 10 हितासुखार्थं (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य [राज्य]-संवत्सरे [तृतीये] ३ हेमन्त-[मासे तृतीये] ३ (= पूर्णिमा-
न्त-माघे) दिवसे [द्वाविंशे] २२-एतस्यां पूर्वायां (- तिथौ पूर्वोक्त-दिवसस्य)³ भिक्षोः पुण्यवृद्धेः
साद्धं-विहारिणः (= सतीर्थस्य ; Pāli सद्धि०) भिक्षोः बलस्य लेपिटकस्य (- लिपिटकविदः)
बोधिसत्त्वः (= बोधिसत्त्वस्य विग्रहः छत्तयष्टिः च [शिलामयौ] प्रतिष्ठापितौ वाराणस्यां भगवतः
चङ्क्रमे (- गन्धकूटीविहारालिन्दे)-सह मातापितृभ्यां, सह उपाध्यायाचार्यैः साद्धं-विहारिभिः
अन्तेवासिकैः (= शिष्यैः) च, सह बुद्धमित्तया लेपिटक्या, सह क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण खरपल्लानेन
च, सह च चतसृभिः परिषद्भिः⁴-सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थम् ॥

No. 2

TEXT

- 1 भिक्षुस्य बलस्य लेपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वो प्रतिष्ठापितो ।⁵
- 2 महाक्षत्रपेन खरपल्लानेन सहा क्षत्रपेन वनस्परेण ॥⁶

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भिक्षोः बलस्य लेपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वः प्रतिष्ठापितः महाक्षत्रपेण खरपल्लानेन, सह
क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण ॥

¹ Vogel : उपद्गयाचरिहि॥

² Actually however Vanaspara was the Kshatrapa and Kharapallāna the Mahākshatrapa (cf. *supra*, No. 24, n). They were ruling over the easternmost province (including the Banaras region) of Kanishka's empire.

³ Expressions like एतस्यां पूर्वायां, एतस्य पूर्वायां, एतस्यां दिवस-पूर्वायां, etc. suggest that पूर्वा, 'the above', was used with reference to the तिथि.

⁴ The four classes of Buddhists are Bhikshu, Bhikshuṇī, Upāsaka and Upāsikā.

⁵ A short slanting stroke is visible after त्तो. Vogel thinks that one or two letters are lost here. It is possible that the sign actually signifies a half-stop.

⁶ Two short slanting strokes are found below न. They probably indicate a full-stop.

No. 3

TEXT¹

- 1 महाराजस्य क[णिष्कस्य] सं ३ हे ३ दि २ (+*) [२*]
- 2 एतये पुर्वये भिक्षुस्य बलस्य लेपिट[कस्य*]
- 3 बोधिसत्त्वो छत्तय[ष्टि] [च] [प्रतिष्ठापितो *]² (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य सं[वत्सरे] ३ (=तृतीये) हे ३ (=हेमन्तर्तोः मासे तृतीये)
 दि २२ (=दिवसे द्वाविंशे—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] भिक्षोः बलस्य लेपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वः
 छत्तयष्टिः च प्रतिष्ठापितौ ॥

No. 40—British Museum Stone Inscription
 of Kanishka I—Year 10 (= A. D. 83)

H. LÜDERS, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 240**Language:** Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit**Script:** BrāhmīTEXT³

- 1 सिद्ध['] (॥*) महाराजस्य देव[पुत्रस्य]
- 2 काणिष्कस्य⁴ सवत्सरे [१०]⁵
- 3 प्रि २ दि ९ एतये पु[र्वये]
- 4 उत्तरायं न[व]मिकायं [हा]-⁶
- 5 [म्य]न्दत (॥*) प्रियंतां⁷ देवि ग्राम[स्य] (॥*)

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

2 This word is lost with the exception of the medial *i* sign of ति.

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, IX.

4 The अनुस्वार should have been engraved on the following *akshara*.

5 There seems to be no space for another symbol after 10.

6 The reading द्वायं is not beyond doubt.

7 Omit the अनुस्वार above प्रि.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे [दशमे] १० ग्रीष्म-मासे द्वितीये २
(— पूर्णिमान्त-वैशाखे^१) दि[वसे नवमे] ९ एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] उत्तरायां नवमिकायां
(— उत्तर-नवमिका-ग्रामे ; यद्वा—नवमिकाग्रामस्य उत्तरांशे) हर्म्यं दत्तम् । प्रियतां देवी ग्रामस्य ॥

No. 41—Sui Vihar Copper-plate Inscription of Kanishka I—Year 11 (= A. D. 89)

SUI VIHĀR, a ruined *Stūpa*, near Babāwalpur, West Pakistan; now in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

DOWSON, *J.R.A.S.*, 1870, pp. 477f.; BAYLEY, *J.A.S.B.*, 1870, p. 65; HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.*, X, pp. 324ff.; BHAGAWĀNLĀL INDRAJI, *ibid.*, XI, pp. 124f.; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume*, III, i (1922), pp. 459ff.; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 136; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 141 (No. LXXIV).

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT²

1 महरजस्य रजतिरजस्य देवपुत्रस्य क[निष्कस्य] संव[त्सरे] एकदशे सं १० (+*)^१
दशसिंकस्य^३ मस[स्य] दिवसे^४ अठविशे दि २०^५ (+*) ४ (+*)४

¹ There was no unanimity regarding the beginning of a season, as the two *Paurṇamāsīs* that follow those referred to above (notes on Bk. I, No 25; cf. above, No. 26), were also recognised by some as *Chāturmasīs*. It must however be noticed that the universal custom of the Buddhists was to observe *Varshā* from the day following the *Aśvādhī Pūrṇimā* up to the *Kārttikī Pūrṇimā* (Childers, *op. cit.*, *vassu*, *vassūpanāyikā*). Note also the duration of Viṣṇu's slumber during the four months of the rainy season from *Aśvādhā-śukla 11* to *Kārttika-śukla 11*. See notes on Bk. III, No. 52. Cf. also आषाढ़-शुक्ल-द्वादश्यां पौर्णमास्यामयापि वा । चातुर्मास्यव्रतारम्भं कुर्यात् कर्कट-संक्रमे ॥ अभावे तु तृत्वार्षिकेपि मन्वेष्ट नियमं व्रती । कार्तिके शुक्ल-द्वादश्यां विधिवन् तत् समापयेत् ॥ (*Varāha Purāṇa* quoted in the *Sabdakalpadrūma*). See also *Rāmāyaṇa*. Kishkindhyā-kāṇḍa, ch. 26, verses 14-17 : पूर्वोऽयं वार्षिकी मासः श्रावणः सज्जिनागमः । प्रवृत्ताः सौम्य चत्वारो मासा वार्षिकसंज्ञिताः ॥...कार्तिके-समनुप्राप्ते त्वं श्रावणवधे यतः । एष न समयः सौम्य प्रविशे त्वं स्वमानदम् ॥

² From the facsimile in *Corp. ns. Ind.*, II, i.

³ Read दशसिंकस्य as the name of the month is Daisies. Daisies roughly corresponds to the Indian *Jyāishṭha-Aśvādhā*.

⁴ Read दिवसे

⁵ The figure for 20 is clear. The reading 10 in *C. I. I* is possibly a misprint.

- 2 [अ]त्त¹ दिवसे भिक्षुस्य नगदत्तस्य ध[र्म]-कथिस्य² अचर्य-दमत्त-शिष्यस्य
अचर्य-भवे-प्रशिष्यस्य³ यठि⁴ अरोपयत इह द[म]ने⁵
3 विहरस्वमिणि⁶ उपसिक [व]लनदि-कुटिबिनि बलजय-मत च इमं यठि-प्रतिठनं
ठप[इ]चं अनु परिवरं ददरि⁷ (।*) सर्व-सत्वनं
4 हित-सुखय भवतु (।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकादशे सं ११ दैसिकस्य
(-दैसिकाख्यस्य ; Vakedonian : Dais'os) मासस्य दिवसे अष्टाविंशे दि २८—अत्र दिवसे
भिक्षोः नागदत्तस्य धर्मकथिनः (= धर्मतत्त्वव्याख्यातुः) आचार्य-दमत्तात-शिष्यस्य आचार्य-
भव-प्रशिष्यस्य यष्टिम् आरोपयति इह दमने विहारस्वामिनी उपासिका—बलनन्दि-कुटु-
म्बिनी (= ०भार्या), बलजय-माता च इदं यष्टि-प्रतिष्ठानं स्थापयित्वा (- विहाय⁸ = यष्टिपीठात्
अधिकम्) अनु (= तदनु = साम्प्रतं) परिवारं (= प्राकारं) ददाति । सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखाय
भवतु ॥

No. 42—Zeda Inscription of Kanishka I
—Year 11 (= A.D. 89)

ZEDA, near Und, Rawalpindi Dist., West Pakistan

CUNNINGHAM *A. S. I.*, v, 1875, p. 57f ; SENART, *J. A.*, VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 135ff. ; BOYER, *ibid.*, X, iii, 1904, pp. 466ff. ; E. THOMAS, *J. R. A. S.*, 1877, p. 9, n. 1 ; BÜHLER, *ibid.*, 1894, p. 535 ; BANERJ, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 46, 72 ; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp. 1 ff. ; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 145 (No. LXXV) ; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *List*, No. 95.

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Kharoshthī

¹ This word was read अत्ते by Bayley, अत्त by Dowson, अत्त by Indrajī, अत्त by Hoernle and Majumdar, and उत्त by Buhler (*ZDMG*, XLIII, p. 133) and Johansson, (*Actes du huitième Congrès des Orientalistes*, III, ii, p. 128, n. 1). Read अत्त

² मं looks like ख

³ Read भव

⁴ The word indicates monumental pillars which are even now called *lāth*. Majumdar suggests that there is reference to a relic of Nāgādatta, i.e. the pillar contained the corporeal relics of Nāgādatta. Konow suggests यष्टिम् आरोपयतः

⁵ Damana seems to have been the older name of the locality around Sui Vihār, possibly an old Śūchi-vihāra.

⁶ Read स्वमिनि.

⁷ Read ददति

⁸ Or, यष्टिपीठं कारयित्वा, if we have आरोपयतः in line 2.

TEXT¹

- 1 सं १० (+*) अषडम समस दि २० उत्तर-फल्गुने^२ इशे क्षुणमि
 २ खदे(णे?) कुए^३ [वेरो]डस^४ मर्शकस^५ कणिष्कस रजमि [तोयं]द^६ च भुइ दणमुख
 हिपेअधिअम^७ स[र्वस्ति]वदतिवधम पु[ज१]ने छिअक-
 ३ स क्ष[त्र१]पस^८ उप[क]चअ म[डु] (१०) कत दण अनुग्रहेण [बुध]स^९ संघमित्त-
 रजस (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे एकादशे] ११ आपादस्य मासस्य दि[वसे विंशे] २० उत्तरफल्गुने (—उत्तर-
 फल्गुन्यां नक्षत्रे)—अस्मिन् क्षणे खातः कूपः वेरोडस्य मर्शकस्य, कणिष्कस्य राज्ये । तोयदा
 (=प्रपा १) च भूयः दानमुखं (=दानवरं =दानं) हिपेयधियस्य सर्वास्तिवादाति-
 वृद्धये—पूजने (=पूजायै) लियकस्य क्षत्रपस्य, उपकृत्यायाः (=तदाख्यायाः) [दातुः] मातुः
 [च] । कृतं दानम् अनुग्रहेण वृद्धस्य (=बौद्धस्थविरस्य) सङ्घमित्तराजस्य ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The stone is rough and damaged; the reading and interpretation of lines 2-3 are uncertain in many places.

² In *Āshāḍha*, the *Nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī falls on the 5th-8th days of the *Sukla-pakṣa*. The month therefore seems to have been *Pūrṇimānta*. See notes on No. 28 above and No. 69 below.

³ Cunningham read चनं उम्य, Senart भनं उक, Boyer खनं उम्य, Lüders खणे कुए; खदे कुए is Konow's reading corresponding to Sanskrit खातः कूपः.

⁴ Cunningham read खरडस, Senart * चस, Boyer मुचस, Lüders वेर(रो?)डस, and Majumdar वेमडस. Konow reads सुरोड and connects it with Śaka सुरख, 'a master, lord'.

⁵ Cunningham read मर्शकस and Boyer and Lüders मर्शकस. Konow takes मर्शक to be an older form of the Khotani-Śaka word *malysak*, i. e. *malzak* which is possibly equivalent to गृह्यति.

⁶ Cunningham read the passage धयं ददभस इदमुखस्वपि च दे अम...; Senart: ...ददभस द[न]मुख * [पि अधिअ]म [दददअस] ति[ध]...; Boyer: तोयदणभड दनमुख सपेअधिअ ससयुषे सति बुधे Konow translates, "and moreover a water-giver, the gift of Hipea Dha for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda."

⁷ Konow finds in it a Greek name like Hipeos, Hippas.

⁸ Boyer: क्षत्रपस; Senart: क्षत्रस.

⁹ Boyer read पुनंधसे सघमिचम दन, 'gift of Saṅghamitra, in order to increase his merit'.

No. 43—Manikiala Stone Inscription of Kanishka I—Year 18 (= A.D. 96).

MANIKIALA, Rāwalpindī Dist., West Pakistan

PRINSEP, *J. A. S. B.*, 1834, pp. 557 f.; CUNNINGHAM, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 129; *J. A. S. B.*, 1854, pp. 703 ff.; *A. S. I.*, ii, 1871, pp. 161 ff.; DOWSON, *J. R. A. S.*, 1863, pp. 250ff.; SENART, *J. A.*, IX, vii, 1896, pp. 1 ff.; LUDERS, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 645 ff.; PARGITER, *ibid.*, 1914, pp. 641 ff., BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 46 f.; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 373 f.; 1003 f., STAEL-HOLSTEIN, *ibid.*, pp. 757, 759; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *J.P.A.S.B.*, 1928, p. 67; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, pp. 149f. (No. LXXVI).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

- A : 1 सं १०(+*)४(+*)४ [B : कर्तियस मस(म*) दिवसे २०]² [एल] पुर्वए
महरजस कणे-
2 प्क[स्य] गुषण-वश-संवर्धक छळ
3 दडणयगो वेष्पशिस क्षत्तपस
4 होरमु[तौ]³ स तस अपनगे⁴ विहरे

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. Lines 1-6 form the main part of the record; lines 7-9 are at the left; line 10 is at the upper left corner; line 11 is above the main part; and line 12 is at the right above B.

² This portion is engraved in the second line on the right side of the record. Konow : सके; Pargiter : सख

³ Stael-Holstein suggested गुषाण or गुषाण (which he explained as the gen. plu. of गुषि) corresponding to KOPANO (i. e. कुयान) on the coin legends of Kanishka and his successors.

⁴ According to Lüders, होरमुतौ is a Skythian word corresponding to Sanskrit दानपति. Cf. "an incarnate image of Ahura" (Senart); "attaché to horās or muhūrtas" (Pargiter).

⁵ Senart took अपनग to represent अन्न-नाग, i. e. "in the विहार of the small नाग." Pargiter took it to be आपणके, "in the market place."

- 5 होरमुर्तो एत ण भगव-बुद्ध-सुव¹
 6 [म]तिस्तवयति सह तए[न]² वेइपशिएण खुदेचिए[न]³
 C : 7 बुरितेण च विहरकर[व्ह]एण
 8 संवेण च परिवरेण सध (I*) एतेन कु-
 9 शलमुलेन बुधेहि च ष[व]एहि⁴ [च]
 D : 10 समं सद⁵ भवतु
 E : 11 अतर स्वरबुधिस अग्रप[डि]अशए
 F : 12 सध बुधिलेन नवकर्मिणेण (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरे अष्टादशे १८ कार्तिकस्य मासस्य दिवसे [विंशे] २०—अत्र पूर्वायां [तिथौ]
 महाराजस्य कणिकस्य [राज्ये] । कुषाण-वंश-संवर्धकः ललः दण्डनायकः,⁶ [यः] वेइपसेः⁷
 क्षत्रपस्य होरमुर्तः (=दानपतिः)—सः तस्य आत्मके (=आत्मीये) विहारे होरमुर्तः—अत्र
 नाना भगवद्-बुद्ध-स्तूपान् प्रतिष्ठापयति सह तथेण—वेइपशिणेन खुदेचियेन (=खुदेचि-
 वासिना ?), बुरितेन च विहारकारकेण, साम्बेन च—परिवारेण सार्द्धम् । एतेन कुशलमुलेन
 (=स्तूपरूपेण संस्कार्येण [जातं पुण्यं]) बुद्धेः च श्रावकैः च समं (=सह) सदा भवतु भ्रातुः
 स्वरबुद्धेः अग्र-प्रत्यंशाय (=मुख्य भागाय)—सार्द्धं बुद्धिलेन नवकर्मिणेण (=निर्माण-
 संस्कारादि-कार्यनियुक्तेन) ॥

1 Read : युव. Lüders : टुव ; Pargiter : जव ; Konow : भव (relics?).

2 Pargiter : तएन=तेन ; Senart : तएण=तथेण.

3 Senart खुडचिएन ; Lüders : खजचिएन ; Pargiter : खुदेचिएन.

4 Senart read स्पवस्पहि. Pargiter : स्पव्कहि and Majumdar अउकहि. Lüders takes षवकहि to represent Sanskrit श्रावकैः.

5 Senart read सव सद. Pargiter सवसन and Lüders सद्धसन.

6 *Danḍanāyaka* literally means 'the commander of an army'; but persons enjoying the designation were often governors of districts.

7 The first part of this name and of Piśpaśi in *supra*, No. 24, seems to correspond to Sanskrit विश्व.

No. 44—Set-Mahet Stone Umbrella Staff Inscription of Kanishka I (A D. 78-102)

SET(OR SAHET)-MAHET, on the borders of Gonḍa and Bahraich
Districts, U. P.

I. BLOCH, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 291

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 [म][हाराजस्य*]².....[दे*]-
- 2 [वपु][तस्य*] [कणिकस्य?] [सं.... दि...]
- 3 [भिक्षुस्य*³] [सद्धेय*] [व]हा[रि]-
- 4 [स्य] [भिक्षुस्य*][पुस्यवुद्धिस्य*] [सद्धेयविहारि*]-
- 5 स्य [भिक्षुस्य*] [बलस्य*] [लेपिट]कस्य
- 6 दानं बोधि[स]त्वो छलं दण्डइव
- 7 शावस्तिये [भगवतो*] [चं*]क[मे] कोसंब-
- 8 [कुटिये*] [आचार्यानं]⁴ [सर्वास्ति*]वादिन[*]⁵
- 9 [परिग्रहे] (॥*)

¹ From the facsimile and photograph in *Ep. Ind.*, IX. This record is practically the same as *infra*, No. 45; cf. also *supra*, Nos. 37-39. Nos. 44-45 prove that Śrāvastī stood on the site of modern Sahet-Mahet.

² As a line of the record appears to contain about 12 *aksharas*, I think it possible that there was the word राजातिराजस्य between महाराजस्य and दे in line 1.

³ The existence of the name of another Bhikṣu in line 3 would give an approximately equal number of *aksharas* in all the lines.

⁴ Only the ā-sign and the superscript r of र्या are visible.

⁵ Only the superscript s and the i-sign of स्ति are visible.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरेदिवसे १६] भिक्षोः
.....सार्द्धं-विहारिणः (=सतीर्थस्य) भिक्षोः पुण्यवृद्धेः सार्द्धं-विहारिणः भिक्षोः बलस्य
वैपिकस्य दानं बोधिसत्त्वः छत्रं दण्डः च श्रावस्त्यां भगवतः चङ्क्रमे कौशाम्बकुट्यां
(=कौशाम्बकुटीविहारालिन्दे) आचार्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे ॥

No. 45—Set-Mahet Buddhist Image Inscription of Kanishka I (A.D. 78-102)

SET(SAHET)-MAHET, on the borders of Gonḍa and Bahraich Districts,
U. P.

I. BLOCH, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 180f.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 [महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य सं * * * * दि]² १० (+*)९ एतये
पुर्वये भिक्षुस्य पुण्य[वृ*]-
- 2 [द्धिस्य*]³ सद्धेविहारिस्य⁴ भिक्षुस्य ब[ल]स्य वैपिकस्य दान[] [बो]धिसत्त्वो छत्रं
दाण्डश्च श्रावस्त्ये भगवतो चङ्क्रमे
- 3 ⁵कोसंबकुटिये [अचर्या]णां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरेदिवसे ऊनविंशे] १९—एतस्यां पूर्वायां
[त्तिथौ] भिक्षोः पुण्यवृद्धेः सार्द्धं-विहारिणः (=सतीर्थस्य) भिक्षोः बलस्य वैपिकस्य दानं
बोधिसत्त्वः छत्रं दण्डः च श्रावस्त्यां भगवतः चङ्क्रमे कौशाम्बकुट्याम् (=कौशाम्बकुटीविहारालिन्दे)
आचार्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे (=ग्रहाय) ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII

² Only traces of the lower parts of these letters remain.

³ The name can be confidently restored with the help of the Sārvaṭh image inscriptions (Nos. 37-39).

⁴ The literary Pāli form of the word is सद्धिविहारि.

⁵ This line begins from below the akshara नं of the word दानं in the preceding line.

No. 45A—Mathurā Image Inscription of the time
of Kanishka I —Year 23 (= A. D. 101)

Mathurā Museum, U. P.

B. Ch. CHHABRA, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, pp. 42-44.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 महारस्य कनि² २०(+*)३ अ १³ एतस्य पुर्वयं वहारिस्य⁴ मत्स्यगु[त्त]स्य⁵
चिता पु[शद][ता*]
- 2 (a) बोधिसत्त्व
(b) अ[रि]तष्ट[पयति]
- 3 स्व[के] विहारे (॥*) [सर्वसत्त्वानं] [हितसुखाय भवतु*] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कनि[ष्कस्य संवत्सरे त्रयोविंशे] २३ श्री[ष्म-मासे प्रथमे] १ [दिवसे....]
एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] व्यवहारिणः (-व्यवहारिकस्य) मत्स्यगुप्तस्य दुहिता पुण्यदत्ता
बोधिसत्त्वं (=बोधिसत्त्व-प्रतिमां) प्रतिष्ठापयति स्वके (-स्वकीये=स्वनिर्मिते) विहारे।
[सः] सर्वसत्त्वानां [हित-सुखाय भवतु] ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII.

² The intended reading is apparently महाराजस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे.

³ अ=श्री is a contraction of श्री-मासे; but the reference to the particular दिवस is omitted through oversight

⁴ This has been read as महारस्य and corrected as महाराजस्य. But the first *akshara* does not look like म. For वहारिस्, the intended reading seems to be बोधारिस्=Sanskrit व्यवहारिणः=व्यवहारिकस्य, i. e. 'of the magistrate'.

⁵ The reading intended is probably मत्स्यगुप्तस्य. The subscript in त्त is traceable partially. The name Matsyagupta literally means 'one who is protected by the fish' (i. e. the Matsya *aratāra* of Vishṇu)

No. 46—Inscription on some Gold Coins of Kanishka I (c. 78-102 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, pp. 69f.

*First Side*¹

King standing to left, bearded, wearing peaked cap or helmet, coat, trousers and cloak, with flames rising from his shoulders; grasping spear in left hand and holding in right hand an elephant-goad over altar; sword at waist; inscription in modified Greek script and Old Persian language:—

ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΠΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΠΑΝΟ (= *Shaonano Shao Kaneshki Koshano*)².

Second Side

Four-armed Siva, standing, facing with head to left, holding in upper right hand thunder-bolt³, in lower right hand an elephant-goad⁴, in upper left hand trident and with lower left hand on hip; antelope⁵ on its hind-legs in right field; monogram to left; inscription in Greek characters:—

ΟΗΡΟ (= *Oesho*)⁶.

¹ From representation is Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate XI, No. 9.

² I. e., "Kanishka, the Kushāṇa, the king of kings." On some copper coins we have the Greek legend:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ (= *Basileus Basileōn Kaneshkou*, "[the coin] of Kanishka, the king of kings"). *Shaonano Shao* is the same as Old Persian *Khshāyathiyānām Khshāyathiya*, Modern Persian *Shāhān Shāh*, Indian *बाहानुषाहि*

³ Cunningham suggested 'a small hand-drum.'

⁴ On some coins we have in the lower right hand of the god a water-vessel with mouth downwards.

⁵ Gardner suggested 'a goat.' Possibly it is the crude representation of a seated bull.

⁶ The word has been supposed to indicate Bhavēśa; but *O* seems to represent *H* or *V*. *Oesho* may possibly be taken as Sanskrit *इष* (cf. *इषाङ्*, etc.) which was perhaps considered as a name of Siva. Cf. the *Pushkalāvati-devatā* coins with the figure of a bull standing for Siva (with the legend ΤΑΥΡΟΣ and *ushabhe* = *Vṛishabhā*); also the same on Mīrākula's coins with the legend *jayatu vṛishab* (Gardner, *Catalogue*, p. 162, Plate XXIX, No. 15; Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 236, Plate XXV, No. 5). Siva in his animal (i.e. bull) form was known to the Greeks as the god of Gandhāra. Hesychius says *Gandaros*, o *Taurokrates par Indois*. See J. N. Banerjā, *Dev. Hind Icon.*, p. 142. On the reverse of Kanishka's coins, we have representations of the fire-god ΑΘΡΟ (= *Athsho*, modern

No. 47—Kurram Copper Casket Inscription
—[Śaka] Year 21 (= A.D. 99)

KURRAM, near Peshāwar, N. W. F. P.

V. Natesa Aiyar and F. W. THOMAS, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 15ff.;
STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 155.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

- 1 (A) [सं २० (+*)] मस[स^२ अवदुनकस^३ दि २० इ[शै] क्षनंमि (B) इवेड्वर्म^४
यश-पुत्र तनु[व]कंमि रंजंमि (C) [नव-विह*]रंमि अचर्यन सर्वस्तिवदन परि- (D)
[ग्रहं]मि थुवंमि भग्नवतस शक्यमुनिस
- 2 (A) शरिर प्रदिउवेदि (1*) यथ^५ वुत भग्नवद (B) अविज-प्रचग्र संकरं संकर-प्रचग्र
विजन (C) [वि]जन-प्रचग्र नम-रुव तमरुव-प्रचग्र षडू[य]- (D) [दन] षडूयदन-प्रचग्र
फष पष-प्रचग्र
- 3 (A) वेदन वेदन-प्रचग्र तण्ण^६ तण्ण-प्रचग्र उवदन (B) उवदन-प्रचग्र भव भव-प्रचग्र
जदि जदि-प्रच[ग्र] (C) जर-मर[न]-शोग्र^७-परिदेव-दुख-दोर्मनस्त-उपग्रस^८ (1*)
(D) [एवं] [अस] केवलस दुख-कंधस संमुदए भवदि (1*)

Persian Atash), the moon-god MAO (= Mao), the sun-god MIPO (Miuro) MIYPO (Miuro) [or MIPO (Mituro)] or MIOPO (Miuro), i. e. Neo-Sare. Mihira, the mother-goddess NANA (Nana), NANAIA (Nanaia) or NANAPAO (Nanashao), the war-god OPAAGNO (= Oragno, i. e. Bahram), the fire-god APPO Pharro, Persian Farr); the sun-god HATOS (Elios); the wind-god OAOO (Oudo, i. e. Vado, Sanskrit वात); CAKAYMO BODDO (= Śakyamuni Buddha); MOZDO OANO (= Ahura Mazda); the Greek fire-god HPAICTOC (ephaistos) CAHHNH (Salene), MANAOBATO (Manabago), etc. Some scholars identify Nana with Anaitis, the tutelary goddess of Baluchistan, or Nana adored by the Khaldeans. Cf. Bibi Nani worshipped in Baluchistan and Nairā Devī of the lower Himalayas (*Census of India*, 1931, I, 1, p. 455). For many of these deities see Stein, "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins" in *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, 1888, pp. 89 ff., and comments on Stein's views in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, II, 1888, pp. 237-44.

¹ From the Facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i.

² Originally सं २० समस was engraved.

³ Macedonian Audunaiois roughly corresponds to the Indian Pausa-Māgha.

⁴ Thomas: लुचवर्मयशपुत्रम नवकंमिअस संघ

⁵ Thomas: यठ उतं

⁶ Cf. पाष in No. 33, line 4.

⁷ Thomas: शोय

⁸ Thomas: दोमनवि(मि) उवेग संभवति

- 4 (D) सर्व-सत्त्वन पुण्य अय च प्रतिच-संमुपते (I*) (A) लिखिद महिफतिण्ण सर्वसत्त्वन पुण्य (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे एकविंशे] २१ मासस्य अवदुनकस्य (= अवदुनकाख्यस्य यवनानां मासस्य ; Andunaios) दि[वसे विंशे] २०—अस्मिन् क्षणे इवैवमस्मि यशः—पुनः 'तनुवके (= स्वकीये) रम्ये नव-विहारे आचार्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे (= ग्रहाय) स्तूपे भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं प्रतिष्ठापयति । यथा उक्तं भगवता—“अविद्या-प्रत्ययात् (= कारणात्) संस्काराः, संस्कार-प्रत्ययात् विज्ञानम्, विज्ञान-प्रत्ययात् नाम-रूपे, नाम-रूप-प्रत्ययात् षड्भूतानि, षड्भूत-प्रत्ययात् स्पर्शः, स्पर्श-प्रत्ययात् वेदना, वेदना-प्रत्ययात् तृष्णा (= तर्पणः), तृष्णा-प्रत्ययात् उपादानम्, उपादान-प्रत्ययात् भवः, भव-प्रत्ययात् जातिः, जाति-प्रत्ययात् जरा-मरण-शोक-परिदेव-दुःख-दौर्मनस्योपायासाः ।¹ एवम् अस्य केवलस्य (= समग्रस्य) दुःख-स्कन्धस्य (= दुःख-समूहस्य) समुदयः (= उत्पत्तिः) भवति ।” सर्व-सत्त्वानां पूजायै अयं च प्रतीत्य-समुत्पादः [इवैवमस्मि लेखितः] । लिखितः [च] महिपतिकेन सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै ॥

No. 47A—Isapur Yupa Inscription of the time of
Vasishka—[Śaka] Year 24 (= A.D. 102)

ISĀPUR, near Mathurā, U. P.

J. Ph. VOGEL, *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1910-11, pp. 40 ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 सिद्धम् (II*) महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपु-

¹ The quotation, said to be a saying of the Buddha, is the well-known *Pratityasamutpāda* formula possibly belonging to some canonical text. Konow translates: "In interconnection with delusion the *saṃskāras*; with the *saṃskāras* consciousness; with consciousness name and form; with name and form the six organs; with the six organs touch; with touch sensation; with sensation thirst; with thirst grasping; with grasping life; with life birth; with birth decay, death, lamentation, suffering, dejection, despair." Cf. *Mūlindapañho*, B.S.P., p. 102. Pālī अविज्जा, etc. Here य stands for य; cf. उपायासः (= नैराश्यः); see अग्रमेयो = अग्रमेयो, *infra*, Bk. III, No. 111; also पयाय = पयायो, परियायो (Ratnachandra, *Jainasiddhāntakaumudī*, p. 27).

² From the facsimile published in *A.S.I., A.R.*

- 2 सस्य षाहेर्वासिष्कस्य राज्य-संवत्सरे च-
- 3 तुर्विंशे २० (+*)४ गृष्मा(ग्रोष्म) -मासे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे
- 4 त्रिंशे ३० अस्यां पूर्व्यायां रुद्रिल-पुत्रेण द्रोण-
- 5 लेन ब्राह्मणेन भारद्वाज-सगोत्रेण मा-
- 6 ण-च्छन्दोगेन इष्टा सत्सेत्सेण द्वादशरात्रेण
- 7 ग्रूपः प्रतिष्ठापितः (।*) प्रियन्तामन्यः (॥*)

No. 48—Sanchi Buddhist Image Inscription of
Vasishka—[Śaka] Year 28 (= A.D. 106)

SANCHI, Raisen Dist., Madhya Pradesh

BOHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 369-70; LÜDERS, *ibid.*, IX, p. 244; *List*, No. 161; FLEET, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 326ff.; 1910, p. 1913; N. G. MAJUMDAR in *The Monuments of Sanchi* by Marshall and Foucher, Vol. I, p. 386.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT³

- 1 [महाराज*]स्य र[।]जा[।]तराजस्य [देव*]पुत्रस्य षा[।]ह-वा[।]सिष्कस्य³
सं २०' (+*) ८ हे १ [दि ५] [ए*]तस्या[।] पुर्वा[यां*] भगव-

¹ The date corresponds to Āshāḍha-sudi 15 (Pūrṇimā).

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II

³ Bühler: वासुष्क. He has been identified with Jushka of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and Vajbishka of No. 51. The *Rājatar*, suggests that Hushka (Huvishka), Jushka and Kanishka (II) ruled contemporaneously. षाहि = Shāh = Khshāyathiya (p. 147, n. 2).

⁴ The figure was originally read by Bühler as 20; but later he consulted Cunningham and read it as 70 of the looped variety. There is however no resemblance between this figure and the looped sign for 70 in the Mathurā record No. 22 (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 204) to which Bühler refers. The date is supposed by Smith and Lüders to be 69. This “च without bar” type of 20 is found on the coins of the Western Satraps and in the Nānāghāt and Gaḍhā inscriptions. That Huvishka began to rule earlier than the date of this record is proved by *infra*, No. 49.

- 2 [तो*]ख¹ जम्बुञ्जाया-शैल[१]प्र[स्थ?]स्य² धर्मदेव-विहारे प्रति[ष्ठ]ापिता
खरस्य³ धितर मधुरिक*⁴
3ण⁵ देयधर्म-परि[त्यागेन]....

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य पाहि-वासिष्कस्य सं[वत्सरे अष्टाविंशे] २८ हे[मन्त-
मासे प्रथमे] १ (=पूर्णमान्त-मार्गशीर्षे) दिवसे पञ्चमे ५—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] भगवतः
शान्त्यमुनेः जम्बुञ्जायाशैलाग्रस्थस्य (यद्वा—०शैल-गृहस्य ; यद्वा—०शैलाग्रीयस्य) धर्मदेव-विहारे
(=धर्मदेवस्य विहारे) प्रतिष्ठापिता खरस्य दुहित्वा मधुरिकया [अने]न देयधर्म-परित्यागेन..... ॥

No. 49—Mathurā Stone Inscription of
Huvishka—[Śaka] year 28 (= A.D. 106)

MATHURĀ, Mathurā Dist., U.P.

K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVIII, pp. 4ff.; H. K. DEB, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, pp. 117ff.; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 60f.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT⁶

- 1 सिद्ध [symbol]⁷ (॥*) संवत्सरे २० (+*) ८ गुर्णिये दिवसे १ अयं पुत्र्य-
2 शाळा प्राचिनोक्तन सत्कमान-पुत्रेण खरासले-

¹ Bühler's suggested restoration is शाकमुनिस्. A word like प्रतिमा is to be added.

² May be शैल-गृ[ह]स्य.

³ Bühler suggests the alternative reading वेर which is unlikely, as there is no trace of the serif of व.

⁴ Bühler reads धितरे मधुरिका

⁵ The intended reading is अनेन.

⁶ From the facsimile in *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII, 1932. See *infra*, No. 56, for the date of this king.

⁷ See *infra*, No. 52, notes.

- 3 र-पतिन वकन-पतिना¹ अक्षय-नीवि दिन्न[र] (१*) तुतो² वृद्धि]-
 4 तो मासानुमासं शुद्धस्य चतुदिशि पुण्य-शा[ला]-
 5 यं ब्राह्मण-शतं परिविषितव्यं (१*) दिवसे दिव[से]
 6 च पुण्य-शालाये द्वार-मुले धारिये साद्यं-सक्तना[र]³ आ-
 7 ढका ३ लवण-प्रस्थो⁴ १ शक्त-प्रस्थो⁵ १ हरित-कलापक-
 8 घटक[र]⁶ ३ मल्लक[र] ५ (१*) एतं अनाध[र]नां कृतेन द[त्तव्य]
 9 बभक्षितन पिबसितनं (१*) य चक्ष पुण्य तं देवपुत्रस्य
 10 घाहिस्य हुविष्कस्य (१*) येषा च देवपुत्रो प्रियः तेषामपि पुण्य
 11 भवतु (१*) सर्वायि⁷ च पृथिवीये पुण्य भवतु (१*) अक्षय-निवि दिन्न
 12 ... [राक-श्रेण[र]ये पुराण-शत ५००(+*) ५० समितकर-श्रेणी-
 13 [ये च*] पुराण-शत ५०० (+*) ५० (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ संवत्सरे [अष्टाविंशे] २८ गुर्पिये (=यवनानां गुर्पियाख्ये मासि ; Gorpaios)⁸ दिवसे [प्रथमे] १—इयं [या] पुण्यशाला (= धर्मशाला), प्राचीनीकेन सस्कमाण-पुत्रेण (यद्वा—प्राचीना=पूर्वोद्दिग्वर्तिनी [यद्वा—पुरातनी]. कनसस्कमाण-पुत्रेण ; यद्वा—प्राचीनीकनस्य सस्कमाण-पुत्रेण ; यद्वा—प्राचीनीकानां सस्कमाण-पुत्रेण) खरासलेर-पतिना वकन-पतिना⁹ [तस्यै] अक्षयनिवि¹⁰ दत्ता । ततः वृद्धितः मासानुमासं शुद्धस्य (= शुद्ध-पक्षस्य)

¹ H. W. Bailey traces *Bakanapati* to Iranian origin and explains it as "an official in charge of temples (or, a temple)" (*B.S.O.A.S.*, XIV, p. 421).

² Read ततो.

³ Read स्वाद्य (or सद्यः)-सक्तनां. क्त looks like क्त of कृतेन

⁴ Possibly लवण was intended. Read लवण

⁵ Read शक्त. Others read शक्तु

⁶ Taken separately घटका may mean water-jars.

⁷ Read सर्वायि

⁸ Makedonian Gorpaios roughly corresponds to the Indian Bhādra-Āśvina. Note that this date is earlier than that of *supra*, No. 48.

⁹ Kharāsāl-ra and Vakana are possibly place names. The latter may be Wakhan (37N, 74E) in Central Asia. Prāchinika came to Maṭhūrā for some unknown mission.

¹⁰ The *Akshayanivi* or °nivi was a permanent endowment which could not be withdrawn and whose interest alone could be enjoyed. The *Srenis* were banking and trading corporations. *Purāṇa* is the ancient punch-marked coin of silver (32 Ratis=58.56 gr.), also called *Kārshāpaṇa*. See *infra*, No. 58, p. 158, and notes.

चतुर्दश्यां¹ पुण्यशालायां ब्राह्मण-शतं परिवेशयितव्यं (=भोजयितव्यं); दिवसे दिवसे च पुण्यशालायाः द्वारमूले धार्यं² (=स्थापनीयं, स्वाद्य-सक्तूनाम् (यद्वा—सद्यः०) आढकाः³ [तयः] ३; कवण-प्रस्थः [एकः] १, शुक्त-प्रस्थः (=अम्बरस०) [एकः] १, हारित-कलापक-घटकाः⁴ [त्रयः] ३, मल्लकाः (=पान-पात्राणि) [पञ्च] ५। एतत् अनाथानां कृतेन (=कृते) दातव्यं बुभुक्षितानां पिपासितानाम् [अपि च] (यद्वा—एतत् अनाथानां कृते न दातव्यं, [परंतु] बुभुक्षितानां पिपासितानां [च])। यत् च अत्र पुण्यं तत् देवपुत्रस्य षाहेः हुविष्कस्य। येषां च देवपुत्रः प्रियः तेषाम् अपि पुण्यं भवतु। सर्वस्याः च पृथिव्याः पुण्यं भवतु। अक्षयनीविः दत्ता..... श्रेण्यां पुराण-शतानि [सार्द्ध-पञ्च] ५५०; समिताकर-श्रेण्यां (=गोधूमचूर्णविक्रयि०) च पुराण-शतानि [सार्द्ध-पञ्च] ५५० ॥

No. 50—Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] Year 33 (=A.D. 111)

MATHURĀ, Muthurā Dist., U. P.

LUDERS, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIII, p. 39. BLOCH, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 181f.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 महारजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य सं ३० (+*)३ गृ१ दि ८ मि^१भु^२स्य बलस्य
लेपिटकस्य अन्तेवासि^३नी^४ये भिक्षणीये ले^५[पिटका०]ये बुद्धमित्राये
- 2 भागिनेयीये भिक्षणीये धनव्रतीये बोधिमत्त्वो प्रतिथा^६[वित्तो] [स]धुरवणकी^६ सहा
मातापिति^६[हि]....(॥*)

¹ Konow takes गृह्य ('cleared off') with ब्रह्मिन्; and चतुर्दिशि (open) with पुण्यशाला।

² *Āḍhaka* is usually 256 handfuls (about 16 or 20 Bergal seers; 1 seer=80 *tolā*s=a little above two pounds). *Prastha* is usually $\frac{1}{4}$ of an *Āḍhaka*. But the designations indicated different measures in different areas.

³ Jars of a preparation of different green vegetables?

⁴ From the photograph and rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

⁵ Read यी.

⁶ The *akshara* स and the *u* sign of धु are not clear. Bloch reads the first *akshara* as सा। Madhuravara is the same as Madhuvana or Madhurā (modern Mathurā).

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य सं[वत्सरे] [स्यस्ति]शे ३३ ग्री[ष्म-भासे प्रथमे] १
 (-पूर्णिमान्त-चैत्रे) दि[वसे] ८ (-अष्टमे) भिक्षोः बलस्य सैपिटकस्य अन्तेवासिन्याः
 (-शिव्यायाः) भिक्षुण्याः (-स्त्री-भिक्षोः) सैपिटक्याः बुद्धमितायाः भागिनेय्या भिक्षुण्या धन-
 वत्या बोधिपत्न्यः (=बोधिसत्त्व-विग्रहः) प्रतिष्ठापितः मधुरवनके (=मथुरायां) सह माता-
 पितृभ्याम्... ॥.

No. 51—Āra Stone Inscription of Kanishka II

—[Śaka] Year 41 (=A.D. 119)¹

ĀRĀ, near Attock, Punjab, West-Pakistan

R. D. BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 58ff. ; LUDERS, *ibid.*, 1913, pp. 132 ff. ; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 113 ; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 165 (No. LXXXV).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT²

- 1 महारजस रजतिरजस देवपु[त्रस्य] [क]इ[स]रस्य
- 2 व[सि]ष्प-पुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरस्य एकवप[रि]-
- 3 [शण] सं २० (+*)२० (+*) जेठस्य मसस दिव[से]१⁴ इ[शे] दिवस-क्षुणमि
 ख[दे]

¹ Kanishka II is sometimes identified with Kanishka I. The absence of father's name in any of the latter's numerous records and that of any record of a year between 23 and 41 render the theory untenable. Kanishka II seems to be the Kanishka whom traditions place in the 2nd century A.D. and make a contemporary of Nāgārjuna and others. The exact reign period of Kanishka II and his relations with Huvisbka are not known.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV.

³ Banerji: वसिष्प० ; Luders and Konow: वसिष्प. His probable identification with Vāsishka of No. 48 and Jushka of the *Rājatarāṅginī* may suggest that वस was intended by व, the difference between the two forms being slight. See *supra*, Nos. 47A-48.

⁴ Konow: दि २० (+*)२ (+*)१. There is a gap between व and से owing to some defect of the stone.

- 4 [कुपे] दपहरेन' पोषपुरिष-पुल्ल मतर-पितरण पुय[ए]
 5 [हि]रंणस' सभर्य[स] [स]पुल्लस अनुग्रहर्थण' सर्व' सपणेण
 6 जति[धु] छ'तए' (10) इमो च छिल्लितो' म[धु].....॥०

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुल्लस्य 'कैसरस्य (- कैसर इति रोमक-सम्राट्-विरुद्ध-भूतः ; Caesar, Kaiser) वामिष्क-पुल्लस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकचत्वारिंशे सं ४१ ज्यैष्ठ्यस्य मासस्य दिवसे [प्रथमे] १ - अस्मिन् दिवस-क्षणे : = दिवस-पूर्वायां = दिवसस्य तिथौ ; यद्वा— दिवसस्य क्षणविशेषे : स्वातः कूपः दापपरेण पोषपुरिक-पुल्लणां यद्वा— पोषपुरिकः ; यद्वा— 'पुल्लेण' मातापित्रोः पूजार्थं, हिरण्यस्य सभार्यस्य सपुल्लस्य अनुग्रहार्थाय (- 'ग्रहणाभावात्), सर्व-सत्त्वानां जातिषु (= जन्मनि जन्मनि) उदाय (- रक्षायै) इदं च छिल्लितं मधु.....(- तदाकथ्येन) ॥

No. 52—Mathura Jain Image Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] Year 44 (= A.D. 122?)

KANKARĪ TILĀ, Mathura, U. P.

BÜCHER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 387, No. 9, *ibid.*, II, p. 212, n. 37;
 R. D. BANERJĪ, *ibid.*, X, p. 114, No. 7.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

1. Śaka here read दुषहरेन, दुषहेन

2. K. = सभर्यस

3. K. = छिल्लितो' मधु

4. The design of the image is No. 42 and of the figure No. 25.

5. The characters have been used here in the sense of the Sanskrit words. Probably a Jay Bhadrant Prasthānar

TEXT¹

- 1 स्थ [symbol]² (॥*) नम [अ?]र[ह]तव' (॥*) महारजस्य हुवक्षस्य सवमरे
४०⁴(+*)४ पन गृ[स्य]-मस ३ दिविस २ एत-
२ य पूर्वय....गने अर्थचेटिगिग-कुले हरितमाल-कडि[यक-शाखय]⁵..... [वा*]-
चकस्य हगनंदिस्य शिसगन.....तगसेण दन...⁶

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः अर्हद्भ्यः 'यद्वा—अर्हत्तमाय' ॥ महाराजस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [चतु-
श्रत्वारिंशे] ४४ पुनः (= विशेषेण) ग्रीष्ममासे [तृतीये] ३ (= पूर्णिमान्त-ज्यैष्ठे) दिवसे [द्वितीये]
२—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ]....वारणगणे(?) आर्यचेटीयक-कुले हरितमालगढीयक-शाखायां
.. वाचकस्य भगनन्दिनः शिष्यकेण . तत्काशेन दत्ता [प्रतिमा] ॥

No. 53—Lucknow Museum Jain Image Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] Year 48 (= A.D. 126)

R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 412 ; No. 5

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmi

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I and X.

² For another contraction of सिद्ध', see *infra*, No 57. This seems to be the way in which the variants of the auspicious symbol at the beginning of later records developed. The following symbol, found in several Kushāṇa records, resembles an Aśokan टा with the opening to left. It is supposed to be a full stop or स् (Ep. Ind., II, p. 212. n.; XXI, p. 56). It may be connected with the सिद्धम् symbol.

³ The last akshara may be intended for नं or म. Bühler and Banerji: श्रसतम(=यूरसतम).

⁴ Banerji read अष्टपन (i.e., 58) in place of Bühler's ४०(+*)४ हन. The first symbol has also been supposed to be ३०. The second may be a variant of ८

⁵ Bühler: ०चेटिगे कुले and कट्टियशाख; Banerji: ०कट्टियातो शा...

⁶ Bühler: हगिनंदिस्य शिसगेण ..नागसेणस्य नि ..; Banerji: हगिनादिस्य शिसगेण . नगसेनो दनं

TEXT¹

- 1 मह[र]राजस्य हु[वि]क्षस्य² सवचर ४० (+*)³ व २ दि १० (+*) ७ एतस्य
 पुवार्यं [कोट्टिये गणे] [वम][दा*]-
 2 [सि]ये [कु]ले पचनगरिय-शाकाय [ध]जवलस्य⁴ शिशि[निये] धज[शि]रि[ये] निवतन
 3 [व]धुकस्⁵ वधुये शवत्तात-पो[लिये] यशा[ये] दान स[⁶]भवस्य प्रोदिम प्र-
 4 त[स्थ]पित⁷ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [अष्टचवारिंशे] ४० वर्षा-मासे द्वितीये] २ (= पूर्णिमान्त-
 भाद्रपदे) दि[वसे सप्तदशे] १७-एतस्यां पुर्वायां [तिथौ] कोट्टीये गणे ब्रह्मदासीये कुले
 पञ्चनगरीय-शाखायां धान्यपालस्य शिष्यायाः धान्यश्रियाः निवर्तनात् (= अनुरोधात् बन्धुकस्य
 वध्वाः शवत्तात-पौत्र्याः यशायाः दानं सम्भवस्य³ प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता ॥

No. 54—Mathura Buddhist Image Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] Year 51 (= A.D. 129)

Jamalpur mounds, MATHURĀ, U.P.

R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 113; No. 6

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT⁶

- 1 महारजस्य दवपुलस्य हुवष्कस्य सवत्सरे ५० (+*)^१ हेमन्त-मास १ दव...
 [एतस्यां] पु[र्वी]यां [भिक्षुणा] [बु]द्धवर्म[णा]^२ [भग*]वतः श[क्य][मुनेः*]

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X. The find-spot of the record was possibly Mathurā.

2 च is evidently a mistake for क्ष (cf. *supra*, No. 52).

3 Banerji read धुक्कवल, धुक्कशिरि, वुधुक and शवतन

4 These *aksharas* stand below the middle of the previous line.

5 Sambhavanātha is the third Jain *tirthankara* whose *lāñchhana* is the horse. His image is usually connected with the Yaksha Trimukha, the Yakshiñī Śāsanañeśī or Duritārīdevī, the Kuvāla tree Śāla and the chowrie-bearer Satyavīrya.

6 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X

7 Banerji: भिक्षुनी बुद्धवर्मणः शक्य

- 2 प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापित सर्व-बुद्ध-पूजार्थम् (I*) अ[नेन] [दे]यधर्म-परित्यागेन उपध्यायस्य सघदासस्य [निवनावा]स्येऽ*स्तु मा[तापितो च] (I*) [बुद्धार्थम् इदं च दानं ?]
- 3 बुद्धवर्मस्य सर्व-[दु]खोपशम[ा]य सर्व-सत्त्व-हित-सुखार्थ['] [म]हाराज-दे[वपुत्र-वि]हरे (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [एकपञ्चाशत्तमे] ५१ हैमन्त-मासे [प्रथमे] १ (= पूर्णिमान्त-मार्गशीर्षे) दिवसे... एतस्यां पूर्वायां भिक्षुणा बुद्धवर्मणा भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता सर्व-बुद्ध-पूजार्थम् । अनेन देयधर्म-परित्यागेन [जातं पुण्यं] उपाध्यायस्य सघदासस्य निर्वाणावास्ये अस्तु, मातापितोः च । बुद्धार्थम् इदं च दानं बुद्धवर्मणः सर्वदुखोप-शमाय सर्व-सत्त्व-हित-सुखार्थं महाराज-देवपुत्रविहारे (= मयुरायां हुविष्क-प्रतिष्ठापित-विहारे) ॥

No. 55—Khawat (Wardak) Bronze Vase Inscription of Huvishka—[Śaka] Year 51 (= A.D. 129)

Ruined Stūpas, Kḥawāt (Wardak)¹, Afghanistan

J. Dowson, *J.R.A.S.*, XX, pp. 231-68; F. E. PARGITER, *Ep. Ind.*, XI, pp. 210 f; Konow, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 170 (No. LXXXVI).

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Kharoṣṭhī

TEXT²

1 सं २० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*) १ म(स*)स्य अर्थ[?]मिसियं सस्तेहि
१० (+*) ४ (+*) १ इमेण गडिग्रेण कमगुल्य-पुल वग्र-मरेग्र⁴ स इय खुवदन्नि कदलयिग्र
वयमरिय-विहरन्नि थुस्तिन्नि⁵ भग्रवद शक्यमुणे शरिर परिठवेति (I*)

¹ The place is about 30 miles to the west of Kābul. Khawat is the same as Khavada of the record.

² From the facsimile in *C.I.I.* For other references, see *ibid.*, p. 166.

³ Konow reads मस्ये अर्थमिसिय सस्तेहि. He takes the last word to be identical with Khotani Śaka *sasta*, the Past Participle of the base *sad*, 'to shine', 'to appear', which is used about the sun. सस्तेहि १५ = when 15 had appeared. Senart proposes संस्था = चहोरात्र. This word is used in the sense of day in several Kharoṣṭhī records. Makedonian Artemisios roughly corresponds to the Indian Vaiśākha-Jyāishṭha.

⁴ Some read वयमरेयस्य वग्र. The seemingly unnecessary subscript *r* is used in these records to modify the sounds of the consonants.

⁵ Read थवन्नि which is Konow's reading.

- 2 इमेग कुशल-मुलेग महरज-रजतिरज-होवेष्कस्य अग्र-भग्न भवतु (1*) मद-
पिदर मे पुयए भवतु (1*) अदर मे हप्युणः¹-मरेग्रस्य पुयए भवतु (1*) यो त्र² मे
भुय गतिग्र-मित्र-संभतिग्र पुयए भवतु (1*) महिय त्र वग्र-मरेग्रस्य अग्र-भग्न-
पडियंशं[ए]
- 3 भवतु (1*) सर्व-सवग अरोग-दक्षिगए भवतु (1*) अविय³ नरग्र-पर्यंत यव भवग्र यो
अत अंतरं अंडजो जलयुग शप(फ) तिग⁴ अरुप्यत सविंग पुयए भवतु (1*) महिय
त्र रोहण सद सविंग अवपडिगण सपरिवर त्र अग्र-भग्न-पडियंशं[ए] भवतु
मिथ्यगस्य⁵ त्र अग्र-भग्न भवतु (11*)
- 4 एष विहरं अचं च⁶यण महसंविगण परिग्रह (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संविग्रसे एकपञ्चाशत्तमे] ५१ मासस्य 'अर्थमिस्याः' (= अर्थमिस्याख्यस्य यवनानां मासस्य ; Artemisios) सस्तेहि १५ (= दिवसे पञ्चदशे) — अनेन 'घटिकेन' (= अस्यां घटिकायां) कमगूल्य-पुलः वग्र-मरेगः — सः इह खवदे (= खवदाख्ये प्रदेशे) कृतालथकः (= कृतावासः) — वग्र-मरेग-विहारे स्तूपे भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं (= देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति । अनेन कुशल-मुलेन (= इदं पुण्यस्य मूलं) महाराज-राजातिराज-हुविष्कस्य अग्र-भागाय भवतु ; मातापितोः मे पूजायै भवतु , भ्रातुः मे हप्युणः-मरेगस्य पूजायै भवतु ; एतत् च मे भूयः जातिक-मित्त-संभ्रातृ-काणां (= बान्धवानां) पूजायै भवतु । मम च वग्र-मरेगस्य अग्रभाग-प्रत्यंशाय (= मुख्यभागरूपां-शाय) भवतु । सर्व-सत्त्वानाम् आरोग्य-दक्षिगायै = ०दानप्राप्तये भवतु । अपि च नरकपर्यन्तात् (= अधस्तनलोकानां शेषसीमातः समारभ्य) यावद् भवाग्र⁷ (= स्वर्गलोकः) — यः अत अन्तरे अण्डजः, जारायुकः (= जरायुजः, शब्दादिकं (= उद्भिजः), अरुप्यात्मा (= स्वेदजः) — सर्वेषां जायै भवतु । मम च रोहाणां (= वंशधराणां) सदा सर्वेषाम् अपावण्डिकानां (= धार्मिकाणां) नरिवारं च अग्रभागप्रत्यंशाय भवतु, मिथ्यगस्य (= वितथधर्म-सेविनां) च अग्रभागः भवतु । एष विहारः आचार्याणां माहासाहिकानां परिग्रहः ॥

* See *Khar. Ins.*, III, Plate XIV, Nos. 81, 93.

² Some read शोच.

¹ Pargiter suggests the correction अरिय.

⁴ Konow : ऐतिग.

⁵ Konow : मिथ्यगस्य.

⁶ Cf. पशवश्च मृगाश्चैव व्यालाश्चैव भवतोदतः । रक्षांसि च पिशाचाश्च मनुष्याश्च जरायुजाः ॥ अष्टजः पक्षिणः सर्पा नक्का मत्स्याश्च कच्छपाः । यानि चैश्वर्यकाराणि स्थलजान्योदकानि च ॥ स्वेदजं दंशमशकं यूका मलिकमकुण्डम् । उष्णश्चोपजायते यज्ञात् किञ्चरीदृग्म ॥ उद्भिजाः स्थावराः सर्वे बीजकाण्ड-प्ररोहिणः । औषध्यः फलपाकानां बहुपुष्पकरोपमा ॥ (मनुस्मृति १२.४३-४६). अण्डजम् = अण्डजम् = लुप्तकारः . अण्डो + आ + ण (टिप्पणी) [यस्य] Paddist works refer to (1) *anḍaja*, (2) *jālabuja*, (3) *samseda* or *sedaja* and (4) *opapātika* 'Sanskrit *anḍapātika*, "born of accident", i. e. without the agency of parents).

No. 56—Inscription on some Gold Coins of Huvishka (c. 106-138 A.D.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 76

*First Side*²

Half-length figure³ of king, rising from clouds, richly dressed, with round jewelled helmet or cap, to left; with ends of the diadem hanging down behind; club and sceptre in hands; inscription in Greek characters:—

ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ ΟΟΗΠΚΙ ΚΟΠΑΝΟ (= *Shaonano Shao Ooeshki Koshano*)⁴

Second Side

War-god (Mahāsena), standing, facing, clad in Indian waist-cloth and chlamys, holding in right hand a standard surmounted by a bird⁵ and with left hand resting on sword at his side; monogram to left; inscription to right in Greek characters:—

ΜΑΑΧΝΟ (= *Maaseno* = Sanskrit *Mahāsena* = Kārttikeya)⁶

¹ Huvishka's inscriptional dates range between the years 28 and 60.

² From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate XII, No. 8

³ On some gold coins we have a very large head (or bust) of the king, covered with round jewelled helmet with spreading crest and the ends of the diadem hanging down behind; a large ornamental ear-ring in the ear, and flames springing from shoulders. On some specimens we get half-length figure of the king to left, rising from clouds, with pointed helmet, thickly jewelled, holding sceptre in left hand and club in right hand before face. Sometimes we have *ankuśa* for sceptre, which refers to the king as an elephant-rider as seen on his copper coins.

⁴ I.e., 'Huvishka, the Kushāṇa, the king of the kings'.

⁵ This is the *Sikhi-dhruja* of Kārttikeya. The bird is evidently a peacock. On some specimens, we have *Skando-Komaro* (Skando-Kumāra), *Maaseno* (Mahāsena), and *Bizago* (Viśākha), conceived as three different deities whose figures appear on the coins. See below.

⁶ On the reverse of Huvishka's coins, we have representations of the god ΑΕΡΟ (= *Athsho*) with hammer in the right and tongs in the left hand (cf. Greek Hephaistos and Indian Viśvakarman); the goddess of abundance ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ (*Ardokhsho*), the moon-god ΜΑΝΑΟ-ΒΑΓΟ (*Manao-bago*) or ΜΑΟ (*Mao*), the sun-god ΑΝΙΟ (*Anio*), ΜΙΡΟ (*Miro*) or ΜΙΟΡΟ (*Mioro*), the goddess ΝΑΝΑΡΑΟ (*Nanushao*), the goddess ΟΑΝΑΟ (*Oanao*) or ΟΑΝΙΝΔΑ (*Oaninda*), the god ΟΗΠΑ (*Oesha*, i.e. Siva), the war-god ΠΑΟΡΗΟΡΟ (*Shacreoro*; Persian *Shāhrewar*; cf. Greek Ares), ΗΡΑΚΛΕΣ (*Herakles*), the fire-god ΦΑΡΡΟ (*Pharro*, Persian *Farr*) and the four-armed god ΟΟΠΝΑ (*Ooshna*, possibly Vishnu, not Siva as generally suggested)

No. 56A—Mathura Buddha Image Inscription of
the time of Vasudeva—[Śaka] Year 64 or 67
(= 142 or 145 A.D.)¹

PALIKHRA, Mathura, U.P.

M. M. NAGAR, *Proc. I.H.C.*, Hyderabad, 1941, pp. 163-64; D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 181 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1वसुदेवस्य सं ६०(+) [४ or ७] वर्षा-मासे द्वितीये* २ दिवसि(से)
- 2नं सर्वष यत्नोपनान पूजार्थ [*]
- 3न परिग्रहा(य*) अचरियन महासधिका[नं*]
- 4 [नि]स्य प्रतिमा सगिहा मातापित्रेण अभसितनं
- 5 कुटुम्बिकानं [गृह]सेने[न]...³

On a few specimens we have on the reverse the word गणेश in Brāhmī characters; but the god represented is an archer, standing to right, holding a bow as long as himself, with string inwards. The inscription and representation seem to refer to Śiva. Of course it may be pointed out that sometimes on Huvishka's coins we have the representation of Mao with the legend *Ardokhsho* and that of *Ardokhsho* with the legend *Mao*. But the elephant-headed *Gaṇeśa* is known to be a post-epic god. For Śiva Tripurāntaka with two hands carrying bow and arrow, see Gopinatharao, *El.H Icon.*, pp. 168, 171, Plate 38. Śiva is the 'lord of the *Gaṇas*' in early literature. Of other Indian gods and goddesses represented on Huvishka's coins, we may mention OMMO (*Ommo*, i. e. the Mother-goddess *Umā*=Dravidian *Amma*, 'mother', sometimes identified with Nana; cf. J. N. Banerjĕa, *Dev. Hind. Icon.*, pp. 139-40). A group of two gods, viz. SKANDO KOMARO (*Skanda-Kumāra*) and BIZARO (*Viśākha*), is represented on some coins while others have the group of three, viz., *Skanda-Kumāra*, *Viśākha* and *MAACHNO* (*Mahāseni*). These were originally different divinities later identified with *Kārttikeya*. A Kushāṇa seal-matrix, attributed by Cunningham to Huvishka, represents a four-armed figure of Vishṇu with the king standing reverentially looking up at the god with his hands in the *anjali* pose. See Banerjĕa, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

¹ His reign period is circa 152-76 A.D., as his inscriptional dates range between the years 74 and 98. After him, the Kushāṇas appear to have gradually lost much of the Punjab and U.P. to local dynasties like that of the Nāgas. The Nāgas, especially of Mathurā, became a notable power in the 3rd century A.D.

² See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXX.

³ Apparently the word पतिडादिता is lost here.

.. [देव]पुत्रस्य वासुदेवस्य संवत्सरे [चतुःषष्टितमे यद्वा सप्तषष्टितमे] ६४ (यद्वा—६७)
वर्षामासे द्वितीये (= पूर्णिमान्तभाद्रपदे) २ दिवसे... [सत्त्वानां सर्वेषां यत्रोत्पन्नानां] पूजार्थं....
[सर्व-बुद्धा]नां परिग्रहाय आचार्याणां माहासंघिकानां [शाक्यमु]नेः प्रतिमा स-गृहा
मातृपितृभ्यां [सह] अभासितानां ..कुटुम्बकानां गुह्येनेन [प्रतिष्ठापिता] ॥

No. 57—Mathura Image Inscription of
Vasudeva—[Śaka] Year 80 (= A D. 158)

Kaṅkālī Tīlā, MATHURĀ, U.P.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 392, No. 24; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 66;
R. D. BANERJĪ, X, p. 116, No. 10.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 स्वि² (॥*) महाराजस्य व[१]सुदेवस्य स['] ८० हसव³ १ दि १० (+*)२ एतस
पुव[१]यां सनक[दसस१]
- 2 वि[स] संघतिषिस वधुये बलस्य.....(॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य वासुदेवस्य सं[वत्सरे अशीतितमे] ८० हेमन्त-[मासे प्रथमे] १
दि[वसे द्वादशे] १२—एतस्यां पूर्वायां सनकदासस्य दुहिता सङ्घातिथेः वध्वा बलस्य [माता]... ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I and X. Line 2 begins from below the middle of line 1.

² See *supra*, p. 156, n. 2.

³ Bühler: वधव. Read वृमत्.

No. 57A—Kosam Stone Slab Inscription of Bhadramagha—[Śaka] Year 86 (= A.D. 164)¹

Hasanābād, near Kosam, Allahābād District, U.P.

D. B. Sahni, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 160.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the Northern Class of c. 2nd or 3rd century A.D.

TEXT²

- 1 [स्वस्ति]³ महाराजस्य श्रीभद्रम[घस्य*]⁴
- 2 [संवत्सरे*] ८० (+*) ६⁵ वर्षा-पक्ष ३ दिवस ५
- 3 * * * कस्य⁶ शम(प१)रस्य पुस्त-हेमाङ्गन⁷
- 4 * * * * [दत्ता]⁸ अयाया⁹ देवदार¹⁰ ।

¹ Sahni reads 88, refers the year to the Gupta era and assigns the record to 407 A.D. Palaeographically however the record seems to be earlier. At that date, moreover, no महाराज of Kosam could have failed to mention the name of the Gupta महाराजाधिराज. Jayaswal refers it to the Kalachuri era of 248-49 A.D. (*Hist. Ind.*, pp. 230-31), while A. Ghosh prefers a local era connected with the dynasty (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 715). The inscriptions of the Maghas and others like that of Bhīma-varman dated in the year 139 (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 267), if referred to the Gupta era, would suggest a less developed state of the Brāhmī script in the Kosam region than in other parts of North India. Jayaswal's theory however cannot be accepted until the use of the Kalachuri era in the above region is proved satisfactorily. Ghosh's suggestion is better than that of Jayaswal. As indicated above, p. 156, n. 2, the foundation of an era was possible with any independent ruling dynasty. As these kings ruled apparently before the Gupta emperors, the era may have started about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. But since almost the whole of U.P. formed part of Kanishka's empire, I prefer the Kanishka or Śaka era to an otherwise unknown local era. Numismatic evidence suggests that Kushāna influence spread over large parts of Bengal and Orissa. We have now an inscription dated in the year 109 (A.D. 186) of the Kanishka era in Bihar (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 229ff.).

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII.

³ The indistinct *aksharas* may also be मिहम्.

⁴ Generally corrected to ०मेघ. Sometimes reads ०माघ.

⁵ Sahni reads ८. Read वर्षा-पक्षे and दिवसे

⁶ Are we to restore कौशानिकस्य ?

⁷ Read हेमाङ्गन, or better पुनेष हेमाङ्गन.

⁸ Possibly दत्त is intended.

⁹ Possibly आयाया is intended.

¹⁰ Possibly देवदार (= दिव्य-तीर्थ) is intended. Sahni suggests आया यादवदारा.

(iii) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ŚĀKAS
OF WESTERN INDIA

(a) KSHAHARĀTA FAMILY (HOUSE OF NAHAPĀNA)

No. 58—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of
Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A.D.)

—[Śaka] Years 41, 42, 45 (= A.D. 119, 120, 123)¹

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State. Immediately below the inscription of Dakshamitrā (*infra*, No. 60) in Cave No. 10.

Bhagawanlal INDRAJI and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 102f.; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 82ff., No. 12.²

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT³

1 सिधं [॥*] वसे ४० (+*)२ वेसाख-मासे राजो क्षहारातस क्षसपस नहपानस
जामातरा दीनीक-पुहेन उषवदातेन रुधस चातुदिसस इमं लेणं नियातितं (१*) दत्त
चानेन अक्षय निवि काहापण-सहस्रा-

¹ Some scholars think that Nahapāna's records are dated in the Vikrama era and that therefore he ruled much earlier, because the palaeography of these records is earlier than that of the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman. I have however no doubt that Nahapāna's records are dated in the Śaka era. This is proved by the resemblance of their characters with those of the Andhra records and the palaeography and internal evidence of the inscriptions of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi and Puṣumāvi. Inscriptions and coins prove the contemporaneity of Śātakarṇi with Nahapāna and Uśavādāta, and Ptolemy's Geography suggests the author's (c. 140 A.D.) contemporaneity with Puṣumāvi and Chashtana grandfather of Rudradāman. The earlier members of the houses of Nahapāna and Chashtana were probably feudatories of the Kuṣāṇas (cf. *supra*, No. 48); but the later members retained their feudatory title even after they had assumed independence (cf. the titles *rājan*, *śāmin* and *kshatrapa* used together). It may be that Rudradāman I was the first independent or semi-independent ruler among the Western Satraps. The Kuṣāṇas were possibly losing their hold on Western India by this time.

² For other references, see Lüders, List, No. 1133; also *infra*, No. 59.

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The record appears to have been engraved on the cave-wall from a grant inscribed on plates of copper or on cloth. That some royal charters were written not on *tāmbra-ṇaṭṭa* but on the easily perishable *kārpāsika-ṇaṭṭa* (cf. notes on Bk. III, No. 49) is suggested by the paucity or absence of grants belonging to many kings, royal families or regions. Copper-plate

- 2 नि क्षीणि¹ ३००० संघम चातुदिसम ये इयस्मिं लेणे वसांतान[']² भविसंति³
चिवरिक कुशाणमूले च (१*) एते च काहापणा प्रयुता गोवधन⁴ वाथवासु
श्रेणिसु (१*) कोलीक निकाये २००० वृधि पडिक-शत अपर-कोलीक-निका-
- 3 ये १००० वधि पा[यू]न-[प]डिक शत (१*) एते च काहापणा [अ]पडिदातवा
वधि-भोजा (१*) एतो चिवरिक-सहस्रानि वे २००० ये पडिके सते (१*) एतो
मम लेणे वस्युथान भिखुनं वीस[र]य एकीकस चिवरिक वारसक⁵ (१*) य सहस्र
प्रयुतं पायुन पडिके शते अतो कुशन-
- 4 मूल (१*) कापूराहारे⁶ च गामे चिखलपद्रे दतानि नाळिगेरान मुल-सहस्रानि⁷
अठ ८००० (१*) एत च सर्वं स्रावित [नि]गम-समाय निवध च फलकवारे
चरित्रतो ति (१*) भूयोनेन दतं वसे ४० (+*)⁸ कातिक-शूधे⁹ पनरस
पुवाक वसे ४० (+*)⁹

charters of the Kashmir kings have not been discovered, although their grants are referred to by Kālhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Private deeds were usually written on birch bark or palm leaves or on cloth and rarely on terracotta plaques.

1 Others read द्विनि.

2 Read वसंतान.

3 Others read भविसति.

4 Others do not notice the *anusvāra*.

5 The rate of monthly interest being 1 per cent, the sum of 2000 *Kārshāpānas* would bring 20 K. per month and 240 K. per year. Each monk getting 12 K. for cloth money, 20 of them would get 240 K. The rate of interest was very high in ancient India. Monthly interest at the rate of 2% from a Brāhmaṇa debtor, 3% from a Kshatriya, 4% from a Vaiśya and 5% from a Śūdra has been sanctioned by old law-givers (*Manu*, VIII, 142; *Yājñavalkya*, II, 28; *Vishṇu*, VI, 2). *Kārshāpāna* was a coin (of copper, gold or silver) weighing 1 Karsha=80 Ratis=146.4 grains (Rati=1.83 grains). The gold *Suvarṇa*, the copper *Paṇa* and Kaṭṭilya's silver *Dharaṇa* are of this weight. The silver *Dharaṇa* or *Purāṇa* was however usually of 32 Ratis=58.56 grains. But here the silver coins of Nahapāna (about 40 grains) are called *Kārshāpāna*. Thirty-five of them made one *Suvarṇa*, probably the Kushāṇa gold coin of the 124 grains standard. The ratio between gold and silver thus appears to have been about 1 to 11. Cf. *J. N. S. I.*, XIII, p. 189; Bhandarkar, *Anc. Ind. Num.*, p. 192.

6 Fleet identified the headquarters of Kāpūrāhāra with Kapura in the old Baroda State and Chikhalarādra with Chikhaldā 2½ miles east-north-east of Kapura (*Ind. Ant.* 1910, p. 98). Kāpura is mentioned in the Pardi inscription of Traikūṭaka Dabhasena (Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. lxiii).

7 Senart : नाळिगेरान मुल-सहस्रानि.

8 Others read शुधे.

9 Some words of the original appear to have been left out in lines 5-6. The difference of dozees suggests that lines 5-6 belong to a different charter. The *aksharas* are big in lines 1-2 and 6, but smaller in lines 3-5. The smallest letters begin from भूयोनेन in line 4.

- 5 'पनरस नियुतं भगवता['] देवानं ब्राह्मणानं च कार्षापण-सहस्रानि सतरि ७०००
प[']चित्रि[']शक सुवर्ण कृता दिन सुवर्ण-सहस्रगं मूल्य['] (॥*)
- 6 ^२फलकवारे चरित्तो ति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ वर्षे [द्विचत्वारिंशे] ४२ वैशाखमासे राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य
(=नखवतः ?) जामात्रा दीनीक-पुत्रेण ऋषभदत्तेन (यद्वा—वृषभदत्तेन) सङ्घाय चातुर्दिशाय
(=सर्वदेशीयाय) इदं लयनं (=गुहावासः) निर्यातितं (=दत्तम्) । दत्ता च अनेन अक्षयनीविः
(=०न्यासः) कार्षापण-सहस्राणि क्षीणि ३००० सङ्घाय चातुर्दिशाय, या अस्मिन्
लयने वसतां [भिक्षूणां] भविष्यति चैवरिकं (=चीवरमूल्यं) कृशान्न-मूल्यम्
(=अमुल्याहार^१)^३ । एतानि च कार्षापणानि प्रयुक्तानि (=न्यासीकृतानि) गोवर्द्धने
(=नासिके) वास्तव्यासु श्रेणिषु - कौलिक-निकाये [कार्षापणानां] द्वे सहस्रे २०००, [येषां]
वृद्धिः प्रतिक-शतं^४ (=कार्षापणानां शतं प्रति कार्षापणम् एकं यथा स्यात् तथा) ; अपरकौलिक-
निकाये यत् [कार्षापणानां] सहस्रं १०००, [तेषां] वृद्धिः पादोन-प्रतिक-शतं (=कार्षापणानां
शतं प्रति पादोनम् एकं कार्षापणम्) । एतानि च कार्षापणानि अप्रतिदातव्यानि, [परं तु]
वृद्धि-भोज्यानि । एतयोः (=न्यासयोः) चैवरिकं सहस्रे द्वे २००० [कार्षापणानां], ये प्रतिक-शतं
(=ये शतं प्रति एकं कार्षापणं वृद्धिं यच्छेताम्) । अतो (=अमुष्मात्) लयने वास्तव्यानां भिक्षूणां
विंशतये एकैकस्य चैवरिकं द्वादशकं [कार्षापणानाम्] । यत् सहस्रं प्रयुक्तं पादोन-प्रतिक-
शतम्, अतः कृशान्न-मूल्यम् । कर्पूरहारे च ग्रामे चित्खलपट्टे दत्तानि नारिकेलानां

^१ This line begins from below स्त्र of the word स्त्रावितं in line 4.

^२ These letters are inscribed at the beginning of line 5, i.e. below the beginning of line 4.

^३ कुशान्न-मूल is 'expenses of outside life' according to some. कृशान्न=minor food (अमुल्याहार) probably including minor necessities. Cf. the reference to mukhy-āhāra in No. 59, line 5. Bhandarkar thinks that Kuśāṇa, a coin-designation named after the Kuśāṇas, indicates the silver coins of Nahapāna. According to him Kuśāṇa-mūla = 'value of the Kuśāṇas'; 90 Kārshāpaṇas, the annual interest of 1000 K., were equal to 80 Kuśāṇas, each of the 20 monks requiring 4 Kuśāṇas for the 4 months of the rainy season (Carm. Lect., 1921, pp. 193-200). The interpretation is untenable.

^४ प्रतिक means कार्षापणिक. The passage प्रतिकं शतं means 'one Kārshāpaṇa per cent.' Akshaya-nivi is a 'permanent endowment'; śreni is a 'guild'; and nikāya is a 'corporation'. The 'weavers' guild and the 'western weavers' guild' were apparently like modern banking and trading corporations.

मूलसहस्राणि (= शिशुनारिकेलतरुणां मूल-भूयिष्ठानां स^० ; यद्वा—मूल्यं [कार्षापणानां] स०) अष्ट ८००० । एतत् च सर्वं श्रावितं निगम-सभायां (= पौरसभायां), निबद्धं च फलकवारे (= लिखितं ताम्रपट्टमगृहे ; यद्वा—कार्षापिकपट्ट^१ ; यद्वा—राजकीये फलकानां रक्षागृहे एतस्य प्रतिलिपिः रक्षिता) चरितः (= यथाचारम्) इति । भूयः अनेन दत्तं वर्षे [एकचत्वारिंशे] ४१ कार्तिक-शुद्धे (= शुक्लपक्षे) पञ्चदशे [दिवसे] पौर्वकं (= पूर्वदत्तं) वर्षे [पञ्चचत्वारिंशे] ४५... पञ्चदशे (= कस्यचिन्मासस्य पञ्चदशदिवसे)...नियुक्तं भगवद्भ्यः देवेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च कार्षापण-सहस्राणि ससति ७००००, [कार्षापणानां] पञ्चविंशत्कं सुवर्णम्^१ [एकं] कृत्वा द्वयोः सुवर्गसहस्रयोः मूल्यं (= मूलधनम्) । [निबद्धं च एतत्] फलकवारे चरितः इति ॥

No. 59—Nasik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapana (c. 119-24 A.D.)

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay State. On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 10 under the ceiling.

R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Transactions of the 2nd (London) Congress of Orientalists*, 1874, pp. 326ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, XII, pp. 139 ff.; Bhagwanlal INDRAJI and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 99f.; INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 569 ff.; HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.*, XII, pp. 27 ff.; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 78 ff., No. 10.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmi

TEXT²

- 1 सीद्धम्^१ [*svastika*] (॥*) राज्ञः चहारातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामाता दोनीक-
पुत्रेण उषवदातेन वि गोशत-सहस्रदेन नद्या वार्णासायां सुवर्णदान-तीर्थ-करेण
देवत[ः]भ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडश-ग्रामदेन अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मण-शतसाहस्री-भोजापयित्रा

¹ The *sutarna* is here supposed to be the gold coins of the Kushāṇas (Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. clxxv).

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. For other references, see Lüders' List, No. 1131. The record which seems originally to have been a copper-plate (or cloth-plate) grant and was later engraved on the cave-wall has evidently reached us in a distorted form. The latter part of the grant appears to have been condensed. The absence of date, the reference to the donor in both the first and third persons and the palaeography are to be noted. The language of the concluding part is different from that of the rest of the record. Like *supra*, No. 53, this record seems also to be made out of more than one original charter.

³ Others read सिंह.

- 2 प्रभासे¹ पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन² भक्तकृते दशपुरे गोवर्धने
शोर्पारगे च चतुशालावसथ-प्रतिश्रय-प्रदेन आराम तडाग-उदयान-करेण इवा-
पारादा-दमण-तापो-करवेणा-दाहनुका नावा पुण्य-तर-करेण एतासां च नदीनां
उभतो तीरं सभा-
- 3 प्रपा-करेण पींडोतकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णमुखे शोर्पारगे च रामतीर्थे³ चरक-
पर्वभ्यः ग्रामे नानंगोले द्वालीशत नाळीगेर-मूल सहस्र-प्रदेन गोवर्धने तोरश्मिषु⁴

¹ Cf ततो गच्छति राजेन्द्र प्रभासं तीर्थमुत्तमम्, etc. in *Mbh.*, III, 82, 20ff., 58ff. These *tirthas* were all in Western India probably within the dominions of Śaka Nahapāna, father-in-law of the Hinduised Śaka prince Ushavālāta. Govardhana is near mod Nāsik. Prabhāsa is in Kāthiāwār. Bhṛīgukachebha is mod. Broach and Śūrpāraka mod. Sopara in the Thana Dist., Bombay State. Daśapura is mod. Man-Dasr in Western Mālwa (old Gwalior State). Of the rivers, Tāpī is the celebrated Tāptī. Damana may be the Damangaṅgā running by the Portuguese town of Damān and Dāhanukā may be connected with the Portuguese town of Dahanu. The Pārādā has been identified with the Par in the Surat District. Nānaṅgola is supposed to be Nārgol near Sanjan in the Thana Dist., Bombay. Bārṇāsā is possibly mod. Banas, a tributary of the Chambal. The names mentioned in the record appear to point to the wide extent of Nahapāna's kingdom. Nahapāna no doubt owed allegiance to the Kushāṇa emperor.

² Many of the gifts referred to in lines 1-2 are highly recommended in the *Purāṇas*; cf., e.g., *Padma-Purāṇa*, *Brahmakhaṇḍa*, Ch. 24: ब्रित्तिं सश्रयां यो दद्याद्ब्राह्मणाय हिजोत्तम । विष्णुलोके सुखं भुङ्क्ते यावदिन्द्रायतुर्दश ॥३॥ सप्तद्वीपां महीं दत्त्वा यत्पुण्यं प्राप्यते हिज । तत्पुण्यं प्राप्नुयान्मर्त्यो धेनुं यच्छन् हिजातये ॥१३॥ तित्तप्रमाणं स्वर्णं यो ब्राह्मणाय प्रयच्छति । हरिर्निकेतनं याति युक्तं कोटिकुलैरपि ॥१८॥ सालङ्कारां हिजयेष्ठ कथां यच्छति यो नरः । स गच्छेद्ब्रह्मसदनं पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥२२॥ अन्नं वारि हिजयेष्ठ येन दत्तं महीतले । तेन दत्तानि दानानि सर्वाणि च हिजयेष्ठ ॥४१॥ See also *ibid*, Ch. 5. Cf. also *Vishṇusamhitā*, 19: अथ कूपकर्तृकप्रवृत्ते पानीये टुक्कृतस्याङ्गं विनश्यति । १। तडागकृद्भिर्वृत्तो वारुण्यं लोकमयुते । २। जलपदः सदा तप्तो भवति । ३। etc. See also *Kūrma P*, II, 39, v. 79: अनायं दुर्गतं विप्रं नाथवल्लमथापि वा । उदाहयति यस्तीर्थं तस्य पुण्यफलं शृणु ॥ etc.

³ Cf. ततः शूर्पारकं गच्छेज्जामदग्न्यनिषेवितम् ।

रामतीर्थं नरः स्नात्वा विन्द्याद् बहुमुवर्णकम् ॥ *Mbh.*, III, 85, 42

For another Rāmātirtha, associated with Jāmadagnya Parāśurāma and situated on the Mahendra, see *ibid*, 85, 16-17. Rāmātirtha on the Gomatī (*ibid.*, 84, 73) was however associated with Dāśarathi Rāma.

⁴ Senart: चिरश्मिषु Triraśmi was the name of the hills in which the caves are found. Govardhana was the name of both a city and the district round it.

पर्वतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेणं कारितं इमा च पोढियो (॥*)¹ भटारका-अजातिया² च
गतोस्मिं वर्षा-रतुं मालयेहि³ * * हि रुधं उतमभाद्रं मोचयितुं (॥*)

- 4 ते च मालया प्रनादेनेव⁴ अपयाता उतमभद्रकानं⁵ च क्षत्रियानं सर्वे परिग्रहा
कृता (॥*) ततोस्मिं गतो पोच्छरानि⁶ (॥*) तत्त च मया अभिसेको कृतो क्षीणि
च गोसहस्रानि दतानि ग्रामो च (॥*)⁷ दत्त च []नेन क्षेत्र[] ब्राह्मणस वाराहि-पुत्रस
अश्विभूतिस इथे कोणिता मुलेन काहापण-सहस्रेहि चतुहि ४००० यो⁸ स-पितु-सतक
नगरसीमार्य उतरापरा[] दीसार्य (॥*) एतो मम लेने वस-

- 5 *तानं चातुदीसस भिक्षु-सघम मुखाहारो भविसती¹⁰ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामाता दीनीक-पुत्रेण ऋषभदत्तेन,
क्षि-गो-शतसहस्रदेन, नद्यां पर्णाशायां सुवर्णदानतीर्थकरेण (= सुवर्णदानस्य सोपानकरणस्य च
विधात्ता), देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च षोडश-ग्रामदेन, अनुवर्षं⁹ ब्राह्मण-शतसाहस्री-भोजयिषा,
प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्ट-भार्या-प्रदेन, भृगुकच्छे दशपुरे गोवर्द्धने शूर्पारके
च चतुःशालावसथ-प्रतिश्रय-प्रदेन (= तीर्थनिषेविणां कृते चतुःशालगृहाणां विश्रामागाराणां च
विधात्ता), आराम-तडागोदपान-करेण इवा-पारादा-दमन-तापी-करवेष्वा-दाहनुकासु नावा

¹ The remaining letters of the line are about half the size of the letters of the record up to the word पोढियो.

² च was afterwards inserted. Senart चञ्जा०.

³ Traces of a few letters are found between वे[हि] and हि. It is possible that they were purposely erased.

⁴ Cf. का कथा वाणसम्बाने ज्याशब्देनैव दूरतः ।

हुङ्गारिणैव धनुषः स हि विज्ञानपोहति ॥ *Sākuntala*, III, 1.

⁵ The plural number suggests that *Uttamabhadra* was the name of a tribe. The word cannot be translated 'of the soldiers of Uttamabhadra'. The identification of Uttamabhadra with Uttamadatta of the Mathurā coins (*J. N. S. I.*, VII, pp. 26-27) has little to support it.

⁶ Cf. पुष्करे स्नानमावतः सर्वपापेभ्यः पूतो भवति । विश्वसंहिता १८५१२; see also *Mbh.*, III, 82, 20 ff.; 89, 16 ff. Coins of the Mālavas (originally living in the Jhang Dist., Punjab) prove that they settled in the eastern part of the old Jaipur State (Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 161 f.). Coins of Bhūmaka and Nahapāna discovered at Pushkar and Ajmer possibly prove Kshaharāta occupation of the Ajmer region. It is interesting to note that many coins of the Śaka house of Chastana have also been discovered in the same region. See Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. 64, 67, 77, 85, 93, 190, 192, etc. See *supra*, p. 91 note 6.

⁷ There is a blank space between च and दत्त. The letters of the rest of the record from the word दत्त are very small in size

⁸ Senart : य

⁹ This line begins from below यो स-पितुं in line 4.

¹⁰ Senart reads भविसति.

(= नौ-योगेन) पुण्यतरकरेण¹ (= पवित्रतरणकर्मकारयित्वा = अशुक्लेन नदीतरणविधात्वा ; यद्वा °दाहनुकानावाख्यनदीषु पवित्रतरणकर्मकारयित्वा), एतासां च नदीनाम् उभयतः तीरे सभा-प्रपा-करेण (= विश्रामागारान् जलसत्त्वाणि च कृतवता), पिण्डितकावटे गोवर्द्धने सुवर्णमुखे शूर्पारके च रामतीर्थे चरकपर्षद्भ्यः (= चरकाख्यसम्प्रदायानुसारिभ्यः²; यद्वा—परिवाजकभिक्षु-सङ्घेभ्यः) ग्रामे नानंगोले द्वाविंशन्नारिकेलमूलसहस्रप्रदेन (= शिशुनारिकेलतरूणां मूलभूयिष्ठानां द्वाविंशत्सहस्राणि दत्तवता; यद्वा—द्वाविंशच्छत-नारिकेलतरूणां मूल्यं कार्षापण-सहस्रं दत्तवता; यद्वा—द्वित्र-शत०), गोवर्द्धने त्रिरश्मिषु पर्वतेषु (= त्रिरश्मि-पर्वते) धर्मात्मना (= ऋषभदत्तेन) इदं लयनं कारितम्, इमे च ग्रहयः (= निपानानि [कारिताः]) । भट्टारकाज्ञप्यया (= नहपानाज्ञया ?) च गतः आसं वर्षतौ³ मालवैः रुद्रम् औत्तमभाद्रं (= उत्तमभाद्रकाणाम् अधिपतिं) मोचयितुम् । ते च मालवाः प्रणादेन (= ऋषभदत्तसैन्यदुद्धारणे) खव अपयाताः (= पलायिताः), उत्तमभाद्रकाणां च क्षत्रियाणां सर्वे [मालवाः] परिग्रहाः (= वन्दिनः) कृताः [ऋषभदत्तेन] । ततः आसं गतः पुष्करान् (= पुष्करतीर्थम्) । तत्र च मया अभिषेकः (= स्नानं) कृतः, स्त्रीणि च गोसहस्राणि दत्तानि, ग्रामः च [दत्तः] । दत्तं च अनेन (= ऋषभदत्तेन) क्षेत्रं ब्राह्मणस्य वाराही-पुत्रस्य अश्विभूतेः हस्तेन क्रीत्वा मूल्येन कार्षापण-सहस्रैः चतुर्भिः ४०००, यत् स्वपितृस्वत्वकम् (= अश्विभूति-पितृ-स्वत्वकं [क्षेत्रं]) नगरसीम्नि उत्तरापरायां (= पश्चिमोत्तरस्यां) दिशायां [वर्तते] । अतः (= एतस्मात्) मम लयने वसतः चातुर्दिशस्य भिक्षुसङ्घस्य मुख्याहारः (= °हाराय—मुख्यान्नाय [एषः ग्रामः]) भविष्यति ।

No. 60—Nasik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapana (c. 119-24 A.D.)

NĀSIK, Bombay State. In the veranda of Cave No. 10, over the doorway of the left cell.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 103; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 81 f., No. 11.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmi

¹ Cf. शुक्ल-तर in *Vishnu*, 3, 9, and तर-शुक्ल in *Agni P.*, 223, 25. पुण्यतर = अशुक्लतर. People got free food at a king's āśasathas in *Chhānd. Up.*, IV, i. See *Ek. III*, No 69, verse 7.

² *Charaka* primarily denotes 'a wandering student' in the Upanishads and Brāhmaṇas. More especially it denotes the members of a school of the Black Yajurveda, whose practices are referred to with disapproval. The चरकाचार्य is enumerated among the sacrificial victims of the Puruśamedha sacrifice (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 256). Rāmātīrtha was at Śūrpāraka.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिधं (॥*) रांओ खहरातस खत्रपस नहपानस दीहि-
 2 तु दीनीक-पुत्तस उषवदातस कुडु'बिनिय दखमित्राय देयधर्म³ ओवरको⁴ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य दुहितुः, दीनीक-पुत्रस्य ऋषभदत्तस्य कुटुम्बिन्याः (—भार्यायाः) दक्षमित्रायाः देयधर्मः (—धर्मदेयं = धर्मवृद्धये दत्तः वस्तुविशेषः) अपवारकः (—गुहा-वासः) ॥

No. 61—Kārlē Cave Inscription of the time
 of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A.D.)

KĀRLE, Poona Dist., Bombay State. On the upper frieze to the right of the central door of the Chaitya cave.

BURGESS and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 101; SENARI, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 57 ff., No. 13.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmi

TEXT⁵

- 1 सिधं (॥*) रओ खहरातस खतपस नहपानस जा[म]तरा [दीनीक]-पूतेन उसभ-
 दातेन ति-
 2 गो-सतसहस-[दे]ण नदिया बणासाया [सु]वण-[ति]थकरेण⁶ [देवतान*] ब्रह्मणन
 च सोळस-गा-

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. For other references, see *supra*, No. 59, and Lüders' List, No. 1132.

² Some read सिधं

³ Senari: धंमं

⁴ There is a similar inscription in the same veranda of the same cave, over the doorway of the right cell.

⁵ From the Plates in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV and *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. For other references, see Lüders' List, No. 1099. This record may have been copied from a grant originally on plates of copper or cloth. The writing is much defaced.

⁶ In *supra*, No. 60, we have सुवर्णदान-तीर्थकरेण in place of सुवर्णतीर्थकरेण of this inscription.

- 3 म-दे[न*] पभासे पूत-तिथे ब्रह्मणाण अठ-भाया-प[देन*] [अ]नुवासं पितु सत-
सहसं [भो]-
4 जपयित वलूरकेसु¹ लेण-वासिनं पवजितानं चातुदिसस सघस
5 यापणथ गामो [कर]जिको² दतो स[वा]न [वा]स-वासितानं (?) (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षलपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्वा दीनीक-पुलेण ऋषभ-
दत्तेन त्रि-गो-शतसहस्र-देन, नद्यां पर्णाशायां सुवर्ण[दान]-तीर्थ-करेण, देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च
षोडशग्रामदेन, प्रभासे पूततीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्ट-भार्या-प्रदेन, अनुवर्षं पित्रे (= स्वर्गतं पितरं
प्रीणयितुं) शत-साहस्री भोजयित्रा (= ब्राह्मण-शतसाहस्री-भोजयित्रा) वलूरकेषु लयन-वासिभ्यः
प्रव्रजितेभ्यः चातुर्द्विशस्य सङ्कस्य यापनार्थं (= वर्षायापनार्थं = वर्षासु वासार्थं) ग्रामः करजिकः
दत्तः सर्वेभ्यः वर्षाव्युषितेभ्यः (= वर्षाप्रवासि-भिक्षुभ्यः = °भिक्षून् उद्दिश्य) ॥

No. 62—Junnar Cave Inscription of the time
of Nahapana (c. 119-24 A.D.) —
[Śaka] Year 46 (= 124 A.D.)

JUNNĀR, Poona District, Bombay State

INDRAJI and BURGESS, *Ins. C. Temp. W. Ind.*, pp 51f.; BURGESS and
BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 103.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

¹ Valūraka appears to be the ancient name of the Kārle region. The suggestion that it may be Elūra from where the monks came to Kārle to pass the rainy season (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I. ii. p. 391) does not appeal to us.

² It should be noted that the same village of Karajika was re-granted by Gautamiṣputra Śātakarṇi who ousted the Kshaharātas from these regions (cf. Nos. 83 and 86 below). Lüders' List, No. 1105 (Kārle) records Śātakarṇi's order to the Amātya of Māmāḍa regarding the grant of Karajika-grāma in Māmāl-ābāra on the Northern Road (or, in the northern division) as *bhikṣu-hala* to the *pravrajita-bhikṣus* dwelling in the Valūraka caves for the support of the school of the Mahāsāṅghikas.

TEXT¹

- 1 [राजो*] महस्वतपस सामि²-नहृपानस
- 2 [आ]मतस³ वळ-सगोत्रस अयमस
- 3 [दे*][यधम] च(पो)ढि मटपो च पुजयय वसे ४०(+*)६ कतो (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

राजः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-नहृपानस्य अमात्यस्य वतस-सगोत्रस्य अर्यम्नः देयधर्मः
(= धर्मवृद्धये दत्तं वस्तु) प्रहिः (= उद्दपानं, निपानं) मण्डपः (= जनानां विश्रामगृहं) च
पुण्यार्थाय वर्षे [षट्चत्वारिंशे] ४६ कृतः ॥

(b) KĀRDAMAKA FAMILY (HOUSE OF CHASHTĀNA)

Nos. 63-66—Andhau Stone Inscriptions of the time

of Chashtana and Rudradāman⁴

—[Śaka]⁵ Year 52 (= 130 A.D.)

ANDHAU, Khāvdā (or Pachchham), Kutch District, Bombay State.

R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 23 ff.

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

S c r i p t : Brāhmī

¹ From the Plate in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV. For other references, see Lüders' *List*, No. 1174.

² The word *svāmīn* is the Sanskrit rendering of a Śaka word meaning 'lord' (cf. *Śaka-murūḍa*; Chinese *wang*). Some Indian kings, e.g. the Later Śātavāhanas, used the title. Neo-Sanskrit *bhaṭṭāra* or *bhaṭṭāraka* (from *bhartṛi* actually *bhartārāḥ*) may also be connected with the same Skythian style.

³ Bühler : ०मात्यस.

⁴ Banerji translated the beginning of these records as "In the year 52, on the second day of the dark half of Phālguna, ca 2, [during the reign] of the king Rudradāman, the son of Jayadāman, [the grandson] of the king Chāshtāna, son of Ysāmōtika." But the wording shows beyond doubt that the year should be referred to the reign of both Chashtāna and Rudradāman. Possibly at this stage Chashtāna was styled महाक्षत्रप and Rudradāman क्षत्रप. The coins of this family prove that a महाक्षत्रप and a क्षत्रप ruled at the same time somewhat like a महाराज and his युवराज. Chashtāna and Rudradāman recovered much of the territories that Nahapāna had lost to Gautamīputra Śātakarṣi even during the latter's life time.

⁵ The 'Śaka' era very probably took its name from its constant use by this Śaka family for a long time.

TEXT¹

No. I

- 1 [राज्ञो] [चाष्ट]नस रसामोतिक-पुत्रस राज्ञो रुद्रदामस जयदाम-पुत्रस
- 2 व[र्षे][द्वि]प[']च[राशि] [५०] (+*)२ फगुण-बहुलस [द्वि]तिय-वारे(?)
- [२] मदनेन सीहिल-पुत्रेन [भ]गिनिये जेष्टवीराये
- 3 [सी]हि[ल-धि]त(ये*) ओपशति-सगोत्राये³ लष्टि उथापित (॥*)

No. II

- 1 [राज्ञो चाष्ट]नस रसामोतिक-
- 2 पु[त्र]स राज्ञो [रु]द्रदामस
- 3 जयदाम-पुत्रस वर्षे द्विप[']-
- 4 [चा]शि ५० (+*) २ फगुण-बहुलस
- 5 द्वितीय-वारे(?) २ ऋषभदेवस
- 6 सीहिल-पुत्रस ओपशति-सगोत्रस
- 7 भास्व[रा] [मदने]न [सीहि]ल-पुत्रेन
- 8 लष्टि उथापित (॥*)

No. III

- 1 राज्ञो चाष्टनस रसा[रा]मोतिक-पुत्रस राज्ञो रुद्रदामस जयदाम-पुत्रस वर्षे
- द्विपंचाशे ५० (+*)२
- 2 फगुण बहुलस द्वितीय-वा २ यशदताये सीहमित-धीता(ये*) शेनिक-सगोत्राये शामणेरिये
- 3 मदनेन सीहिल-पुत्रेन कुटुबिनिये [लष्टि] उथापिता (॥*)

No. IV

- 1 र[रा]ज्ञो चाष्टनस रसामोतिक-पु[त्र]स [राज्ञो] रु[द्र]दामस [ज[य]दा[म]]-
- 2 पु[त्र]स वर्षे ५० (+*) २ फगु[न]-बहुलस [द्वितीय]-वारे(?) २

¹ From the facsimiles in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. For the *yashtis* referred to in these records, see *supra*, p. 140, note 4. The first three *yashtis* were raised by Madana in memory of his sister, brother and wife. The fourth was raised by Treshṭadatta in memory of his son. The persons in whose honour the *yashtis* were raised were apparently dead. The first royal name is written चष्टन in many cases.

² Banerji read व २ and explained व = बहुल. Lüders finds here a symbol for 15.

³ Banerji : सगोवाये. His सगोवाय in No. III. line 2 is also wrong.

३ ऋषभदेवस्य खेष्टदत्त-पुत्रस्य औपशति-गो[त्त]स

४ पि[त्ता(तिन ?)] खेष्टदत्तेन श्राम[णे]रेन लष्टि उत्थापित (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य जामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे
५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य (= ०कृष्ण-पक्षस्य) द्वितीय-वारे (= ०दिवसे) २ मद्नेन सिंहिल-पुत्रेण
भगिन्याः जंष्टवीरायाः सिंहिल-बुहितुः औपशति-सगोत्रायाः यष्टिः उत्थापिता ।

II—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य जामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे
५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय-वारे (= ०दिवसे) २ ऋषभदेवस्य सिंहिल-पुत्रस्य औपशति-
सगोत्रस्य भ्राता मद्नेन औपशति-सगोत्रेण यष्टिः उत्थापिता ।

III—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य जामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे
५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय-वारे (= ०दिवसे) २ यशोदत्तायाः सिंहमित्त-बुहितुः
शौनिक-सगोत्रायाः श्रामणेर्याः (= बौद्धसङ्घे प्रव्रज्या-प्रहीत्र्याः)^१ मद्नेन सिंहिल-पुत्रेण
कुदुम्बिन्याः - (आत्मनः) भार्ययाः यष्टिः उत्थापिता ॥

IV—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य जामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे [द्विपञ्चाशे]
५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय-वारे (= ०दिवसे) २ ऋषभदेवस्य खेष्टदत्त-पुत्रस्य औपशति-गोत्रस्य
पित्ता खेष्टदत्तेन श्रामणरेण^१ यष्टिः उत्थापिता ॥

No. 67—Junagarh Rock Inscription of

Rudradaman I—[Saka] Year 72 (= 150 A.D.)

At the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the Girnār Hill, near Junāgarh, Junāgarh District, Rājkoṭ Division, Bombay State.

PRINSEP, *J.A.S.B.*, VII, pp. 238ff. ; *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, II, pp. 57ff. ; LASSEN, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, IV, pp. 146ff. ; BHAC DĀJĪ, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, VII, pp. 113f. : 118f. : 125f. ; *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, II, pp. 128ff. ; BHAGWANLAL INDRĀJĪ and BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 257ff. ; KIELHORN, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 42ff. ; LÜDBERS' List, No. 965.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmi

¹ A person who has already been admitted into priesthood of the Buddhist Church after going through the ceremony called *Pabbajjā*, but has not yet received the *Upasampadā*, is called *Sāmaṇera*, 'novice,' 'deacon' (fem. *Sāmaneri*). He becomes a fully privileged

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धं(द्धम्) (।*) इदं तडाकं सुदर्शनं गिरिनगराद[पि] * * * * * (सृ*)[[त्ति]कोपल-
विस्तारायामोच्छ्रय-निःसन्धि-बद्ध-दृढ-सर्व्व-पाळीकत्वात्पर्व्वत-पा-
- 2 द-प्रतिस्पद्धि-सुष्ठि[ष्ट]-[बन्धं*][व]जातेनाकृत्तिमेण सेतुबन्धेनोपपन्नं सुप्रति-
विहित-प्पनाळी-परीवाह-
- 3 मीढविधानं^३ च तिस्क[न्ध*] . . . नादिभिरनुग्र[है]मंहत्युपचये वत्तंते (।*) तदिदं
राज्ञो महाक्षत्तपस्य सुगृही-
- 4 त-नाम्नः^४ स्वामि-चटनस्य पौत[स्य*] [राज्ञः क्षत्तपस्य सुगृहीतनाम्नः स्वामि-जय-
दाम्न*]; पुतस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्तपस्य गुरुभिरभ्यस्त-नाम्नो रु[द्र]दाम्नो वर्ष्वं द्विसप्त-
तित[मे] ७०(+*)२
- 5 मार्गशीर्ष-बहुल-प्र[ति][पदि*] .. *: सृष्टवृष्टिना^५ पर्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव
पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरेरुज्जयतः सुवर्णसिकता-
- 6 पलाशिनी-प्रभृतीनां नदीनां^६ अतिमात्तोद्भूतैर्व्वगैः सेतुम [यमा]णानुरूप-प्रतीकार-
मपि गिरिशिखर-तरु-तटाट्टालकोपत[ल्प]-द्वार-शरणोच्छ्रय-विध्वंसिना^७ युगनिधन-सह-

monk after receiving the *Upasampadā*. The interval may be very short or very long. Note that the wife's *gotra* is different from that of the husband (cf. Poona plates of Prabhāvatī, *infra*, Bk. III, No. 60).

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The rules of *sandhi* have been observed in many cases, but not in all. सिद्धं = सिद्धिः; [चस्तु]. For the later history of the lake, see *infra*, Bk. III, No. 25.

² Indrajī and Bühler have गिरिनगरा[द्वि-पाद-रस] : but Kielhorn rightly thinks that the letter read as द्वि is undoubtedly द. According to him, the first four *aksharas* of the lacuna may be conjecturally read as दूरमन्त. रा looks like रि. Gīrnagara was the name of the ancient city now represented by Junāgarh. The Sudarśana lake was formed in the valley round the foot of the Gīrnar hill by an embankment across the gorge near the place where the inscription has been found. See Bk. III, No. 25.

³ मीढ means गीमूत्रक and Indrajī translates, 'the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of urine'. Kielhorn points to मीढगिरि (a dunghill) in the *Lalitastara* and translates "arrangements made to guard against foul matter or impurities".

⁴ Cf. नामापि गृह्णीतस्य पापकारिणः पापमलेन लिप्यत इव मे जिज्ञा. *Harshacharita*, N.S.P. ed., p. 210.

⁵ Indrajī and Bühler : सुसृष्ट ; but a *visarga* before सृ is clear.

⁶ Read *नाम् चति०

⁷ Indrajī and Bühler : *र्यमाणा०.

⁸ उपतस्य means the same thing as तस्य in *Raghucandā*, XVI, 11, 'an upper story'. शरणोच्छ्रय is 'a shed for shelter'; cf. प्रतिश्रय in No. 59, *supra*.

- 7 श-परम-धोर-वोगेन¹ वायुना प्रमथि[त]-सलिल-विक्षिप्त-जर्जरीकृताव[दी][र्ण*]...
[क्षि]साइम-वृक्ष-गुल्म-लताप्रतानं² आ नदी[त]कादित्युद्धादितमासीत् (।*) चत्वारि
हस्त-शतानि वीशदुत्तराण्यायतेन³ एतावत्येव [वि]स्ती[र्ण]न
- 8 पंचसप्तति-हस्तानवगाढेन⁴ भेदेन निस्सृत-सर्व-तोयं मह-धन्व⁵-कल्पमतिभृशं
दुर्द⁶.... (।*)...[स्य]ार्थं मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चन्द्र[गु][र्ण*][स्य] राष्ट्रियेण
[वै]श्येन पुण्यगुप्तेन कारितं अशोकस्य⁷ मौर्यस्य कृ*ते⁸ यवनराजेन
तुष[र्ण]स्फेनाधिष्ठाय⁹
- 9 प्रग[र्ण]कीभिरल[र्ण]कृत[र्ण]तम् (।*) [तत्कारित]या च राजानुरूप-कृत-विधानया
तस्मिं¹⁰[भे]दे इष्टया प्रनाड्या¹¹ वि[स्त्]त-से[तु*]णा¹² आ गर्भात्प्रभृत्य-
वि[ह]त-समुदि[व]¹³-राजलक्ष्मी-धारणा-गुणतस्मत्सर्व-वर्गैरभिगम्य¹⁴ रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे
वृतेन [आ] प्राणोच्छ्वासात्पुरुषवधनिवृत्ति-कृत-

¹ Read वीशेन.

² Read °तानम् आ°.

³ Read विशत्यु°.

⁴ Kielhorn reads सप्ततिं.

⁵ Read धन्व.

⁶ Kielhorn suggests the restoration दुर्दशनमासीत् with two or three words introducing the following sentence.

⁷ Read कारितम् । अशोकस्य.

⁸ The original has ते for which Bhasu Daji proposed तेन, and Indrajī तत्. Kielhorn suggests कृते which is better. Apparently Rudradāman had access to some records regarding the origin of the lake. The Greek ruler with a Persian name was probably Aśoka's feudatory and governor. For the Yavanas in Western India, see *infra*, No. 86; *Periplus*, § 47; for Dattāmitrī (= Demetriaspolis) in Sauvira, see Raychaudhuri, *P. H. A. I.*, 4th ed., p. 319.

⁹ Generally read स्फे ; but Kielhorn is right when he points out that the subscript is not प but फ.

¹⁰ Read तस्मिन्.

¹¹ Some read प्रणाड्या.

¹² Some read नौ.

¹³ Read समुदित. The passage possibly suggests that Rudradāman's father died before his birth.

¹⁴ Read °गस्य.

- 10 सत्यप्रतिज्ञेन अन्य[क्ष] संग्रामेष्वभिमुखागत-सदश-शत्रु-प्रहरण-वितरणत्वाविशुण-
रि[पु*].....त-कारुण्येन¹ स्वयमभिगतजन-पदप्रणिपति[ता*][यु]षशरणदेन²
दस्यु-व्याल-सृग³-रोगादिभिरनुपसृष्टपूर्व-नगर-निगम-
- 11 जनपदानां स्ववीर्याजितानामनुरक्त-सर्व-प्रकृतीनां पूर्वापराकारावन्धनपूनीव-
दानर्त्त-सुराष्ट्र-श्व[भ्र-मरु-कच्छ-मिन्धु-सौवी]र-कुकुरापरांत-निषादादीनां⁴
समग्राणां तत्प्रभावाद्यथावत्प्राप्तधर्मार्थ*]-काम-विषयाणां⁵ विषयाणां पतिना
सर्व्वक्षत्वाविष्कृत-
- 12 वीर-शब्द-जा[तो]स्तेकाविधेयानां⁷ यौधेयानां प्रसङ्गोत्पादकेन दक्षिणापथ-पते-
रमातकर्णेद्विरपि नीर्व्याजमवजीत्यावजीत्य⁸ संबन्धा[वि]दूर(त*)या⁹ अनुत्सादनात्प्राप्त-
यशसा [वाद्]¹⁰[प्रा*][स]-विजयेन अष्टराज-प्रतिष्ठापकेन यथार्थ-हस्तो-

¹ Indraji and Bühler suggest घृत. The usual form for अन्वत संग्रामेषु (except in battles) is अन्वत संग्रामेभ्यः.

² जनपद may also be treated as one word meaning mankind. But the meaning seems to be: "who grants life to people repairing to him of their own accord and protection to those prostrating themselves at his feet." Indraji and Bühler have प्रणिपत्ति-[विशे]व. Read वायुशरणम्. Better पदप्रणिपतितजनायुः.

³ We may possibly also read सृगोरगा.

⁴ The restoration of the damaged text is due mainly to Indraji. Akarāvanti=Mālwa; Akara=East Mālwa (cap. Vidiśā); Avanti=West Mālwa (cap. Ujjain). Anūpa realm, cap. Māhishmatī (mod. Maheśvar, or Māndhātā in the Nimār Dist.); Anarta=North Kāthiāwār, cap. Dvārakā; Surāshṭra=South Kāthiāwār, cap. Girinagara; Svabhra on the Śābarmatī; Maru=in the Rājputānā Desert, cf. Mārwār; Kachcha=Kutch; Sindhu west of the Lower Indus; Sauvira east of the Lower Indus; Kukura in North Kāthiāwār near Anarta; Aparānta=the Northern Konkan, cap. Śūrpāraka; Nishāda—from Vinasana to Pāriyātra (W. Vindhya and Aravelly; cf. *Mbh.*, III, 130, 3-4, XII. 135, 3-5). The Yaudheyas lived in the Bijaygarh region of Bharatpur and in Johiyābār on the Sutlej. The Śakas thus reconquered from the Śātavāhanas no fewer than six countries, viz. Akara, Avanti, Anūpa, Surāshṭra, Kukura and Aparānta. See *infra*, No. 86.

⁵ The restoration is due to Kielhorn. Bühler proposed यथिप्तितावाम-सर्व-काम.

⁶ Read पत्न्या.

⁷ जायो was originally engraved.

⁸ Read निर्व्याजमवजित्यावजित्य.

⁹ The Kanheri Buddhist tank inscription (Lüders, No. 994) mentions the *devi* of Vāsishṭhīputra śrī-Śātakarṇi, who descended from the Kārdamaka kings and was the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa with name beginning with Ru (apparently Rudradāman). *Devi* does not always mean a queen. Chārudevi, wife of a crown-prince, is called *devi* in the British Museum grant (*infra*, Bk. III, No. 66). It is thus uncertain whether this Śātakarṇi was a king before the date of Rudradāman's record. The king might have been Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who was possibly twice defeated by Rudradāman (cf. the list of countries in line 11 with that in *infra*, No. 86, line 2).

¹⁰ Kielhorn : मा[द्?].

- 13 च्छयार्जितोर्जित-धर्मानुरागेन¹ शब्दार्थ-गान्धर्व-न्यायाद्यानां² विद्यानां महतीनां पारण-
धारण-विज्ञान-प्रयोगावास-विपुल-कीर्तिना तुरग-गज-रथचर्यासि-चर्म-नियुद्धाद्या.....
ति-परबल-लाघव-सौष्ठव-क्रियेण अहरहर्दान-मानान-
- 14 वमान-शीलेन स्थूललक्षणेन यथावत्प्राप्तैर्बलिशुल्क-भागैः³ कानक-रजत-वज्र-वैडूर्य-
रत्नोपचय-विष्यन्दमान-कोशेन स्फुट-लघु-मधुर-चित्र-कान्त-शब्दसमथोदारालंकृत⁴-गद्य-
पद्य-[काव्य-विधान-प्रव्रीणे*]न⁵ प्रमाण-मानोन्मान-स्वर-गति-वर्ण-सार-सत्त्वादिभिः⁷
- 15 परम-लक्षण-व्यञ्जनेरूपेत-कान्त-मूर्तिना स्वयमभिगत-महाक्षयप-नाम्ना⁶ नरेंद्र-क[न्या]-
स्वयंवराणेक-माल्य-प्राप्त-दाम्नि[1]⁹ महाक्षयपेण रुद्रदाम्ना वर्षसहस्राय गो-ब्राह्म[ण*]
.....[त्यं] धर्म-कीर्त्ति-वृद्धयर्थं च अपीडयि[त्व] कर-विष्टि-

¹ Read ०रागीण.

² शब्द=grammar; अर्थ=lexigraphy or politics; गान्धर्व=music; न्याय=logic.

³ स्थूललक्षणेन=बहुव्ययी; बलि=tax, often identical with कर; शुल्क=tolls and duties; भाग=king's grain share.

⁴ Read कनक. Usually वैडूर्य.

⁵ Cf. the characteristics of the Vaidarbha style as explained by Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa*, Chapter I: श्लेषः प्रसादः समता मापृथ्यं सुकुमारता। अर्थव्यक्तिरदारत्वमोजः-कान्तिसमाधयः ॥ 41. श्लिष्टमस्य श्लिष्टमस्यप्राणाक्षरोत्तरम्। शिथिलं मालतोमाला लोलालिकलिला यथा ॥ 43. प्रसादवत्प्रसिद्धाश्चन्द्रोदरिन्द्रीवरयुति। लक्ष्म लक्ष्मी तनोतीति प्रतीतिमुभयं वचः ॥ 45. समं बन्धेष्वविषमं ते सृष्ट-स्फुट-मध्यमाः। बन्धा सृष्टस्फुटोन्मिश्र-वर्ण-विन्यास-योनयः ॥ 47. मधुरं रमवहाचि वस्तुन्यपि रसस्थितिः। येन सायन्ति धीमन्तो मधुनेव मधुव्रताः ॥ 51. कथं कामयमानं मां न त्वं कामयसे कथम्। इति शम्भोऽयमर्थोत्सा वैरस्याय प्रकल्पते ॥ 63. अनिपुराचरप्रायं सुकुमारमिदृश्यते। बन्ध-श्लिष्ट-दीपस्तु दर्शितः सर्व-कौमले ॥ 69. अर्थव्यक्तिरनेयत्वमर्थस्य हरिणीड्ढता। भूः-खुर-क्षुण्-नागाष्टग्लोहितादृष्टेरिह ॥ 73. उत्कर्षवान् गुणः कश्चिदस्मिन्नुक्ते प्रतीयते। तदुदाराह्वयं येन सनाथा काव्यपद्धतिः ॥ 76. ओजः समास-भूयस्त्वमेतद् गद्यस्य जीवितम्। पद्येऽप्यदाचिणात्यानामिदमेकं परायणम् ॥ 80. कान्तं सर्वजगत्कान्तं लौकिकार्थानतिक्रमात्। तच्च वार्त्ताभिधानेषु वर्णनास्त्रपि दृश्यते ॥ 85. अन्यधर्मस्ततोऽन्यव लोकसीमानुरोधिना। सम्यगाधीयते यव स समाधिः स्मृतौ यथा ॥ 93. कुसुदानि निमीलन्ति कमलाव्युन्मिषन्ति च। इति नेत्र-क्रियाध्यामाह्वया तद्वाचिनी स्मृतिः ॥ 94.

⁶ This very probable restoration is due to Bühler. Various definitions of काव्य and its varieties are noticed by Sanskrit rhetorician Cf. note 5 above.

⁷ Read सत्त्व.

⁸ This possibly shows that Rudradāman became almost independent of the Kushāṇa overlord about the end of his rule. The Kushāṇa power by this time began to decline and was losing its hold on its southernmost province.

⁹ Note that the Sakas were now almost completely Hinduised by adopting Indian customs and contracting matrimonial relations with indigenous Indian families such as the Sātavāhanas. Cf. No. 93 (No. 2) below; above, p. 168, note 1, p. 178, note 9.

- 16 प्रणयक्रियाभिः¹ पौर-जानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशा² महता धनौघेन अनतिमहता च कालेन सिगुण-दृढतर-विस्तारायामं सेतुं विधा[य स*]र्वत[टे]³[सु]दर्शनतरं कारितमिति (1*) [अस्मि]न्नर्थे
- 17 [च]⁴ महा[क्ष]त्रप[स्य] मत्तिसचिव-कर्मसचिवैरमात्य-गुणः समुद्युक्तैरप्यतिमहत्वा-⁵ ऋदस्यानुत्साह-विमुख-मतिभिः[ः] प्रत्याख्यातारंभ[ः]
- 18 पुनः-सेतुबन्ध-नैराश्यादाहाभूतासु प्रजासु इहाधिष्ठाने पौरजानपदजनानुग्रहार्थं⁶ पार्थिवेन कृत्स्नानामानर्त्त-सुराष्ट्रानां⁸ पालनार्थंनियुक्तेन
- 19 पद्भवेन⁹ कुलैप-पुत्रेणामात्येन सुविशाखेन यथावदर्थ-धर्म-व्यवहार-दर्शनैरनुराग-मभिवर्द्धयता शक्तेन दान्तेनाचपलेनाविस्मितेनार्येणाहार्येण
- 20 स्वधितिष्ठता धर्म-कीर्ति-यशसि भर्तुर्भिवर्द्धयतानुष्ठित[मि]ति।¹⁰

No. 68—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Rudradāman I (c. 130-50 A.D.)

RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. 78, Nos. 270 ff.

*First Side*¹¹

Bust of king to right; imitation of inscription in Greek characters.¹²

¹ कर=tax; विष्टि=forced (i.e., unpaid) labour; प्रणय=benevolence or emergency tax (cf. Kaṇṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, V, ii), mod. *priti-dān*.

² Read ०कोशात्.

³ Indrajī and Bühler have [सर्व]नग[र]; but Kielhorn appears to be right.

⁴ Not noticed by others.

⁵ मत्तिसचिव (cf. धौसचिव of Amara)=counsellor; कर्मसचिव=executive officer. For अमात्य-गुण, see line 19. See also Bk. III, No. 25, verses 8-11.

⁶ Read ०महत्वा०.

⁷ Originally the engraver began an *akshara* with *e*-sign in place of *y*.

⁸ Read सुराष्ट्रानां.

⁹ Pahlava is usually taken to mean a Parthian. Pahlava and Pārada are mentioned side by side in literature. Pahlava is apparently connected with the old Palhavi language of Iran. Did a Pahlava sometimes denote a Persian and Pārada a Parthian? Palhavi is the name of the Persian language in the intermediate stage of its development from the Zend language to modern Persian. See No 85 below.

¹⁰ The full stop is indicated by a slightly curved dash-like sign.

¹¹ From representation in Rapson's *Catalogue*, Plate X.

¹² "From this period onwards the inscription in Greek characters ceases to have any meaning. It becomes a mere ornament, and traces of it thus continue to appear

Second Side

Symbol of three arches,¹ surmounted by crescent; waved line² beneath; crescent to left; star to right border of dots. Inscription³ in Brāhmī characters:—

राज्ञो क्षत्रपस जयदाम-पुत्रस⁴ राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रदामस (॥*)

(= राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य जयदाम्नः पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य रुद्रदाम्नः ॥)

No. 69—Gundā Stone Inscription of the time of
Rudrasimha I—[Śaka] Year 103 (=181 A.D.)

GUNDĀ, Jāmnagar District, Rājkoṭ Division, Bombay State

G. BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, X, pp. 157 f.; BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, part i, p. 42; RAPSON, *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 375; *Catalogue*, p. lxi; LÜDERS' List, No. 963; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, W. Circ., 1914-15, p. 67; R. D. BANERJI and V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 235.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

on the coins until the end of the dynasty."—Rapson. In imitation of the coins of their Greek predecessors, the Skytho-Parthians and Kushāṇas used Greek legends on their coins. The Satrapal Skythian families of Western India were originally feudatory to the Kushāṇas.

¹ Formerly the symbol was supposed to indicate a Chaitya. It is now believed to represent a hill.

² This symbol is supposed to indicate a river. The three arches on a waved line may indicate a hill-fort on the bank of a river.

³ The language is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit. This is also the case even with the coins of Rudrasimha III, the last king of the dynasty. This fact shows that pure Sanskrit was still not very popular even in that locality where it began to oust Prakrit from the field of epigraphy from an early period.

⁴ Some specimens have जयदामस पुत्रस. See Rapson's Catalogue, p. 79; Nos. 276 ff.; Plate X. The *sāpeksha-samāsa* is common in early inscriptions; cf गोवधनस बनावटक-स्वामि in No. 83, *infra*: also Nos. 69, 72, etc.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्ध['] (॥*) र[']ज्ञो मह[']क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-चष्टन-प्रपौत्रस्य² राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-जयदाम-पौत्रस्य
- 2 स्य³ राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रदाम-पुत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रु-
द्र-
- 3 सौहस्य [व]र्षे [त्रि]युत्तरशते १०० (+ *)⁴ वैशाख-शुद्धे पंचम-धन्ये(ष्य १)-⁴
तियौ रो[हि]णि⁵-नक्ष-
- 4 त-मुद्गुर्त्ते⁶ आभीरेण⁶ सेनापति-बापकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापति-रुद्र[भू]तिन['] ग्रा[']मे रसो-
- 5 [प] द्विये वा[पी]⁷ [खा]नि[ता] बन्धापितश्च⁸ सर्व-सत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थमिति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-चष्टनस्य प्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-जयदामनः पौत्रस्य। राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रदामनः पुत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसिंहस्य वर्षे सुपुत्र-शत[तमे](=सप्तचिक०) १०३ वैशाख-शुद्धे (=०शुक्लपक्षे) पञ्चम-धन्य-तियौ रोहिणी-नक्षत्र-मुद्गुर्त्ते⁹ आभीरेण सेनापति-बापकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापति-रुद्रभूतिना¹⁰ ग्रामे रसोपद्रके वापी (=कूपः) खानिता, बन्धिता [शिलादिभिः] च सर्व-सत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थम् इति ॥

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. सिद्धं = सिद्धिः [अस्तु]

² Some read चाष्टन. Better read चष्टनस्य to avoid *sāpeksha-samāsa* which is also noticed in the case of two other royal names below.

³ स्य is superfluous.

⁴ Some read पंचमि and षण्य, the latter being the intended reading.

⁵ Some read श्रवण.

⁶ The Ābhīras originally lived near Vinasāna in the Rājputānā Desert. They next settled in the Lower Indus valley and then in Aṣarānta. See below, note 10.

⁷ Bühler : पद्रे इन्द्रार्थे; Indrajī पद्रे इन्द्रः. वापी is doubtful, and the reading may be वप्सो(=वन्सः).

⁸ Some read बन्धा. The intended reading may be बन्धापिता.

⁹ See *supra*, p. 141, note 2. The Uṇḍ inscription (*C. I. I.*, II, i, p. 70) connects Pūrvāśhāḍhā with the 8th day of Chaitra.

¹⁰ The influential position of the Ābhīras at the Śaka court apparently helped Ābhīra Īśvarasena in carving out a kingdom for himself.

No. 70—Junagarh Stone Inscription of
Jayadaman's Grandson¹

JUNĀGARH, Junāgarh District, Rājkoṭ Division, Bombay State

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, II, pp. 140f. ; *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Ins.*, Bhavnagar, p. 17 ; RAPSON'S *Catalogue*, p. lxi ; LÜDERS' List, No. 966 ; R. D. BANERJI and V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 241.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 स्तथा सुरगणेन [क्षत्ता]णां प्रथ[म].....
- 2 चष्टनस्य प्र[पौ]त्तस्य राज्ञ[ः] क्ष[त्तप०]स्य स्वामि-जयदाम(न्ः)
[पौ]त्तस्य राज्ञो म[हाक्ष].....
- 3 [चैत्र]शुक्लस्य दिवसे पंचमे ५ इ[ह] गिरिनगरे देवासुर-नाग-
य[क्ष]-रा[क्ष]से.....
- 4तथा(?) [पुर]मि[व].....केवलि[ज्ञा*]न-सं[प्राप्ता]नां(?)..... जरा-मरण³...

¹ The name of the reigning king is lost. He must be either Dāmayasada or Rudrasimha I, possibly the latter. The modern name Girnar represents the ancient Girinagara.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI.

³ The reading of this line is not beyond doubt. Some read जितजरा०

No. 71—Inscription on the Silver Coins of
Jivādāman¹—[Saka] Year 120 (= 198 A. D.)

RAPSON'S *Catalogue*, p. 84, No. 290

*First Side*²

Bust of king to right ; imitation of inscription in Greek characters ; date³ is Brāhmī numerals :—

१००(+*)२०

Second Side

Symbol of three arches, surmounted by crescent with waved line beneath ; crescent to left ; star to right ; border of dots ; inscription in Brāhmī characters :—

र[१*]ज्ञो मह[१*]क्षत्रपस दामजदस⁴ पुत्रस राज्ञो मह[१*]क्षत्र[पस] [जीवदामस] (॥०)

(=राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य दामजातस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य जीवदाम्नः ॥)

¹ Jivādāman was the grandson of Rudradāman I. He possibly succeeded his uncle, Rudrasimha I in Saka 119=197 A. D. and ruled for a few years.

² From the representation in Rapson's *Catalogue*, Plate XI. For the symbols, see *supra*, No. 68.

³ "With the reign of Jivādāman, son of Dāmajadaśrī I, begins the series of dated coins. From this time onwards the silver coins of the dynasty regularly have the year of their issue recorded in Brāhmī numerals on the obverse behind the king's head. Of Jivādāman there are also dated coins of potin."—Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. cxxiv. But the reading of the date on Rapson's coin No. 288 is doubtful, and the first Brāhmī date may be attributed to the coins of Rudrasimha I. A variety of Chashtana's coins is supposed to contain dates expressed in Kharoshthī numerals (*op. cit.*, p. cxiv). There can be no doubt that the dates should be referred to the Saka era.

⁴ The actual name of this prince as found on a variety of his own coins is Dāmaghśada (which is also read by some scholars as Dāmaysada), or Dāmajadaśrī. The latter part of the name has been connected with the Persian word *zāda*, 'a son'.

No. 72—Garha (Jasdan) Stone Inscription of
Rudrasena I—[Śaka] Year 127 (? = 205 A.D.)

GARHĀ, near Jasdan, Rājkoṭ District, Rājkoṭ Division, Bombay State.

BHAU DAJI, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, VIII, pp. 234f.; HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.*, XII, pp. 32f.; BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI and RAPSON, *J. R. A. S.*, 1890, p. 652; RAPSON'S, *Catalogue*, p. lxii, No. 42; LÜDERS' List, No. 997; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, W. Circ., 1914-15, pp. 67f; R. D. BANERJI and V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 238.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 [व]र्षे १०० (+*) २० (+*) [७]² [भा]द्रपद-बहुलम 'राज्ञो महाक्ष[त्र]पस
- 2 भद्रसु(मु)खस' स्वाम-चट्टण-पुत्र पपौतस्य राज्ञो क्ष(स*)पस
- 3 स्वामी-[ज]यदम-पुत्र-पौत्रस्य राज्ञो महक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुख[स्य]
- 4 [स्व]म-रुद्रदाम-पौ[त्र]स्य राज्ञो महक्ष(स*)पस्य भ[द्र]मु[ख]स्य स्वामि-
- 5 रुद्रसिंह-पुत्र(स*)स्य राज्ञो महक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसेनस्य इदं शान्त्यं(?)⁴

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. The Mulwāsar stone inscription (now in the Dwārakā Library) has the date राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामि-रुद्रसेनस्य वर्षे १०० (+*) २० (+*) २ वैशाख-बहुल-पंचम्या (i. e. 122 Śaka=200 A. D.) and records the erection of a *śilā-yashṭi* by the sons of Vāṇijaka. For references, see Lüder's, *List*, No. 9¹².

² Bhandarkar : ५. Banerji and Sukthankar alternatively suggest ६.

³ भद्रमुख=having an auspicious face ; cf. *सुगृहीतनामन्*, p. 176 and note 4. It is used as a polite address in the *Sākuntalā*, VII. Note the cases of *sāpeksha-samāsa*.

⁴ Bhandarkar reads श्रद्धा(त्र) and others श्रद्ध. Bhanu Daji translates it as 'tank'. Hoernle connects it with स्रद्ध 'a kind of expensive Soma sacrifice extending over many days' and takes it in the sense of 'liberality, munificence.' Lüders takes it to be the स्रद्ध (seat?) of a cave inscription. As has been pointed out by Banerji and Sukthankar, the word उत्थावित clearly implies that a structure which was raised, elevated or erected is indicated by this word. Banerji connects it with स्रद्ध, 'almshouse'. But the change of स्र into श्र is difficult to explain. It appears to indicate a *lāṭh* raised in memory of Kharapārtha by his brothers. See Nos. 63-66 above.

6 मानस-सगो[त्र]स्य¹ प्र[ता]शक-पुत्रस्य खर[पा]त्यस्य² भ्रातृभिः³ उत्थावित स्व[र्ग]⁴—

7 [सुखार्थं ?] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

वर्षे [सप्तविंशत्यधिक-शततमे] १२७ भाद्रपद-बहुलस्य [पञ्चमे दिवसे] ५ राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-चष्टनस्य पुत्र-प्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-जयदाग्नः पुत्र-पौत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-रुद्रदाग्नः पौत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-रुद्र-सिंहस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसेनस्य—इदं शान्यं (= शिखामयी यष्टिः ?) मानस-सगोत्रस्य प्रत्याशक-पुत्रस्य खरपार्थस्य भ्रातृभिः-उत्थापितं [स्वर्ग-सुखार्थम्] ॥

No. 73—Kanakhera Stone Inscription of Śrīdhara-varman—Regnal year 13; [Śaka] Year 201 (? = 279 A.D.)

KĀNĀKHERĀ, near Sāñchi, Raisen District, Madhya Pradesh.

R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 232; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *J. P. A. S. B.*, XIX, pp. 343f.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

Metre: Verse 1: Sārdūlavikrīḍita

TEXT⁵

सिद्धम् [॥*]⁶

1 भगवत्स्निदशगणसेनापतेरजितसेनस्य स्वामि-महासेन(स्य*) महा[भक्त ?][स्य]
[आदित्य]-वीर्या[ज्जितविजय]⁷ . . .

¹ Hoernle: मान[?]तु तुंगोवस्य प्रता[र]यक०; Bhau Daji: सुप्रनायक०

² Bhau Daji and Hoernle: खर-पौत्रस्य; Bhandarkar: खरपौत्रस्य; Banerji and Sukthankar: खरपौत्रस्य.

³ Banerji and Sukthankar: चातभिः; Bhandarkar: भ्रातृभिः

⁴ Bhau Daji: उत्थवितास्य; Hoernle: उत्थवितासि. Traces of three aksharas are found below उत्थस्य भा० of line 6. Banerji and Sukthankar think that there is no such trace.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. The inscription has now also been published by V. V. Mirashi in *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. 13ff. For another inscription of Śrīdhara-varman from Eran, dated in his 27th regnal year and referring to the erection of a *yashti* or memorial pillar, see *ibid.*, pp. 605ff.

⁶ On the left margin of the inscription near the beginning of lines 3 and 4.

⁷ Banerji reads जीवदाम and identifies him with the father of Kshatrpa Rudrasimha II. Mirashi: महासेन-महा[कुमारस्य दिव्य]; Majumdar: सादित्य or तेजःप्रसादान्

- २ धर्मविजयिना^१ शक-नन्द-पुत्रेण महादण्डनायकेन शकेन श्रीधरव[र्म्म]णा वर्ष-
[सह]स्राय^२ स्वराज्याभिवृद्धिकरे वैजयिके संवत्सरे^३ त्रयोदश[मे]^४
- ३ श्रावणवहुलस्य दशमीपूर्वकमेतद्विवसं^५ कल्याणाभ्युदयवृद्धयर्थमक्षयस्वर्गावासिहेतो-^६
र्द्धम्मयशो(ऽ*)त्यं धर्मासि(भि)संबुद्धया श्रा(श्र)द्ध[या]
- ४ शाश्व[तं]^७ चन्द्रादित्य-[कालिकोयं].....(॥*) अपि[च]
का[न्तः]—७७७—^८ [प्रसन्न]—सलिलः सन्वाधिगम्यः सदा
- ५ सत्त्वाना[ं] प्रियदर्शनो जलनिधिर्द्धर्म्मामलः [शाश्व]तः (॥*)
————— ————— ————— ————— ————— —————^९
- ६ [कृ]पः श्रीधरवर्म्मणा गुणवता खानापितो(ऽ*)यं शुभः ॥^{१०}
२००(+*)१ (॥*) [स्वस्त्यस्तु] ॥^{११}

^१ Banerji विजयेन

^२ Banerji : धर्मसा(त्रि)य ; Majumdar : वर्ष०.

^३ The date refers to Jivadāman's rule according to Banerji; but Jivadāman never ruled. Śrīdhavarman seems to have been originally an official of the Śaka house of Mālwā, but later enjoyed semi-independence. There are many cases of the survival of the original official or subordinate titles in the designation of independent rulers.

^४ Read वैजयिके संवत्सरे त्रयोदशे श्रावणवहुलस्य दशमीपूर्वके एतद्विवसे

^५ Banerji : वात्रिमैतद्धर्म०

^६ Banerji : शाश्वति चतुःसय...तुकोयम्.. ि...मापि...कापिचम् ..सलिलः Majumdar शाश्वत-चन्द्रसूर्यकालिकोयं.

^७ Mirashi : आकारिप्रतिमः.

^८ Banerji reads ०मनः...गत...प्य...प्राच्य...; Mirashi : धर्माभ्युतः शाश्वतः...प्रणम्य मनसा द्रव्यस्य कृत्वा व्ययं.

^९ Evidently the author did not follow Pāṇini's grammar according to which the correct form would be खानितः. This shows that Pāṇinian Sanskrit was not very popular in the royal courts of Western India even as late as the 3rd century A.D. Note also the Prakritisms in lines 2-3 and the *sāpeksha-samāsa* in line 1.

^{१०} The verse in शाह्मन्विक्रीडित is an early instance of a classical metre being used in an inscription. Two Mathurā records of the first century A.D. are known to be written in Classical Sanskrit and in the ornate metres Śārdūlavikrīḍita and Bhujāṅgaviṛimbhita. See *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 200; *I.H.Q.*, XVI, 485. These records prove the developed stage of the Kāvya literature in the early centuries of the Christian era, though apparently Sanskrit was not then quite popular in Indian courts.

^{११} Majumdar reads the date स [२००] ४० १ in place of स्वस्त्यस्तु and explains the preceding signs as punctuation marks. V. V. Mirashi reads the date as 102 and refers the year to the Kalachuri era of 248-19 A.D. (*I.H.Q.*, XXII, p. 40; *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. 15-16). The reading of the date is doubtful; but the use of the Kalachuri era is not expected in the age and area in question.

**No. 74—Inscription on the Silver Coins of
Rudrasimha III—[Saka] Year 310 (? = 388 A.D.)**

RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. 192, No. 907

*First Side*¹

Bust of king to right ; imitation of inscription in Greek characters ; date in Brāhmī *aksharas* and numerals behind the head :—

व[र्षे] ३०० (+ •) १०^२

Second Side

Symbol of three arches ; a waved line beneath ; crescent to left ; star to right ; border of dots ; inscription along the border in Brāhmī characters :—

राज्ञ महाक्षत्रपस स्वा[मि]-[सत्य][सह•]-पुत्रस^३ राज्ञ [महा]क्षत्रपस स्वा[मि]-
रुद्रसहस (॥•)

(= राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-सत्यसिंहस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसिंहस्य ॥)

¹ From representation in Rapson's Catalogue, Plate XVII. For the symbols, see *supra*, No. 68. The coin in question was secured from Pushkar near Ajmer.

² It is not possible to determine whether there was a unit figure at the end. The date may therefore be A.D. 388+x. One of the Udayagiri inscriptions of Chandragupta II, which is dated in G. E. 82=A.D. 402, says that the king went there in course of an expedition 'for conquering the whole earth'. After the conquest of Mālwa and Kāthiāwār, Chandragupta II issued silver coins closely copied from the silver issues of the Kshatrapas. On the obverse, these bear the king's head with imitation of inscription in Greek characters and the date. On the reverse, they have the Garuḍa emblem in place of the symbol of the three arches, etc. The earliest date on these coins is G.E. 90 or 90+x=A.D. 409 or a date between A.D. 409 and 414 which is the beginning of Kumāragupta's reign. Smith takes A.D. 395 as the mean date for the completion of the conquest of Western India by Chandragupta II. See, Allan's Catalogue, pp. xxxviii f.

³ Rapson suggests that one specimen reads रुम sie. सह = सिंह)

CHAPTER II

SOUTHERN INDIA

A—WESTERN DECCAN : INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS

No. 75—Nasik Cave Inscription of the time of Kṛishṇa

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State.

On the upper sill of the right window in Cave No. 19.

BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 91, No. 1; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 93, No. 22; LÜDERS' List, No. 1144 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the second half of the first century B.C.¹

TEXT²

- 1 सादवाहन-कुले कङ्गे राजनि नासिककेन³
- 2 समणेन महामातेण लेण['] कारित[']³ [Svastika] [Taurus] (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सातवाहन-कुले कृष्णे राजनि (=सातवाहन-कुलजस्य⁴ कृष्णस्य राजत्वकाले) नासिक्यकेन

¹ Earlier scholars generally placed the early Śātavāhana kings about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Modern scholars, like R. P. Chanda (*M.A.S.I.*, No. 1), have however proved that the Nānāghāt records are to be assigned to a much later date on palaeographic grounds. Angular forms of some letters (cf. स of महा०) in the present epigraph no doubt prove that the record is not earlier than the latter half of the first century B. C. It is interesting to note in this connection that authorities on Indian architecture are now inclined to support the views of earlier art-critics who assigned the Nasik Hall to the latter half of the first century B. C. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 636ff.).

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

³ The mention of Nāsika and not Govardhana suggests that the two places, though very near each other, were not identical.

⁴ This royal family has been called Andhra or Andhrabhritya in the Purāṇas. Its name was Śātavāhana according to inscriptions. No early king of the dynasty

(= नासिकनगर-वास्तव्येन) श्रमणेन (= भिक्षुणा) महामात्रेण¹ लघनं (= भिक्षुणां व्यवहाराय गुहावासः) कारितम् ॥

Nos. 76-81—Nanaghat Cave Figure-Label Inscriptions of the time of Śatakarṇi I

NĀNĀGHĀT, a pass leading from the Konkan to Junnār, Poona District, Bombay State.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V, p. 64; LÜDERS' List, Nos. 1113-18.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the second half of first century B.C.²

TEXT³

No. 1

1 राया सिमुक-सातवाह-

had anything to do with the Andhra country near the mouths of the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī (cf. Mayidavolu plates, *infra*). The list of countries forming the kingdom of Gautamīputra (*infra*, No. 86, line 2), the 23rd Andhra king according to the Purāṇas, does not include Andhradeśa. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence, as well as literary (Brahmanical, Jain and Greek) traditions referring to Pratiśṭhāna (mod. Paṭhan in the Aurangābād District, Bombay) as the capital of the Śātavāhana kings, shows that the original Śātavāhana kingdom was in the Northern Deccan (see Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., pp. 346f.). Vāsishṭhiputra Puṣurāvi (Siri-ptolema'os, ruler of Baithana, in Ptolemy's geography) was the first king who extended Śātavāhana power over the Andhra country. The Purāṇas apparently refer to a period when Śātavāhana rule was limited in the Andhra region. 'Śātavāhana District,' the 3rd-4th century name of the Bellary region, merely proves the extent of the family's suzerainty and has nothing to do with its original home. Discovery of their coins in Berar proves nothing on this point. The name Śātavāhana is usually found as Śālivāhana in literature.

¹ Senart translates 'by the officer in charge of the Śramaṇas at Nāsik'.

² See p. 191, note 3; also p. 189, note 1.

³ From the Plates in *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V. These six inscriptions are incised above the position of the heads of what were relievo figures now entirely destroyed. Note that only the names of the reigning king and his queen are given in the 6th case-ending. Apparently the labels and representations belong to

2 नो सिरिमातो¹ (॥*)

No. 2

1 देवि-नायनिकाय रञो

2 च सिरि-सातकनिनो (॥*)

No. 3

1 कुमारो मा-²

2 य... (॥*)

No. 4

महारठि तनकयिरो (॥*)

No. 5

कुमरो हकुसिरि (॥*)

No. 6

कुमारो सातवाहनो (॥*)³

the royal pair (No. 2), the king's father (No. 1), the queen's father (No. 1; cf. *infra*, No. 82, line 3) and the royal Kumāras. See p. 197, note. The name of Vedisiri known from No. 82 below to have been a son of Śātakarṇi and Nāgāmnikā, cannot be traced here (cf. Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. xlv). For some suggestions on the doubtful basis of two lost images between Nos. 4 and 5, see Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 33.

¹ Recently there has been much unwarranted speculation about the early Śātavāhanas, See *J.N.S.I.*, XVI, pp. 77-89, and references cited therein. Such writings exhibit the poor standard of Indian scholarship so far as epigraphy and numismatics are concerned. Damaged records and coins (which are usually not well preserved) often inspire the largest amount of speculation uncontrolled by sober judgment. Of late it has been the fashion to read any fanciful thing on a coin, to offer a speculative interpretation of the legend so read and to publish the result in the *J.N.S.I.* (cf. Vol. XIV, pp. 80 ff.; Vol. XX, pp. 192 ff.; etc.)

² Bühler restored Bhāyala and took him to be a younger brother of Śātakarṇi.

³ Earlier scholars assigned the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions to the middle of the 2nd century B. C. on grounds of palaeography. Scholars however have now shown that the palaeography of these records is later. For references, see Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., pp. 337 ff.; also *supra*, p. 189, note 1; *infra*, p. 193, note 1.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—राजा शिमुक-सातवाहनः श्रीमान् । II—देवी-नागञ्जिकायाः :-०नागायाः
=०नागायाः¹ राज्ञः च श्री-शातकर्गः [विश्वद्वयम्] । III—कुमारः भाग . . . ।
IV—महारथो लागकायः । V—कुमारः शक्तिश्रोः । VI—कुमारः सातवाहनः ।²

No. 82—Nanaghat Cave Inscription of Nagamnika (?)

NĀNĀGHĀT, a pass leading from the Konkan to Junnar, Poona District, Bombay State.

G. BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V, pp. 60f.; 86f.; LÜDERS' List, No. 1112 (for other references); cf. Rapson *Catalogue*, pp. xlv-vi; D. C. Sircar, *I.H.Q.*, VII, p. 412.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the second half of first century B.C.

¹ The actual name of the 'queen' must have been Nāzā Anikā or amnikā (*anṇikā*, *arṇikā* ?) is generally found suffixed to female names in early South Indian inscriptions. Male names usually have the suffix *anaka* or *amṇaka* (*anṇaka*, *arṇaka* ?).

² This personal name seems to suggest that the family is named after a king called Sātavāhana who may have been an ancestor of Simuka. Simuka's *viruda* 'Sātavāhana' may suggest that either it was his second name or it means 'a descendant of Sātavāhana'. The first alternative is less probable as it became the family name as early as the time of Simuka's immediate successor. None of the suggestions regarding the etymology of Sātavāhana and Sātakarpi is satisfactory. They cannot be connected with the Satiyaputas mentioned in Rock Edict II of Aśoka. The name Sātavāhana has been read on some coins recently published in *J.N.S.I.*

TEXT¹

Part I

(on the left wall)

- 1 [सिधं] ..नो धम्मस नमो ईदम³ नमो संकासन-वासुदेवान⁴ चंद-सूरान⁵
 [महि]मा[व]तानं चतु⁶नं च लोकपालानं यम-वरुन-कुबेर-वासवानं नमो (॥०)
 कुमारवरस [वेदि]मिरिस⁶ र⁷जो⁸
 2[व]ीरस सूरस अ-प्रतिहंत-चकस दखि[नप*]ठ-पतिनो०⁷
 3 [मा] .. [वाला०]य⁸ महारठिनो अंगिय-कुल-वधनस⁹ मगर-गिरिवर-वल्-या¹⁰य¹⁰
 पथविय पथम वीरस वस य व अलह (वंतठ१).... मळसु महतो मह....

¹ From the Plate in *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V. The *i*-signs and characters like व, प, द and च exhibit an amount of development. व, though without *serif*, is on the way of becoming triangular. प is almost of the Kushāṇa type. Palaeographically the inscription may be placed between the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodoros (about the end of the 2nd century B. C.) and the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (end of the 1st century B. C.). Note also the conjuncts *br* and *vr* in line 5 and *rg* in line 14.

² Bühler restores औ (or सिधं) नमो प्रजापतिनो धम्मस. I prefer सिधं, which is found at the beginning of numerous early inscriptions, without नमो. सिद्धं = मिद्धि: [चस्त].

³ It is interesting to note that Dharma and Indra are not identified respectively with the Lokapālas Yama and Vāśava who are separately mentioned. The identifications belong probably to a later date.

⁴ The absence of Pratyakṣa and Aniruddha in connection with Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva may suggest that the Vyūha doctrine was not popular before the age of this record at least in its locality. It should be remembered that even a law book like the *Vishnucanhitā* refers to the four: वासुदेवाय सङ्कर्षणाय प्रद्युम्नायानिरुद्धाय (67. 2).

⁵ Bühler read चंद-सूरानं; but the second *alshara* may be रा, but is surely not ता. सूर means 'the-un'; cf. अथाङ्गिलासौ भञ्जवं सूरौ in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act IV.

⁶ Krishna Sastri reads खद०; see *J. S. I.*, A. R., 1923-24, p. 88. But both वे and दि are clear: cf. दिख in line 5 and दिना, *passim*. The form of ख is quite different from that of वे; cf. दिख. and दखिना, *passim*.

⁷ The probable restoration is रजो सिमुकसातवाहनस मुन्हाय.

⁸ Some scholars suggest [Kaṭa]lāya on the evidence of certain coins (cf. Rapson, *Catalogue* p. xiv).

⁹ Krishna Sastri's reading *Ambhiya* is unwarranted.

¹⁰ The passage seems to be an echo of the Buddhist cosmographic idea of the earth being encircled by sea and also by mountains known as the *chakravāḍa-parvatas*,

- 4 सिरिस ...¹ भारिया(य*) देवस पुतदस वरदस कामदस धनदस [वेदि]मिरि-मातु-
(य*) सतिनो सिरिमतस च मातु[य] सीम... ..
- 5 वरिय[न]गवर-दयिनिय मामोपवासिनिय गह-तापसाय चरित-ब्रम्हचरियाय
दिख-वत-यंज-सुं डाय यजा हुता धूयन-संगंधा य निय ...
- 6 रायस² ...[य*]जेहि यिठं (।*) वनो । अगाधेय यंजो द[खि]ना³ दिना गावो
बारस १० (+*)२ असो च १ (।*) अनारभनियो यंजो दखिना धेनु⁴ ...
- 7 दखिनायो दिना गावो १००० (+*) १०० हथी १० ...
- 8 ... स ससतरयं [व]सलठि २०० (+*) ८० (+*) ९ कुभियो रुपामयियो
१० (+*)७ भि.....
- 9 ... रिको यंजो दखिनायो दिना गावो १००० (+*) १०० असा १०००
पस [पको*]... ..
- 10 ... १० (+*) २ गमवरो १ दखिना काहापना २००० (+*) ४००० (+*)
४०० पसपको काहापना ६००० ।⁵ राज[सूयो यंजो*] ...सकटं

Part II

(on the right wall)

- 11 धंजगिरि-तंस-पयुतं १ सपटो १ असो १ असरथो १ गावीनं १० (।*) असमिधो
यंजो⁶ बितियो [यि*]ठो दखिनायो [दि]ना असो रुपाळ[का]रो १ सुवंन...नि १०
(+*) २ दखिना दिना काहापना १०००० (+*) ४००० गामो १ [हठि].....
[दखि]ना दि[ना]
- 12 गावो ...⁷ सकटं धंजगिरि-तंस-पयुतं १ (।*) रोवायो यंजो ... १० (+*)७
[धेनु१] ... रोवाय... सतरस
- 13 ... १० (+*)७ अव ...न...ळय पसपको दि[नो] ... [दखि]ना दिना सु
...पीनि १० (+*)३ अ[१]सो⁸ रुपा[ळ]कारो १ दखिना काहाप[ना] १०००० २

1 Possibly we have to restore [सातकण्ठि*]-सिरिस or सिरि-सा[तकण्ठि*].

2 We may suggest *rāya-Sa[takaṇṭhā saha*]*.

3 स्त्रा seems to have been originally engraved.

4 There are traces of two numerical symbols after धेनु (= सवत्मा गौ:).

5 The first two *akṣharas* may be read सव.

6 Bühler takes the sign to indicate 1. We take it here (as well as in the other cases) as a mark of punctuation, as it is not close to the symbol for 6000.

7 This is omitted in Bühler's transcript.

8 Indrapī read the figure after गावो as 6000

9 Bühler : तैस.

- 14 ... गावो २०००० [१*] [भगल]-दसरतो यंओ यिठो [दखिना] [दि]ना [गावो]
१०००० । गर्गतिरतो यंओ यिठो [दखिना] ... पसपको पटा ३०० ।
गवामयनं यंओ यिठो [दखिना दिना] गावो १००० (+*) १०० । गावो १०००
(+*) १०० (?) पसपको काहापना...पटा १०० (१) अतुयामो यंओ . . .
- 15 ... [ग]वामयनं यंओ [दखिना दिना] गावो १००० (+*) १०० । अंगिरस[१]-
मयनं यंओ यिठो [द]खिना गावो १००० (+*) १०० । त ... [दखिना दि]ना
गावो १००० (+*) १०० । सतातिरतं यंओ ... १००० (१*) [यं]ओ दखिना
ग[१][वो] १००० (+*) १०० (१*) अंगिरस[ति]रतो यंओ यिठो [दखि]ना
गा[वो] ... (१*)...
- 16 ... [गा]वो १००० (+*) २ (१*) छन्दोमप[व]मा[नतिरत] दखिना गावो १००० ।
अं[गि]र[सतिर]तो यंओ [यि ठो द खिना] ... (१*) ... रतो यिठो यंओ दखिना
दिना (१*) तो यंओ यिठो दखिना (१*) यंओ यिठो दखिना दिना गावो
१००० ।
- 17 . न स सयं ... दखिना दिना गावो त ... [१*] [अं]गि[रसा]मयनं
छवस . [दखि]ना दिना गाव १००० . (१*) . [दखिना] दिना गावो १००० ।
तेरस अ... (१*)
- 18 .. (१*) तेरसरतो स छ [अ]ग-दखिना दिना गावो . (१*) ... दसरतो म.
[दि]ना गावो १०००० । उ ... १०००० । द ...
- 19 ... [यं]ओ दखिना दि[ना] ...
- 20 द [खिना दिना] ...

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[—मिद्धम् ॥ प्रजापतये] धर्माय नमः, इन्द्राय नमः, सङ्घर्षण-वासुदेवाभ्यां, चन्द्रसूराभ्यां
(= सूर्याभ्यां) महिमवज्रपां, चतुर्भ्यः च लोकपालेभ्यः यम-वरुण-कुबेर-वासवेभ्यः नमः ॥
कुमार-वरस्य वेदिश्रियः राज्ञः... वीरस्य शूरस्य अप्रतिहतचक्रस्य दक्षिणापथपतेः...
[राज्ञः शिमुकसातवाहनस्य स्नुषया] ... बालया (= कन्यया) महारथिनः अङ्गिक-कुल-वर्द्धनस्य,
सागर-गिरिवर-बलयायाः पृथिव्याः प्रथमवीरस्य [शातकर्णि]-श्रियः भार्यया देवस्य

¹ It is not certain that this was the last line. The number of sacrifices proves the great influence of the Vedic Karmakāṇḍa in the Early Sātavāhana court. The great wealth paid as *daśahinā* proves not only the opulence of the family but also the complexity acquired by the simpler Vedic sacrificial tradition. For the sacrifices, consult Bühler, *loc. cit.*, and Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*.

पुत्रदस्य वरदस्य कामदस्य धनदस्य वेदिश्रियः-माता, शकेः श्रीमतः (—शक्तिश्रियः)
 च माता-नागवर-दायिन्या, मातोपवासिन्या, गृह-तापस्या, चरित-ब्रह्मचर्याया, दीर्घ-व्रत-
 यज्ञ-शौण्ड्या यज्ञः हुताः धूपन-सुगन्धाः (=सुगन्ध-द्रव्याहुत्या सुगन्धीकृताः .. राज-
 [श्रीशातकर्णिना सह] यज्ञैः इष्टम् । [तेषां] वर्णः^१ (=वर्णना-विवरणम्)—अग्न्याधेयः
 यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः द्वादश १२, अश्वः च [एकः] १ । अनाकम्भणीयः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा
 .. । दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १७००, हस्तिनः १० . वंश-यष्टयः १८६, कुम्भ्यः
 रौप्यमण्डयः १७ . । रिकः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०००, अश्वः १०००, प्रसर्पकः^२
 (=यज्ञ-दशकादि जनाः=तेभ्यः दानम् [यज्ञः....दक्षिणा दत्ता] १२, ग्रामवरः १२,
 दक्षिणा कार्षापणानि ४४००, प्रसर्पकः कार्षापणानि ६००० । राजसूयः यज्ञःशकटं

॥—धान्यगिरि-तंस-प्रयुक्तं (—विशाळधान्यस्तूपस्य वहन-मोचन-विनियुक्तं),^३
 सत्पट्टम् १, अश्वः १, अश्वरथः १, गवीनां [शतं] १०० । अश्वमेधः यज्ञः द्वितीयः^४ इष्टः,
 दक्षिणा दत्ता . अश्वः [१], रौप्यालङ्कारः १, सुवर्णालङ्काराः १२, दक्षिणा दत्ता कार्षापणानि
 १४०००, ग्रामः १, हस्ती[१] । [यज्ञः] दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः [६०००], शकटं धान्यगिरि-
 तंस-प्रयुक्तं १..... । गोवायः(?) यज्ञः [दक्षिणा दत्ता] ..१७..... ।सप्तदशतिरासः
 यज्ञः दक्षिणा दत्ता]..... १७..... प्रसर्पकः दत्तः । [यज्ञः]
 दक्षिणा दत्ता... १२, अश्वः[१], रौप्यालङ्कारः १, दक्षिणा कार्षापणानि १००००... गावः
 २०००० । भगाल-दशरासः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १०००० । गगीतिरासः यज्ञः
 इष्टः, दक्षिणा . प्रसर्पकः पट्टानि ३०० । गवामयनं यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता
 गावः ११०० । गावः ११००, प्रसर्पकः कार्षापणानि . पट्टानि १०० । आसौर्यामः यज्ञः... ।
 गवामयनं यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०० । अङ्गिरसामयनं यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा गावः
 ११०० । . दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०० । शतातिरासः यज्ञः .. १००... । यज्ञः,
 दक्षिणा गावः ११०० । आङ्गिरसातिरासः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा गावः... । गावः १००२ ।
 छन्दोमपवमानातिरासः [यज्ञः], दक्षिणा गावः १०० । आङ्गिरसातिरासः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा
 .. ।रासः इष्टः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता... । रासः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा . । यज्ञः
 इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १००० .. । [यज्ञः इष्टः], दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ... ।
 . अङ्गिरसामयनं षड्वर्षं ... दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १००० । [यज्ञः], दक्षिणा दत्ता
 गावः १००० ... । तयोदशरासः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता]..... । तयोदशरासः . अग्रदक्षिणा

^१ Cf. *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 549, note.

^२ Bühler: "the presents to the spectators and menials".

^३ Bühler: "the cart for conveying a mountain of grains".

^४ Two *Asvamedhas* were performed; but the account of the first is lost.

दत्ता गावः । दशरातः । [दक्षिणा] दत्ता गावः १००० १०००।. यज्ञः,
दक्षिणा दत्ता । दक्षिणा दत्ता ॥¹

No. 83—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra

Satakarni (c. 106-30 A. D.)—Regnal

Year 18 (= c. 124 A.D.)

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State. On the east wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, under the ceiling.

BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 558ff.; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 104f., No. 13; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 71, No. 4; LÜDERS' List, No. 1125 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

¹ The performance of sacrifices by females is denounced by Vedic literature. Nāgaṃnikā therefore could not have performed the sacrifices when she might have been the regent and her son king Veliśī was a minor. The word *rāja* at the beginning line 6 may suggest that king Sātakarṇi was the performer of the sacrifices. Nāgaṃnikā appears to refer to her part in the performance of the sacrifices as the *sahadharminī* of Sātakarṇi. Śaktiśrī has been identified with Śaktikumāra mentioned as the son of Śālivāhana in Jain literature. The identification of this prince with Hakuṣiṇ of *supra*, No. 80 (see p. 184, n. 1) suggests that the queen referred to in this inscription is Nāgaṃnikā, wife of Sātakarṇi I. As regards हकु-शक्ति, note हिकु-यज्ञ-हतिकुशिका = श्रीयज्ञ-शातकर्ण on some coins (Rapson, *Cat.*, p. 45). Cf. also अयिरहवान in No. 100 below. According to the Purāṇas, Simuka who defeated the Kāṇvas and Suṅgas was succeeded by his brother Kṛishṇa (No. 75) and the latter by his son Sātakarṇi (No. 77). The order of succession seems to be all right, but the terms of relationship should possibly be transposed. Possibly both Kṛishṇa and Sātakarṇi were sons of Simuka.

TEXT¹

- 1 सि[धं]² (॥*) सेनाये [वे]जय[ति]ये³ विजय-खधावारा [गो]वधनम
बेनाकटक-स्वामि⁴ गोतमि-पुतो सिरि-मदकणि
- 2 आनपयति गोवधने अमच त्रि[भु]पालितं(१*) गामे अपर-कखडि⁵[ये] [य] खेतं
अजकालकियं चमभटातेन भूतं निवतन-⁶
- 3 मतानि बे २०० एत अम्ह-खेत निवतण-मतानि बे २०० हमेस पवजितान
तेकिरसिण⁷ वितराम (१*) एतस चम खेतस परिहार
- 4 वितराम अपावेसं अनोमस अलोग-खा⁸दकं⁹ अरठमविनयिकं मवजातपरिहारिक
च (१*) एतेहि नं परिहारेहि परिह[र]हि (१*)
- 5 एते चम खेत-परिहारे[रे] च एथ निबध्वापेहि (१*) अवियेन⁷ आणतं (१*) अमचेन
मिवगुतेन छतो (१*) महासामियेहि उपरखितो (१*)
- 6 दता पटिका सवद्धरे १० (+*)⁸ वास-पखे २ दिवसे १ (१*) तापसेन कटा (॥*)

¹ From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The record was copied on the cave wall from a grant on plates of copper or cloth; cf. पटिका in line 6.

² सिद्धं = सिद्धि; अस्तु

³ Senart takes Vaijayanti to be a city (mod. Banavāsi in North Kanara). But it seems to be an epithet of सेना apparently referring to some expedition led by the king, very probably the one against Rishabhādatta (cf. line 2).

⁴ Some read कटका. This reading suggests that Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi issued the charter 'from Benākāṭaka' (बेनाकटकात्), which place was evidently situated on a river called Benvā. In records however the epithet स्वामिन् is found after the metonymic and close to the name of the king. It is therefore better to take बेनाकटक-स्वामिन् as an instance of śākapārthivādi samāsa to indicate "the lord now residing at Benākāṭaka". This Benākāṭaka (as well as the river Benā) was situated in the Nāsiik region. The Benā therefore can hardly be identified with the Penguṅgā or the Waingāṅgā. Note that this interpretation alone explains why only here and in No. 87 the Śātavāhana king is referred to as lord of a particular place. Records were generally issued from the capital which was not usually mentioned. These two are unusual cases and that is why the places were mentioned. For the śāpekṣha-samāsa, see *supra*, p. 181, note 4.

⁵ One *nitartana* of land was about 4½, 3, 2½ or 2 acres or ½ acre according to different authorities (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, p. 245). It was not the same area in different parts of the country and different ages of history.

⁶ तेकिरसिण⁷ has been supposed to be a mistake for तेरसिकानं (= वैरसिकानां, 'of those residing on the Tirāśmi hill'). Read एतस च खेतस.

⁷ अविय means भवित or उक्त (*Deśināmamālā*, I, 10).

⁸ This date falls very near the last known date of Nahapāna; cf. the Jogaltembhi hoard of Nahapāna's coins re struck by Śātakarṇi (*Rapson, Cat.*, pp. lxxxviii-lxxxix), and *infra*, p. 204, note 5.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धं (= सिद्धिः [अस्तु]) ॥ सेनायाः [कस्मिंश्चित् अभियाने] विजयमानायाः विजय-
स्त्वन्वावारात् (= ०कटकत्) गोवर्द्धनस्य = नासिकाहारान्तर्गत०) बेनाकटक-स्वामी
(= ०कटक-स्थित०) गौतमीपुत्रः श्रीशातकर्णिः आज्ञपयति गोवर्द्धने अमात्यं¹ = गोवर्द्धनस्थं
गोवर्धनाहार-शासकं विष्णुशालितम् । —“ग्रामे अर-कखटां यत् क्षेत्रम् अद्यकालकीयम्
(= अग्रननसमयं यावत् ; यद्वा —आर्यकालकोयाख्यम्) कृषभदत्तेन भुक्तं निवर्त्तन-शते द्वे २००,
एतत् अस्मत् क्षेत्रं निवर्त्तन-शते द्वे २०० एभ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः सैरश्मिकेभ्यः (= सिरश्मिपर्वतस्थित-
लयनवाभिभ्यः वितरामः [वयम्] । एतस्य च क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं (= क्षेत्रसम्बन्धीयराजाधिकार-
विशेषेभ्यः विमुक्तिं) वितरामः—अप्रावेद्यं (= भटादिप्रवेश-प्रतिषेधः) अनावमर्द्यं (= राजपुरुषा-
दिजनितवाध्वायाः निषेधः), अ-लवण-स्वातकं² (= क्षेत्रात् लवण-स्वनन-परिहारः), अ-राष्ट्र-
सांविनयिकं³ सर्वजातिपारिहारिकं च । एतः एनत् (= एतत् क्षेत्रं), परिहारैः परिहर । एतत् च
अस्य क्षेत्र-परिहारं (= क्षेत्रस्य परिहारः च अत्र निवन्धय = शासने उल्लेख्य) ।
उक्तेन (= वचनमात्रेण) आज्ञसम् । अमात्येन शिवगुप्तेन क्षतं (= लिखितं शासनम्) ।
महास्वामिके⁴ उपलक्षितं (= राज्ञा परीक्षितम्) । दत्ता पट्टिका संवत्सरे अष्टादशे १८ वर्षा-पक्षे
द्वितीये २ दिवसे प्रथमे १ (= श्रावण-शुक्ल-पक्ष-प्रथम-दिवसे) । तापसेन कृता (= उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका) ॥

¹ The word *amātya* is sometimes used in a wider sense to include a *mantrin*. A distinction is made, e.g., in Rāmavarman's commentary on the *Rāmāyana*, I, 7, 4 : अमात्या देशादिकार्यनिर्वाहकाः, मन्त्रियो व्यवहारद्वार इति भेदः (*Ind. Cult.*, VIII, p. 121).

² One of the Barhut inscriptions mentions a Yaksha named Ajakālaka (Barna and Sinha, *Barhut Ins.*, p. 67). The field may have been named after a similar spirit. For Rishabhādatta, see *supra*, Nos. 58-61.

³ All produce of the mines belonged to the king ; cf. आकरेभ्यः सर्वमादयात् (*Vishṇusamhitā*, III, 35) ; cf. also आकरे लवणे शुल्के तरे नागवने तथा । व्यसिदमात्यान्नृपतिः स्वाभान् वा पुरुषान् हितान् ॥ महाभारत । शान्तिपर्व १६१।२८. Cf. “Much salt is produced in the Kāśī (Banaras) District, where soil is salty. Water drawn from the ground or from wells is poured on fields. When it dries out, a finger's breadth of salt gathers on the surface. The landlords of the District utilise fallow lands in getting salt in the above way.” Translated from the *Samāchārādarpaṇa* (Bengali) of 21-8-1819 quoted in *Samvādapatre Sekāler Kathā*, by B. N. Banerji, Vol. I, 1st ed., p. 107. See also notes on Bk. III Nos. 59, 60 and 64.

⁴ विनौ or संविनौ means ‘to govern, control’ ; संविनय is therefore ‘government, control (by punishment)’. As regards government, the land was thus separated from other parts of the kingdom ; cf. सदृष्टदशापराध cf. later records referring to the power of punishing minor offences transferred to the donee. Senart translates ‘not to be interfered with by the district police’.

⁵ See below, p. 209, note 3

No. 84—Nasik Cave Inscription of Gautamiputra
Śatakarni—Regnal Year 24 (= c. 130 A.D.)

Engraved in continuation of *supra*, No. 83, from which it is separated only by a खल्लिक symbol.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 105 ff. : INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 560 ff. : SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 73 : LÜDERS' List, No. 1126 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 'सिद्ध' (॥*) गोवधने अम[च]स सामकस² [दे]यो [रा]जागितो (॥*)
- 2 रणो गोतमिपुत्रस मातकणि[स] म हा[देवीय व जीवमुताय राज-मातुय वचनेन गोवधने [अम*]चो सामको अरोग वतव³ (॥*) ततो एव च
- 3 वतवो (॥*) एथ अग्हेहि पवते तिरण्डुहि अग्ध-धमदाने लेणे पतिवसतानं पवजितान मिखून गा[मे] कखडीसु पुव खेतं दत्त (॥*) त च खेत
- 4 [न]⁴ कसते सो च गामो न वसति (॥*) एवं सति य दानि एथ नगर-सीमे राजकं खेतं अग्ध-सतकं ततो एतेस पवजितान् मिखून तिरण्डुकानं दद[म]
- 5 खेतस निवतण-सतं १०० (॥*) तस च खेतस परिहार वितराम अपावेस अनोमस अ-लोण-खादक अ-रठ-सविनयिक सव-जात-पारिहारिक च (॥*)

¹ From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. This also is copied from a charter on plates. The latter part is carelessly engraved.

² This line is a continuation of line 6 of No. 83. सिद्धं = सिद्धिः [पद्य].

³ Some read समक.

⁴ Some read सत. The word जीवमुता suggests that the king was ill and the people had to be assured about his health. The next king was possibly on his way to the throne, and the queen-mother who might have been in power for some time had to refer to the dying king's name. This illness apparently proved fatal to Gautamiputra.

⁵ Apparently this village stood on the eastern borders of Western Kakhadi mentioned in *supra*, No. 83. Aparā-Kakhadi may also have been the western part of Kakhadi. The grant may or may not have been that referred to in No. 83.

⁶ The letter which is indistinct is read by some as व.

- 6 एतेहि न परिहारेहि परिहरेठ (१०) एन चम खेत-परीहारि च एथ
निबधोपेथ (१०) अविथेन आगत (१*) पट्टिहार-(२*)खिय लोटाय छतो लेखो (१*)
सवक्करे २० (+*) ५
- 7 वासान पखे ४ दिवसे पचमे ५ (१०) सुजिविना कटा (१*) निबधो^३ निबधो
सवक्करे २० (+*) ४ गिंहान पखे २ दिवसे १० (१०*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ गोवर्द्धने अमात्याय श्यामकाय देयं राजाज्ञसं (= राजाज्ञा-पत्रम्) । राज्ञः गौतमी-
पुत्रस्य शातकर्णेः महादेव्याः च जीवसुतायाः राजमातुः वचनेन गोवर्द्धने अमात्यः श्यामकः
अरोगः (=आरोग्यं) वक्तव्यः । ततः एव च [सः] वक्तव्यः—“अत्र अस्माभिः
पचन्ते खिरइमौ अस्मद्धमदाने छयने प्रतिवसद्भ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः भिक्षुभ्यः ग्रामे कखट्यां
पूर्वं (=भूतकाले) क्षेत्रं दत्तम् । तत् च क्षेत्रं न कृष्यते ; स च ग्रामः न उष्यते (=अध्युष्यते) ।
एवं सति, यत् इदानीम् (=अधुना) अत्र नगरसीमिन् राजकीयं क्षेत्रम् अस्मत्-स्वत्वकं (= राज-
स्वत्व-विशिष्टं^४ क्षेत्रं [अस्ति]), ततः एतेभ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः भिक्षुभ्यः त्रैरङ्गिमकेभ्यः दद्यात् क्षेत्रस्य
निवर्त्तन-शतं १०० । तस्य च क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं वितरामः—अप्रावेश्यम्, अनावमर्श्यम्, अ-लवण-
खातकम्, अराष्ट्र-सांविनयिकं (=राष्ट्रस्य साधारणदण्डविधेः वहिर्भूतत्वं=विशिष्ट-शासन-
वत्त्वं), सर्वजातिपरिहारिकं च । एतैः एतत् [क्षेत्रं] परिहारैः परिहरत । एतं च अस्य
क्षेत्र-परिहारं (=क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं) च अत्र निबन्धयत ।” उक्तेन आज्ञसम् । प्रतीहार-[र]क्षया
(=द्वार-रक्षिण्या=अन्तःपुर-प्रतीहाराध्यक्षया) लोटया क्षतः (=लिखितः) लेखः ।
[दत्ता पट्टिका] संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ वर्षाणां पक्षे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे पञ्चमे ५ (=भाद्रपद-शुद्ध-
पञ्चम-दिवसे) । सुजीविना कृता (=उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका) । निबद्धः 'लेखः (=राजकीयलेख-
शालायां रक्षितप्रतिलिपिकीकृतः)' संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ ग्रीष्मस्य पक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे
दशमे १० (=चैत्र-शुद्ध-दशम-दिवसे) ॥

1 Drafting of a document by a female officer is interesting. This was apparently because the queen-mother issued the charter in question. Read दत्ता पट्टिका संवक्करे.

2 Some read पुजितिना.

3 निबधो seems to be engraved twice owing to the engraver's inadvertence.

4 Royal lands may have belonged to the king personally or may have been allotted to his dependants as jāgīrs.

No. 85—Karle Cave Inscription of Vasishthiputra

Pulumavi (c. 130-59 A.D.)

—Regnal Year 7 (= c. 137 A.D.)

KĀRLE, Poona District, Bombay State.

BURGESS and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 107, No. 17;
 SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 61f., No. 14; LÜDERS' List, No. 110)
 (for other references).

Language:: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 रजो वासिष्ठिपुत्रस्य स्वामि-मिरि-[पुलुमाविस*] सवत्सरे सप्तमे ७ गिम्ह पक्षे पचमे ५
- 2 दिवसे पथमे १ एताय पुत्राय ओखळकियानं महारथिंस कोमिकि-पुत्रस्य मित-
देवस पुतेन
- 3 [म*]हारथिना वासिष्ठिपुतेन सोमदेवेन ग्रामो दत्तो वलुरक-संघस वलुरक-लेनस
स-ककरो स-देय-मेयो (॥*)²

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

राजः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य स्वामि-श्रीपुलुमावेः संवत्सरे सप्तमे ७ ग्रीष्म-पक्षे पञ्चमे ५ दिवसे प्रथमे
 १ (= ज्येष्ठ-कृष्ण-प्रथम-दिवसे) = एतस्यां पूर्वायां (= पूर्वोक्ते दिवसे) औखलकीयानां (= ०कीय-
 वंशजस्य) महारथिनः कौशिकोपुत्रस्य मितदेवस्य पुत्रेण महारथिना वासिष्ठीपुत्रेण सोमदेवेन
 ग्रामः दत्तः वलुरक-सङ्घाय वलुरक ल्यनस्य (= ०गुहासु वास्तव्यानां भिक्षूणां सङ्घाय) स-करोत्-
 करः (= स-करोपकरः) स-देय-मेयः (= बलिशुक्लादिमहितः राजभागादिमहितः च ॥

1 From the Plates in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, and *Ep. Ind.*, VII.

2 Some read वलुरकासघस, वलूरक and सकराकरोर. For Valūraka, see *supra*, No. 61, (p. 172, note 1). Mahārathin seems to be a feudatory title like Mahāsenāpati.

3 The rent-free holding of the village was apparently created by Somadeva out of his own jāgīr with the king's permission. स-ककरोर = स-कारकरोर ?

No. 86—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishthiputra
Pulumāvi—Regnal Year 19 (=c. 149 A.D.).

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State.

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, above the entrance.

BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 550ff., No. 2 ; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 180f., No. 18 ; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 60ff., No. 2 ; LÜDERS' List, No. 1123 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- ✓
- 1 सिद्धं (॥*) रजो वासिष्ठीपुतस सिरि-पुळुमायिस सवकरे^२ एकुनवीसे १०
(+०) ८ गोम्हाणं पखे बिलीये २ दिवसे तेरसे १०(+*)३ राजरजो गीतमौपुतस
हिमव[त]-मेरु
 - 2 मंदर-पवत सम-सारस असिक-अमक-मुळक-सुरठ कुकुरापरंत^३-अनुप-विटभ-
आकरावंति-राजस^४ विभक्तवत-परिचात^५-सम्ह-कण्हगिरि-मच-सिरिटन-
मलय-महिद-

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.* VIII. This record also may have been copied on the cave wall from a grant on plates of copper or cloth. The gift of the cave to a new set of monks suggests that the earlier occupants had vacated it. The unusual eulogy of the dead king is possibly due to the fact that the queen mother wanted to recapitulate the family's past glory at a time when much of his son's conquests were reconquered by the Śakas. There is no proof that Gautamīputra and Pulumāvi ruled conjointly.

² The marks above व do not appear to be any part of the letter.

³ A letter had been originally inscribed here, but was afterwards erased.

⁴ Cf. this list of countries with that in *supra*, No. 67 and note that Anarta is not mentioned here. Anarta may have sometimes been regarded as a part of Kukura. What Gautamīputra gained from Nahapāna, he lost to Chashtāna and Rudradāman. The reference to Maliya (Western Gbāts to the south of the Nilgiris) and Mahendra (Eastern Gbāts) points to a vague claim of suzerainty over the Deccan Peninsula possibly based on a *digvijaya* (cf. ति-समुद्र-तौय-पौत-वाहन in line 3).

⁵ Some read वात०

- 3 सेटगिरि-चकोर पवत-पतिस¹ सवराज[लोक]म[²]उल्ल-पतिगहीत-सासनस दिवसकर-
[क]र-विबोधित-कमलविमल-सदिस-वदनस तिसमुद-तोय-पीत-वाहनस पटिपू³ण²-
चद-मउल्ल-ससिरीक-
- 4 पियदसनस वर-वारण-विक्रम-चारु-विक्रमस भुजगपति-भोग-पीन-वाट-विपुल-दीध-
सुद[र*]-भुजस अभयोदकदान-किलिन-निभय-करस³ अविपन-मातु-सुसूसाकस
सुविभत-तिवग-देस-कालस
- 5 पोरजन-निविसेस-सम-सुख-दुखस¹ खतिय-दप-मान-मदनस सक-यवन-पल्लव-⁵
निसूदनस धमोपजित-कर-विनियोग-करस कितापराधे पि सतु-जने अ-पाणहिसा-रुचिस
दिजावर-कुट्ब-विवध-
- 6 नस खखुरात-वस-निरवसेस-करस मातवाहनकुल-यस-पतिथापन-करस सव-मंडला-
भिव्रादित-च[र*]णम त्रिनिव्रतित-चातुवण-संकरस⁶ अनेक-समरावजित-सतु-सधम
अपराजित-विजयपताक-सतुजन-दुपधसनीय-
- 7 पुरवरस कुल-पुरिस-परपरागत-विपुल-राज-सदस आगमान [नि]लयस सपुरिसानं
असयस सिरी[थे] अधिठानस उपचारान पभवस एककुसस एक-धनुधरस एक-सुरस
एक-बम्हणस राम-

¹ Vindhya=the Eastern Vindhyas ; Rikshavat=the Vindhyas to the north of the Narmadā ; Pāriyātra=the Aravelly and Western Vindhyas ; Sahya=the Western Ghāts ; Krishnagiri=Kanhari. Setagiri was a hill near Nāgārjunikopā in the Guntur District. See notes on No. 67 above and also further below.

² Senart : पटिपुण. The intended word is प्रतिपूर्ण. But read परिपूर्ण.

³ Cf. सर्वदानाधिकमभयप्रदानम् (Vishṇu, 92. 1).

⁴ Cf. प्रजासुखे सुखी राजा तद्वःखे यश्च दुःखितः । स कौर्त्तियुक्तो लोकीऽस्मिन् प्रेत्य स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ विश्वसंहिता । ३।७०

⁵ The Sakas have again been referred to as Khakharāta (=Kshaharāta, cf. *supra*, Nos. 58f.). Their success was responsible for the insignificance of the Sātavāhana kingdom for many years before Gautamīputra re established his family's fortune. The Yavanas (Greeks) and Pahlavas (Perso-Perthians) ruled in the Punjab-N.W.F.P.-Sind region. For their existence in Western India, see *supra*, No. 67, notes. Some take Kshatriya in the sense of the Khatri tribe ; but cf. *eka bamhana* in line 7 and the tradition referring to the Brāhmaṇa-Nāga origin of the Sātavāhanas.

⁶ Senart reads चातुवण-सकरस. Cf. चातुर्वर्ण्यं स्वकर्मस्य सर्वोदानामभ्यङ्करे । दण्डनीतिक्रते चेमे प्रजानामकुतोभये ॥ etc., महाभारत । शान्तपर्व । ६।१।७७

- 8 केसवाजुन-भीमसेन-तुल-परकमस छण-घनुसव-समाज-कारकस¹ नाभाग-नहुस-जनमेजय-सकर-य[या]ति-रामाबरीस-सम-तेजस अपरिमितमखयमचितमभुत पवन-गह्ल सिध-यख-राखस-विजाधर-भूत-गधव-चारण-
- 9 चद-दिवाकर-नखत-गह-विचिण-समरसिरसि² जित-रिपु-सघस नागवर-खधा गगनतल-मभिविगाढस कुल-विपु[लसि]रि-करस सिरि-सातकाणिस मातुय महादेवीय गोतमीय बलसिरीय सचवचन-दान-खमाहिमा-निरताय तप-दम-निय-
- 10 मोपवास-तपराय राजरिसिवधु-सदमखिलमनुविधीयमानाय कारित देयधम [केलासपवत*]-सिखर-सदिसे [ति]ररुहु-पवत-मिखरे विम[ान*]वर-निविसेस. महि-ढीकं लेण (I*) एत च लेण महादेवी महाराज-माता महाराज-पि[तामही] ददाति निकायस भदावनौयान³ भिखु-सघस (I*)
- 11 एतस च लेण[स] चित्तण-निमित्त महादेवीय अयकाय सेवकामो पियकामो च ण[ता] [सिरि-पुलुमावि*] [टखिणा*] पथेसरो पितु-पतियो (पित्तिये) धमसेतुस [ददा]ति गाम⁴ तिररुहु-पवतस अपर-दक्षिण-पसे पिसाजिपदक सव जात-भोग-निरठि⁴ (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धं (= सिद्धिः अस्तु) ॥ राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुलुमावेः संवत्सरे¹ एकोनविंशे १९ प्रोथमस्य पक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे त्रयोदशे १३ (= चैत्र-शुद्ध-त्रयोदश-दिवसे) राजराजस्य गौतमी-पुत्रस्य हिम-वन्मेरु-मन्दरपर्वत-सम-सारस्य, ऋषिकाश्मक-मूलक-सुराष्ट्र-कुपुरापराण्तानूप-विदर्भाकरावन्ति-राजस्य⁵ विम्बपर्शवत्-पारियास-सह्य-कृष्णगिरि-मत्स्य-श्रीस्तन(यद्वा—श्रीस्थान)-मलय-महेन्द्र-

¹ The first word may also be कृष्ण

² Cf. समेयस्य महात्मानो युद्धदर्शनाकाङ्क्षिणः ।

ऋषयो देवगन्धर्वाः सिद्धाश्च सह चारणैः ॥

(*Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 24, 19, etc.). See also *Gaṇḍavaha*, verse 416, and the Chateswara temple inscription referred to by Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, p. 261.

³ Cf. the Bhaddayānika community of the Buddhists (Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, transl., p. 26). The Bhaddayānikas were a branch of the Sthaviravādins (*I. H. Q.*, XXIV, p. 252). Cf. below, p. 206, note 4.

⁴ Read निरटं. The absence of the usual formulae of charters suggests that some passages of the original have been omitted here.

⁵ Cf. विदर्भानुषिकांश्चैव रम्यान्महर्षिकानपि (*Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 41, 11). As a passage of the Hāhigumpha inscription of Khāravela would suggest, the Asika (= Rishika) country possibly lay between the Krishnā and the Godāvari, and to the south of Āśmaka. The city of the Asikas is there placed on the Krishnā. Āśmaka was on the Godāvari near Mūlaka which was the district round Pratishthāna (mod. Paithān), the Sātavāhana capital. The Āśmaka country comprised the Nander-Nizamabad region of the former Hyderabad State. Its capital Paudanya is mod. Bodhan in the Nizamabad District. Vidarbha is mod. Berar. For the other countries, see *supra*, p. 178, note 4.

श्रेष्ठगिरि-चकोर पर्वत-पतेः, सर्व-राजलोकमण्डल-प्रतिगृहीत-शासनस्य, दिवसकर-कर-विबोधित-कमलविमल-सदृश-वदनस्य, त्रिसमुद्र-तोय-पीत-वाहनस्य¹, परिपूर्ण-चन्द्रमण्डल-सश्रीक-प्रिय-दर्शनस्य, वरवारण-विक्रम-चारु-विक्रमस्य. भुजगपति-भोग-पीन-वृत्त-विपुल-दीर्घ-सुन्दर-भुजस्य, अभयोदक-दान-क्लिन्न-निर्भयकरस्य. अविपन्न-मातृ-शुश्रूषकस्य² सुविभक्त-तिवर्ग-देश-कालस्य (= धर्मार्थकाम-लाभाय स्थान-काल-व्यवहारकस्य), पौरजन-निर्विशेष-सम-सुख-दुःखस्य, क्षत्रिय-दर्पमान-मदनस्य, शक-यवन-पह्लव-निसूदनस्य, धर्मोपचित-कर-त्रिनियोगकरस्य (= धर्म-शास्त्रसमर्थितः). कृतापराधे अपि शत्रुजने अ-प्राणहिंसा-रुचेः. द्विजावर-कुटुम्ब-विवर्द्धनस्य (= द्विजाद्विज-कुल-वर्द्धकस्य). क्षहरात-वंश-निरवशेषकरस्य, सातवाहनकुल-यशः-प्रतिष्ठापन-करस्य, सर्वमण्डलाभिवादित-चरणस्य, विनिवर्त्तित-चातुर्वर्ण्य-सङ्करस्य, अनेकसमरावजित-शत्रुसङ्घस्य (= समरेषु विजितशत्रुवृन्दस्य), अपराजितत्रिजयपताक-शत्रुजनदुष्प्रधर्षणीय-पुरवरस्य, कुलपुरुषपरम्परागत-विपुल-राजशब्दस्य, आगमानां निलयस्य (= वेदादिशास्त्रज्ञानस्य आधारस्य), सत्पुरुषाणाम् आश्रयस्य, श्रियः अधिष्ठानस्य, उपचाराणां प्रभवस्य (= सदा-चाराणाम् उद्भवस्य), एकाङ्कुशस्य. एक-शूरस्य, एक-ब्राह्मणस्य (यद्वा—ब्रह्मण्यस्य), राम-केशवाञ्जुन-भीमसेन-तुल्य-पराक्रमस्य, क्षग-घनोत्सव-समाज-कारकस्य (= शुभदिवसेषु महोत्सवादि³), नाभाग-नहुष-जनमेजय-सगर-ययाति-रामाश्वरीष-सम-तेजसः, अपरिमितम् अक्षयम् अविन्यम् अन्तुतं पवन-गरुड-सिद्ध-यक्ष-राक्षस-विद्याधर-भूत-गन्धर्व-चारण (= स्वर्गीय-गायक, किन्नर)-चन्द्र-दिवाकर-नक्षत्र-ग्रह-विचोर्ण (= जुष्ट, ईक्षित)-समर-शिरसि जित-रिपुसङ्घस्य, नागवर-स्कन्धात् गगनतलम् अभिविगाढस्य, कुल-विपुलश्री-करस्य, श्रीशातकर्णैः माता महादेव्या गौतम्या ब्रह्मश्रिया सत्यवचन-दान-क्षमाहिंसा-निरतया (= क्षमाशीलया अहिंसापरया च) तपो-दम-नियमोपवास-तत्परया राजर्षिवधूशब्दम् अखिलम् अनुविदधत्या (= धारयन्त्या) कारितः देयधर्मः कैलासपर्वत-शिखर-सदृशे विरश्मि-पर्वत-शिखरे विमानवर-निर्विशेषं महर्द्धिकं (= पर्वतशिखरस्थ-पुष्पक-सदृशं महासमृद्धियुक्तं) लयनम्। एतत् च लयनं महादेव (= महाराज-पत्नी) महाराज-माता महाराज-पितामही ददाति निकायाय भद्रायणीयानां⁴ (भद्रायानीयानां) भिक्षु-सङ्घाय। एतस्य च लयनस्य चित्रण-निमित्तम् (= आलेख्यादिना उत्कर्षविधानाय) महादेव्याः आर्यकायाः (= पितामह्याः) सेवाकामः

¹ Cf. त्रिसमुद्रान्तर्गत-भुवनमण्डलाधीश्वर of Chālukya records and त्रिसमुद्राधिपति of the *Harshacharita*, VII. *Mayūraranyasaka samāsās* like *kamala-vimala* are common in early records.

² अविपन्न = unobstructedly : or, not ill.

³ For चारण, see *Sākuntala*, II, 14.

⁴ Lüders' List, No 1018 mentions a Buddhist school called *Bhaddajanijja* probably the same as the *Bhadrāyānīya*. Cf. above, p. 205, note 3.

प्रियकामः च नत्ता [श्रीपुलुमाविः] दक्षिणापथेश्वरः पितृ-प्रीतये (= स्वर्गत-पितृ-प्रीणनाय) धर्मसेतवे (= यु-लोकभूलोकान्तरे सेतुरूपाय धर्मदानाय कथनाय) ददाति ग्रामं त्रिरश्मिपर्वतस्य अपरदक्षिण-पाश्वे [स्थितं] पिशाचीपद्रकं सर्वजात-भोग-निरस्तं (= राजभागभोगादिपरिहृतम्) ॥

No. 87—Nasik Cave Inscription of Vasishthiputra

Pulumavi—Regnal Year 22 (= c. 152 A.D.)

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State. Engraved in continuation of *supra*, No. 86.

BHAGWANLAL INDRAM, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI. p. 554, No. 3; BÜHLER, *Arch. surv. W. Ind.*, IV. p. 116, No. 19; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 65ff., No. 3; LÜPERS' List, No. 1124 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम्^१ । नवनर-स्वामी वासिठी-पुतो सिरि-पुळमवि [आ]नयति गोवधने आमच
- 2 सिवखदिल य अ[म्हे] सव १० (+ १९ गि प २ दिव १० (+ २) ३ धनकट-
ममनेहि यो^२ एथ [पवते] तिरिण्डुम्हि^३ न^४ धर्मसेतुस [ले]णम पटिसंथरणे^५
[दत्त^६] अखय[नीवि-]हेतु एथ गोवधनाहारे दखिण-मगे गामो सुटिसणा भिखुहि
देवि-लेण-वासीहि^७ निकायेन भदायनियेहि [प]तिगय दतो (१-^८ एतम दान-गामस
मुदिसन[स]^९ परिवटके एथ गोवधन[हारे] पुव-मगे

¹ Form the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

² This line is a continuation of line 11 of the preceding grant which is separated from the present record by a *svastika* followed by another symbol. Navanara (=Navanagara; cf. Kusinārā=Kusinagara) may have been a new city near the old capital Pratissthāna. We may also suggest नवन (ग*) र. See *supra*, p. 198, note 4.

³ Senart: य. Dhānyakṣa was the old name of Amarāvati.

⁴ Read तिरिण्डुम्हि पतिवसतान भिखुम.

⁵ Senart: ०सथरणे.

⁶ The letters are indistinct.

⁷ Others read वासिद्धि. Note that in this record ०भ्यः has been Prakritized into ०द्धि. For this kind of 4th case-ending looking like the 3rd, see *supra*, Bk. I, No. 3. : 8-43.

⁸ Senart read सदसनान

- 3 गाम समलिपद ददाम (1*) एत त मह-अद्वरकेन ओदेन धमसेतुस लेणस पटिसंथरणे¹ अखय-निवि-हेतु गाम सामलिप[द] [भिखुहि देवि]²-लेण-[वासीहि*] [निका]येन भदायनियेहि पति[ग]रुह³ ओ]यप[पे]हि (1*) एतम च गामस सामलि-
[पदस भिखुहळ-परिहार]⁴
- 4 वितराम अपा[वे]स अनोमस अ[लो]णखादक अरठसविनविक सवजात-पारिहारिक च (1*) एतेहि न परिहारेहि परिहारेहि (1*) एत च गाम-समलिपद-प[रि]हारे च एथ निवधापेहि सु[[दिमन]-गामस च (1*) सुदिसना[स]⁵ विनिब ध*कारेहि⁶ अणता (1*) महासेनापतिना मेधुनेन ...ना छतो (1*) बटि[का] .. केहि⁷तो⁸ (1*) दता पटिका सव २२ गि पखे .. दिव ७ (1*)..... तकणिना⁹ कटा (1*) गोवधन-वाथवान फा[सुकाये]¹⁰ विणहुपालेन स्वामि-वणन णत (1*) नम भगत-सपति-पतपस जिनवरस बुधस (1*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नवनगरस्वामी (=नवनगरस्थ-नृपः) वासिष्ठीपुत्रः श्रीपुत्रमाविः आज्ञापयति गोवर्द्धने अमात्यं शिवस्कन्दिहं यत्—“अस्माभिः संवत्सरे एकोनविंशे १९ ग्रीष्म-पक्षे [द्वितीये] २ दिवसे त्रयोदशे १३ (=चैत्र-शुक्लपक्षस्य त्रयोदश-दिवसे) धान्यकट-श्रमणेभ्यः यः अन्न पर्वते निरश्मौ [प्रतिवसतां भिक्षूणां] धर्मसेतोः कथनस्य प्रतिसंस्तरणाय (=संस्ताराय=वर्द्धनाय, प्रतिसंस्करणाय ?) दत्तः अक्षयनीवि-हेतोः अन्न गोवर्द्धनाहारे (=गोवर्द्धनाख्य-प्रदेशस्य

1 It is compared with Pāli पटिसंथारो and translated 'repairs' (Bühler) or 'care' (Senart).

2 The upper portions of these letters are lost.

3 Bühler : पटिखय, 'to be administered' (=पटिखेयं from चि, to govern, or पटिखाय from प्रतीच); Senart : प्रतिगृह्यः or प्रतिगृह्यं, 'to be owned'. These interpretations suit भदायनियेहि in the third case-ending.

4 हळ means land that can be annually ploughed by one ploughman and, secondarily, ploughable rent-free land dedicated to monks, gods, etc. Here भिखुहळ means the property of the monks. भिखुहळ occurs also in a Kāle cave inscription. Cf. देवहळ and देवभोगहळ in *Successors of the Sātarāhanas*, pp. 94-95.

5 Others who read सुदसनान here and also in line 2, may be right. The plural number may then refer to the fact that the village had divisions like East Sudisana and West Sudisana.

6 Senart suggests : निवधापेहि सुदिसने ; गामस च सुदसनानं विनि०, etc.

7 Some read ०ती विनिक्कटवासकहि or ०ती पटिका...वासकेहि ; but that is hardly possible. The intended reading is possibly पटिकापालकेहि.

8 Some read इयइता or इयिइता. Probably the reading intended is उपरिखितो.

9 Some restore [सा]तकणिना 10 Some read फासुकायं.

No. 88—Kārlē Cave Inscription of Vāsisthīputra

Pulumavi—Regnal Year 24 (= c. A.D. 154)

KĀRLE, Poona District, Bombay State (Maharashtra)

BURGESS and INDRAJI, *Ins. Cave-Temp. W. Ind.*, pp. 36f., No. 26;
 BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 113; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*,
 VII, p. 71, No. 20; LÜDERS' List, No. 1106 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 सिध (I*) रजो वासिठि-पुतस सिरि-पुळमाविस सवळरे चतुविसे २०(+*)४
हेमंतान पखे ततिये ३ दिवसे वि-
- 2 तिये २ उपासकस हरफरगस सेतफरग-पुत्तस्य सोवसकस्य अबुलामाय वथवस्य इम
देयधम मडपो
- 3 नव-गभ माहासघियानं परिगहो² सघे चातुदिसे दिन मातापितुनं पुजा(ये*) सव-
सतानं हित-सूघ-स्थतये (I*) एक[वि]से³ सं-
- 4 वळरे निठितो सहेत च मे पुन बुधरखितेन मातर चस्य दि⁴ .. उपासिकाय (I*)
बुधरखितस मातु देयधम पिठो⁵ अनो (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य श्रीपुळमावेः संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ हेमन्तस्य पक्षे तृतीये
 ३ दिवसे द्वितीये २ (= पौष-कृष्णपक्षस्य द्वितीय-दिवसे)—उपासकस्य हरपर्णस्य श्वेतपर्ण-पुत्रस्य
 सौवासिकस्य⁶ (- सुवामितद्रव्य-विक्रयिणः ; यद्वा—सुवासाख्यदेश-जातस्य) अम्बुरामायां

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VII. Note the looped त and developed medial u; also words like पुत्तस्य. They are probably due to Satapharapa being a pilgrim from the north.

² Some read परिगह्णे

³ Some read एकतिसे

⁴ Some read मातरखिय

⁵ Some read पाटो or पाटो

⁶ *Sorasaka* of the original has been taken to stand for *Saurarshaka*, another name of the Kāśyāpiya branch of the Sthaviravādins (*I. H. Q.*, XXIV, p. 256). But this does not appear to suit the context. Hirapharapa was a lay Buddhist and not a monk of the Saurarshaka community.

विभागविशेषे) दक्षिणमार्गे (= दक्षिणभागे ; यद्वा—दक्षिणराजपथपादर्वे) [स्थितः] ग्रामः सुदर्शनः, भिक्षुभ्यः देवीलयन-वासिभ्यः (=पुलुमावि-महिषी-लयन० ; यद्वा—गौतमी-लयन०) निकायेन (=सम्प्रदायेन) भद्रायणीयेभ्यः प्रतिगृह्य (=प्रतिग्रहणं कृत्वा) दत्तं [शासनम्] । एतस्य दानग्रामस्य सुदर्शनस्य परिवर्त्तके अत्र गोवर्द्धनाहारे पूर्वमार्गे ग्रामं शात्मलीपद्रं दध्मः [वयम् भद्रायनीयेभ्यः] । एतं तु महार्यकेण (=राज्ञः प्रमातामहेन ?) औदेन (= तदाख्यद्वारा) धर्मसेतोः लयनस्य प्रतिसंस्तरणाय अक्षयनीविहेतुं ग्रामं शात्मलीपद्रं भिक्षुभ्यः देवीलयन-वासिभ्यः निकायेन भद्रायणीयेभ्यः [पूर्वदत्तं ग्रामं] प्रतिगृह्य [एतं नवं दान-ग्रामं] अत्रोपप्रापय । एतस्य च ग्रामस्य शात्मलीपद्रस्य भिक्षुहल-परिहारं वितरामः—अप्रावेश्यम्, अनावमर्श्यम्, अलवगत्वातकम्, अराष्ट्रसांविनयिकं, सर्वजात-पारिहारिकं (=सर्वविषपरिहारवर्गं) च । एतैः एनत् [क्षेत्रं] परिहारैः परिहर । एतं च ग्राम-शात्मलीपद्र-परिहारम् अत्र (=शासने) निबन्धय, सुदर्शनग्रामस्य [परिहारं] च ।¹ सुदर्शनस्य [पूर्वदानस्य] विनिबन्धकारैः (=दान-निबन्धापसारकैः राजपुरुषैः) आज्ञप्तम् ।² महासेनापतिना मैथुनेनन क्षतः (=लिखितः लेखः) । पट्टिका-पालकैः (=पुस्तपालराजपुरुषैः) उपलक्षितः (=परीक्षितः)³ । दत्ता पट्टिका संवत्सरे द्वाविंशे २२ ग्रीष्मपक्षे दिवसे सप्तमे ७ । तकणिना (१) कृता (=उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका) । गोवर्द्धनवास्तव्यानां [दानप्राप्तानां भिक्षूणां] स्पर्हाकाय (=सुखाय) विष्णुपालेन स्वामि-वर्णनं (=राज-शासनं) [राजधानीतः भिक्षूणां समीपे] नीतम् । नमः अभ्युद्गत-संपत्ति-प्रतापाय जिनवराय बुद्धाय ॥⁴

¹ It seems that Sudisana had been granted to the Śramaṇas of Dhānyakāṣa during the temporary absence of the Bhadrāyanīyas, but that no charter was prepared recording the transfer. The difficulty was felt only when the Bhadrāyanīyas came back. Some take अक्षयपेहिं, निबन्धपेहिं, परिहरेहिं as first person singular aorist of causatives with the Prakrit suffix आगयामि (e.g., परिहारायामि=परिहारयामि).

² Cf. *Ājñā* or *Ājñapti* of later South Indian inscriptions, and *Dātaka* of North Indian records, who was possibly entrusted with the execution of the grant made by the charter. In these records the word *ājñapta* refers to an order (verbal or written) to prepare a document. The business of the *Dātaka* seems to have been done in this case by Viṣṇupāla.

³ If महास्वामिक in *supra*, No. 83, may indicate a class of officials, this may also mean 'marked' (cf. लालित of later records which is probably a Prakrit-Sanskrit form of सन्निहित).

⁴ For a number of Kadamba charters ending with similar adorations, see *Suc. Śātaṇḍa*, pp. 266, 271, 276, 278, 297, etc. Smart : 'with a view for the well-being of the inhabitants of Govadhana, Viṣṇupāla proclaims the praise of the Lord : Obeisance to the Being exalted in perfection and majesty, the excellent Jina, the Buddha.' He suggests सम्प्रामि-प्रताप. Bühler : भग(व*)त स०

वास्तव्यस्य अयं देयधर्मः मण्डपः नवगर्भः (—नवापवारकयुक्तः) माहासाङ्घिकानां (= बौद्धाचार्य-विशेषाणां) परिग्रहः, सङ्घाय चातुर्दिशाय (= अखिलदेशवर्तिनं सङ्घम् उद्दिश्य) दत्तः मातापित्रोः पूजायै, सर्व-सत्त्वानां [च] हित-सुख-स्थितये । एकविंशे संवत्सरे निष्ठितः (= समाप्तः) मण्डपः सहितं (= सह) मया च हरपणेन, पुनः बुद्धरक्षितेन, माता च अस्य...उपासिकया । बुद्ध-रक्षितस्य मातुः देयधर्मः पीठः अन्यः (= तस्याः स्वकीयं अपरं निजस्वं दानं पीठः अपि अस्ति) ॥

No. 89—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Yajña Śātakarnī (c. A.D. 174-202)—Regnal Year 7 (=c. A.D. 181)

NĀSIK, Nāsik District, Bombay State (Maharashtra)

On the back wall of the Veranda in Cave No. 20.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJĪ, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, pp. 596f., No. 24; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 114, No. 20; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 94, No. 24; LÜDERS' List, No. 1146 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 सिधं (।*) रणो गोतमि-पुतस सामि-सिरि-यज-सातकणिस् संवद्धरे सातमे ७
हेमताण पखे ततिये ३
- 2 दिवसे पथमे कोसिकस महासे[णा]पतिस² [भ]वगोपस भरिजाय महासेणापतिणिय
वासुय लेण
- 3 बोपकि-यति-सुजमाने अपयवसित-समाने बहुकाणि वरिसाणि उकुते पयवसाण नितो
चातुदि-
- 4 सस च भिल्लु-सघस आवसो³ दतो ति ॥⁴

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

² *Mahāsenāpati* and similar other official designations sometimes indicate feudatory chiefs. This refers to the custom of appointing military officers as governors of provinces. The formation of feminine forms from masculine official titles is interesting.

³ Others read आवसो.

⁴ The full-stop is indicated by a short slightly curved horizontal stroke.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः गौतमो-पुत्रस्य स्वामि-श्रीयज्ञशातकर्णेः संवत्सरे सप्तमे ७ हेमन्तस्य पक्षे तृतीये ३ दिवसे प्रथमे १ (= पौष-कृष्णपक्षस्य प्रथम-दिवसे) कौशिकस्य (= कौशिकसगोत्रस्य) महासेनापतेः भद्रगोपस्य भार्यया महासेनापत्न्या (= महासेनापति-गृहिण्या) वास्वा लयनं बोपकि-यति-सृज्यमानम् अययवपित-समानं (= असमाप्तप्रायं) बहुकानि वर्षाणि अवकृतम् (= बहुवर्षपर्यन्तम् अवहेलितं) पर्यवमानं (= समाप्तिं) नीतं, चातुर्दिशाय च भिक्षुसङ्घाय आवासः (= वासार्थं) दत्तः इति ॥

No. 90—Myākadoni Rock Inscription of Pulumavi (c. A.D. 217-25)¹

—Regnal Year 8 (= c. 225 A.D.)

The inscribed rock lies midway between the villages of Myākadoni and Chinnakadabūru, Bellary District, Mysore State.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 155

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmi

TEXT²

- 1 [सि]ध['] (॥*) रजो सातव[रि]हनानं [सि]रि-पुळमाविस सव ८ हेम २ दिव १
- 2 [मस]³ महासेनाप[ति]स खंद[ना]कस जनपदे⁴ स[रि]तव[रि]हणिहारे⁵
- 3 [गा]मिकस⁶ कुमारदत्तप गामे वेपुरक्के वयवेन गहपतिकेन [को]तानं [संबे]न
- 4 तळाकं खानितं (॥*)

¹ He is different from the earlier Pulumāvi and seems to be the same as Pulomā, the last king of the main line according to the Purāṇas. The base of न is curved and has a loop at the left. The difference between त and न is only in the former's right leg which is curved towards the left; cf. the same difference between त and न in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. For Later Śātavāhana chronology from Gautamiputra to this king, see *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, pp. 161-64.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV.

³ Possibly the word intended is स्वामिस (i. e. of the lord = Śrī-Pulumāvi); cf. Bk. III, No. 71 line 26. Or, the engraver was going to write *mahāsenā*⁴, but left out *hā*, then erased the two *akṣaras* and engraved the word afresh.

⁴ Sukthankar: जनपदे.

⁵ Cf. *सानाहनिरट्ट* of the Hirahadagalli plates below.

⁶ Sukthankar suggests गुमिक (= गौलिमिक); but गामिक is better. The महासेनापति ruled the जनपद, while affairs of the गाम were conducted by the गामिक.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः सातवाहनानां (—सातवाहनकुलजस्यः श्रीपुळुमावेः संवत्सरे अष्टमे] ८
हेम[न्त-यक्षे द्वितीये] २ दिवा[से प्रथमे] १ (—मार्गशीर्ष-शुक्लपक्षस्य प्रथम-दिवसे) —[स्वामिनः
(=राज्ञः पुळुमावेः)] महासेनापतेः स्कन्दागस्य जनपदे सातवाहनीयाहारे ग्रामिकस्य (यद्वा—
गौलिमकस्य) कुमारदत्तस्य ग्रामे वेपुरके वास्तव्येन गृहपतिकेन (=गृहस्थेन) कौन्तानां
(—कौन्तवंशीयेन) साम्बेन (यद्वा—शाम्बेन) नडागः खानितः ॥

B—ORISSA

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ĀRYA-MAHĀMEGHAVĀHANA-
CHEDIS OF KALINGANo. 91—Hāthigumphā Cave Inscription
of Kharavela

UDAYAGIRI Hills, near Bhubaneswar, Puri District, Orissa

FRINSEP, *J. A. S. B.*, VI, pp. 1075-91; CUNNINGHAM, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 27f.; 98-101; 132ff.; R. L. MITRA, *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, pp. 16ff.; Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Actes du Sirieme Congres international des Orientalistes*, Pt. III, Sec. 2, pp. 152-77; BÜHLER, *Indian Studies*, III, p. 13; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 242ff.; 824; LUDERS' List, No. 1345; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, III, pp. 425ff.; IV, pp. 364f.; XIII, pp. 221ff.; XIV, pp. 150ff.; STEN KONOW, *Acta Orientalia*, I, pp. 12ff.; F. W. THOMAS, *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, pp. 83f.; K. P. JAYASWAL and R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 72ff.; B. M. BARUA, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, pp. 261 ff.

Language: Prakrit resembling Pāli

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B. C.¹

¹ Earlier scholars identified Sātakarṇi mentioned in line 4 of this record with the Sātavāhana king of that name in the Nānāghaṭ inscriptions, and placed Kharavela about the middle of the 2nd century B. C. As has been noticed above (p. 190, note 2), the Nānāghaṭ records are later than the middle of the 1st century B. C. The angular forms and straight bases of letters like व, न, प, ह and य, which are usually found in the Hāthigumphā epigraph, suggest a date not much earlier than the beginning of the 1st century A.D. (cf. ह also). On

TEXT¹

- 1 [Śrīvatsa] [Svastika]² नमो अरहंतानं (॥*) नमो सव-सिधानं (॥*) ऐरिण
महाराजेन³ महामेघवाहनेन⁴ चेति-राज-व[.]स-वधनेन पसथ-सुभ-लखनेन⁵
चतुरंतलुठ[ण]-गुण-उपितेन⁶ कलिङ्गाधिपतिना सिरि-खारवेल्लेन
- 2 [पं]द्रस-वसानि सीरि-[कडार]-सरीर-वता कीडिता कुमार-कीडिका (॥*) ततो लेख-
रूप-गणना-ववहार-विधि-विसारदेन सव-विजावदातेन नव-वसानि योवरज [प]सा-
सितं (॥*) संपुंण-चतुर्वीसति-वसो तदानि वधमानसेसयो-वेनाभिविजयो⁷ ततिये
- 3 कलिङ्ग-राज-वसे(स)-पुरिस-युगे महाराजाभिसेचनं⁸ पापुनाति (॥*) अभिसितमतो च
पधमे वसे वात-विहत-गोपुर-पाकार-निवेसनं पटिसंखारयति कलिङ्गनगरि
खिवी[र]⁹ (॥*) सितल-तडाग-पाडियो च बंधापयति सवयान-प[टि]संथपनं च

grounds of palaeography, it is to be placed later probably than the Nānāghāt records and certainly than the Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros. The development of the Kāvya style exhibited by the *ojo-guṇa* of its composition also points to a late date. It is interesting in this connection to note that authorities on Indian art believe that the sculptures of the Mañchapuri cave (in which there is an inscription of Khāravela's queen) 'are considerably posterior to the sculptures of Bhārhut' (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I pp. 639ff). S. K. Chatterji and Przyluski have written on the etymology of the name Khāravela. In an article in the *Vyāsasaṃgrahamu* (a volume of essays in English and Telugu offered to Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti Pantulu), 1933, pp. 71-74, Chatterji suggests that *Khāravela* is derived from Dravidian *kār* or *kar* meaning 'black' or 'terrible' and *vel*, 'lance', the name being a Bahuvrihi compound and meaning 'one having a black or terrible lance (Sanskrit *kṛishṇ-arṣhi*)'. Cf. also the name *Kāṭavela* in the *Mahāraṇṣa* (Geiger's transl., pp. 66, 75). *Khāravela* may also be Sanskrit *kṣhāravela*, 'having salt on the shore (i. e. the ocean)'. For the date of Khāravela, see *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 215-16. Cf. below, p. 216, note 8; p. 217, note 9.

¹ From the facsimile in *J. B. O. R. S.*, III, 1917.

² In the margin near the beginning of lines 2 and 4-5.

³ The title *Mahārāja* is first noticed in India in the numismatic records of the Indo-Greek kings in the first half of the second century B. C. This seems to support the suggestion assigning Khāravela to the first century B. C. See notes on No. 105 below.

⁴ Mahāmeghavāhana is a family name like Sātavāhana. Cf. names like *Meghavāhana* and *Sātavāhana* in the Kashmir chronicle. Some read चेत. चेति=चेदि and चेत=चेद्य. Apparently Khāravela claimed connection with the Chedis mentioned in ancient Indian literature; cf. line 17, *infra*.

⁵ Barua : लखणेन.

⁶ Barua : गुण-उपेनेन ; Jayaswal : लुठितगुणोपहितेन.

⁷ Barua : वधमान-सेसयोवनाभिविजयो.

⁸ Jayaswal : माहा०.

⁹ Jayaswal and Banerji separate खिवीर from कलिङ्गनगरि and read खिवीर-इसि-साल-तडाग.

- 4 कारयति पनसि(ति)साहि सत-सहसेहि पकतियो च रंजयति (॥*) दुतिये च वसे
अचितयिता सातकनि¹ पछिम-दिस हय-गज-नर-रध-बहुलं दंडं पठापयति (॥*)
कन्हवेण²-गताय³ च सेनाय वितामिति⁴ असिकनगरं⁴ (॥*) ततिये पुन वसे
- 5 गंधव-वेद-बुधो दप-नत-गीत-वादित-संदसनाहि उसव-समाज-कारापनाहि च कीडापयति
नगरिं (॥*) तथा चवुथे वसे विजाधराधिवामं⁵ अहतपुवं कलिंग(१)-पुव-राज-
[निवेसितं].....वितध-म[कु]ट⁶..... च निखित-छत(१)-
- 6 भिंगारे [हि]त-रतन-सपतेये सव-रठिक-भोजके पादे बंदापयति (॥*) पंचमे च दानी
वसे नंदराज-तिवसमत-ओ[घा]टितं⁷ तनसुलिय-वाटा पणाडिं नगरं पवेस[य]ति
सो..... (॥*) [अ*]भिसितो च [छठे वसे*] राजसेयं⁸ संदसयंतो सवकर-वण-⁹
- 7 अनुगह-अनेकानि सत-सहसानि विसजति पोर-जानपदं (॥*) सतमं च वसं¹⁰

¹ This king seems to be that Śātakarṇi who ruled shortly after the husband of Nāganikā according to the Purāṇas. Palaeographically the Hāthigumphā inscription is slightly later than the Nānāghāt records. It may be pointed out that the letters of the Sānchī inscription of Śātakarṇi (Plate in *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1917) resemble the script of the present record and may belong to Śātakarṇi II. Of course, if this slight development is overlooked, we may identify both these Śātakarṇis with Śātakarṇi I. But it should be remembered that the big Nānāghāt record was possibly engraved after the death of that king.

² Jayaswal and Banerji : कन्ह°.

³ Jayaswal : वितामितं

⁴ Jayaswal and Banerji : सुसिक°. For the Asika country, see *supra*. No. 86. The chief city of that country thus appears to have been situated on the Kṛishṇā.

⁵ Vijādhara = Vidyādhara seems to be the name of a ruler.

⁶ Barua : मकुटे. The following *aksharas* which are indistinct are read by Jayaswal and Banerji as सविलंठिते and by Barua as सविप्रवजिते.

⁷ Nanda has been taken to be a king of the Nanda dynasty of Pāṭaliputra and the expression *ti-rasa-sata* as either 300 or 103 years. If however a Nanda king is referred to, the passage cannot mean 103 years, as the record has to be placed on palaeographical grounds not about one century but about three centuries after the Nanda kings. *Ti-rasa-sata* seems to indicate '300 years in round number'. The meaning '103 years' which would bring us to c. 223 B. C., even if we count from 326 B. C. when the Nanda dynasty may have been overthrown, is rendered impossible also by the facts that Kāhōga was under Aśoka up to about 232 B. C. and that Khāraṇa was preceded by at least two generations of kings belonging to his own family.

⁸ Jayaswal : राजसुयं which is improbable for a Jain king like Khāraṇa.

⁹ *Vaṇa* here means 'description' as in No. 82, line 6, above.

¹⁰ Barua : सतमे च वसं [अ]स-मतो.

[पसा]सतो वजिरघर.....¹ स मतुक पद.....[कु]म...² (॥*)..... अठमे
च वसे महता सेन[र]गोरधगिरिं

8 घातापयिता राजगर्भं³ उपपीडयति (॥*) एतिन[र] च कंमपदान-स[र]नादेन
.....सेन-वाहने⁴ विपमुचितुं मधुरं अयथातो यवनरा[ज] [डिमित?]⁵
.....यच्छति... पलव

9 कपरुखे हय-गज-रथ-सह यति⁶ सव-घरावास⁷ सव-गर्हणं च
कारयितुं ब्रह्मगानं ज[य]-परिहारं⁸ ददाति (॥*) अरहत...[नवमे च वसे*]...

10⁹ महाविजय-पासादं¹⁰ कारयति अठतिसाय सत-सहसेहि (॥*)
दसमे च वसे दंड-संधी-सा[ममयो](?)¹¹ भरधवस-पठा(?)नं मह[र]जयनं(?)¹²
.....कारापयति¹³ (॥*) [एकादसमे च वसे*]प[र]यातानं च म[र]ति-
रतनानि उपलभते (॥*)

¹ Barua : वजिरघर-खतिय-सत-चटनि-समतक-पदधनं संतिपद... ; Jayaswal : वजिरघर-
खतिय-चरिनि स मतुक-पद-पुंग... The readings are doubtful and the suggestion regarding
Khāravala's wife of the Vajiraghara family is problematical.

² Prinsep and Cunningham : सवत-कहदपन-नरप. All the readings are problematical.
The account of the achievement's of the seventh year is thus doubtful.

³ Prinsep : राजगर्भं उपपीडयति ; Cunningham : राजगर्भं उपपीडयति ; Indraj :
राजगर्भं उपपीडयति which Sten Konow thinks not impossible. Gorathagiri has been
identified with the Barabar Hills. The passage may also suggest that Khāravala defeated
a king named Gorathagiri and plundered his capital Rājagriha. But this seems to be
less likely.

⁴ Prinsep : पञ्चत ; Jayaswal : संवित ; Barua : पञ्चत.

⁵ The reading यवनराज is clear, but दिमित or डिमित is doubtful. Even if the
reading be correct, this दिमित cannot be identified with Demetrios (son of Euthydemus)
who flourished in the first half of the 2nd century B. C. The Indo-Greek ruler mentioned
in the inscription may have had his headquarters at Mathurā.

⁶ Barua : य[ति] ; Indraj : सह-यन ; Jayaswal : सह-यते.

⁷ Prinsep : घरवसप... ; Cunningham : घरवसय-अनतिकगवय ; Indraj : घरवसप... ;
Jayaswal : घरवास-पञ्चिसने अगिणयिया.

⁸ Prinsep : जत ; Jayaswal : जाति परिहार. Note bra in *Brahmanānam*, not much
expected in East Indian records of the second century B.C.

⁹ Barua : वसु विजय [line 9] ने उभय-प्रवि-तटे राजनिवासं ; Jayaswal : मानतिराजसंनिवासं.

¹⁰ Jayaswal : महाविजय.

¹¹ The reading is doubtful. Cunningham read दतिभिसर.

¹² Cunningham : सहयन.

¹³ The record of the tenth year cannot be made out.

- 11पुवं राज-निवेसितं¹ पीथुंडं गदभ-नंगलेन कासयति (I*) जन[प]द-
भावनं च तेरस-वस-सत-कतं² भि[']दति तमिर-दह(?)-संघातं³ (I*) बारसमे च
वसे.....⁴[सह]सेहि वितासयति उत्तरापध-राजानो.....
- 12 म[ा]गधानं च विपुलं भयं जनेतो हथयं गंगाय⁵ पाययति (I*) म[ा]गध['] च
राजानं बहसतिमितं⁶ पादे वंदापयति (I*) नंदराज-नीतं च का[लि]ग-जिनं⁷
संनिवेस.....⁸ अंग-मगध-वसुं च नयति (II*)....
- 13[क]तु['] जठर-[लखि-गोपु]राणि सिंहाराणि निवेसयति सत-विसिकनं [प]रि-
हारेहि (I*) अभुतमछरियं च हथो-निवा[स]⁹ परिहरहथि-रतन-[मानिकं]
पंडराजा[सु]त-मनि-रतनानि आहरापयति इध सत[सहसानि]
- 14सिनो वसीकरोति (I*) तेरसमे च वसे सुपवत-विजय-चके कुमारोपवते
अरहते(हि*) पखिन-सं[सि]तेहि कायनिसीदियाय¹⁰ यापूजावकेहि¹¹ राजभित्तिनि¹²

¹ Jayaswal : मंडं अवरराज-निवेसितं ; Barua : पुवरराज-निवेसितं पिथुडग-दभ नगले नेकासयति, 'caused the grassy overgrowth of Prithūdaka (city), founded by a former king, to be let out in the Lāṅgala [river]'.

² Jayaswal : सतिकं अभि०. We have possibly the round number 1300 and not 113.

³ Inlraji : तमर-देह-संघातं ; Jayaswal : तमिर-देह-संघातं, 'a confederacy of the Tamil countries'.

⁴ Barua suggests निवकानं.

⁵ Jayaswal : हथी सुगंगीय['] पाययति and finds a reference to the Maurya palace सुगंग mentioned in the मुद्राराक्षस.

⁶ The name may be ब्रह्मसतिमित ; but his identification with Pushyamitra on the ground that ब्रह्मसति is the lord of the पुष्य or पुष्या constellation is fantastic. Moreover palaeographically and stylistically this record should be placed more than a century after Pushyamitra Śuṅga. See *supra*, No. 10 and notes. The reference to Aṅga and Magadha suggests that Bahasatimita was the ruler of both the countries.

⁷ Barua : नंदराज-जितं च कलिगजन-संनिवेसं.

⁸ Indrajī : गह-रतन-परिहारेहि ; Jayaswal : ०पडौहारेहि ; Barua : कितव-नय-निपुनेहि.

⁹ Prinsep : हथिन न ; Cunningham : हथि-नवेन ; Barua : हथि-नाव[तं]. Note *abhutam* = *achhariyam* not expected in very early Prakrit records.

¹⁰ Barua : कथ्य = Sanskrit : कथ्य = Pāli कल्ल.

¹¹ Prinsep : यापुह्वकेहि ; Cunningham : यापुजकेहि ; Jayaswal : यापुजवकेहि.

¹² Read ०तिनं.

चिन-वतानि¹ वास[र][सि]तानि² पूजानुरत-उवा[सग-खा]रवेल्सिरिना³ जीवदेह-
[सयि]का⁴ परिखाता⁵ (II*)

15सकत-समण सुविहितानं च सब-दिसानं⁶ ज[नि]नं[१] तपसि-इ[सि]नं⁷
संघियनं अरहतनिसीदिया-समीपे पाभारे⁸ वराकार-समुथापिताहि अनेकयोजना-
हिताहि.....सिलाहि⁹.....¹⁰.....¹¹

16¹²चतरे च वेडुरिय-गभे थंभे पतिठापयति पानतरीय-सत-सहसेहि
(I*) सु[खि]य-कळ¹⁴-वोळिन¹⁵ च चोय[ठि]-अंग¹⁶ संतिक[']¹⁷ तुरियं
उपादयति (I*) खेम-राजा स वढ-राजा¹⁸ स भिखु-राजा धम-राजा पसं[तो] सुनं-
[तो] अनुभव[तो] कलानानि

¹ Read वतानं. Barua correctly connects the word with Pāli विव्रवतानं. Cf. चोणव्रत in the *Mahābhārata*, III, 83, 155; also vide *ibid.*, 84, 92.

² Read वसितानं

³ Barua : पूजाय रत.

⁴ Prinsep : जि...देत ; Cunningham : जिविमक ; Jayaswal : सिरिका. Barua suggests सयिका for सिरिका.

⁵ Prinsep and Cunningham : रिखित Barua suggests पनिखाता.

⁶ Jayaswal : सत.

⁷ Cunningham : सिमपुस ; Barua : [सम]पसि[नं].

⁸ *Prāybhāra* means here 'the slope of a hill'.

⁹ Barua : पकसिसिहि सत[सहसा]हि सिलाहि.

¹⁰ Prinsep : सपप ; Cunningham : भगप ; Jayaswal : सिंहपय ; Barua : सिपज.

¹¹ Prinsep : सपपय-धरसि धनस्य ; Jayaswal : रज्जौ-सिंधुळय निसयानि ; Barua : अभ[नि]वधसयाना[स]नानि.

¹² Prinsep : पठलकी ; Indrajī पटालकी ; Jayaswal : पटलकी.

¹³ Prinsep : ...रिय ; Cunningham : ...य ; Indrajī and Sten Konow : सुरिय ; Barua : [स]खिय. There seems to be no reference to any Maurya-kāla or Maurya era.

¹⁴ Fleet and Indrajī : काल ; Cunningham कल which is supported by Barua.

¹⁵ Barua : वोळिने

¹⁶ Prinsep : च चोयथ अगि ; Cunningham : च चोयठ अगे ; Indrajī : च चोयथ अगे ; Barua : च चोयठ अगे.

¹⁷ Prinsep and Cunningham : सतिक ; Indrajī : सतिकु ; Sten Konow : सतिकं.

¹⁸ Barua : वध०.

- 17 गुण-विसेस-कुसलो सव-पासंड-पूजको सव-देवाय]तन-सकार-कारको अपतिहत-चक-वाहनबलो¹ चकधरो² गुत-चको पवत-चको राजसि-वसू-कुल-विनिश्रितो³ महावि-जयो राजा खारवेल-सिरि (॥*) [Branched tree within railing]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः अर्हद्भ्यः । नमः सर्व-सिद्धेभ्यः¹ । आर्येण² महाराजेन माहामेघवाहनेन चेदि-राजवंश-वर्द्धनेन प्रशस्त-शुभ-लक्षणेन चतुरन्तलुष्ठन-गुणोपेतेन (= सकलभुवनव्यापिगुणगणालङ्कृतेन) कलिङ्गाधिपतिना श्रीखारवेलेन पञ्चदश-वर्षाणि श्रीकडार-शरीरवता (= श्रीमत्पिङ्गलदेह-भाजा) क्रीडिता कुमार-क्रीडिका (= बालक्रीडा) । ततः लेख-रूप-गणना-व्यवहार-विधि-विशारदेन (= लेखनविद्यायां मुद्रापरिचये गणिते विवाद-भोमांसा-विद्यायां प्रवर्त्तना-निवर्त्तनात्मकशास्त्रेषु च निष्णातेन), सर्वविद्यावदातेन नव-वर्षाणि यौवराज्यं (= युवराजत्वेन) प्रशिष्टम् (= शासितम्) । सम्पूर्ण-चतुर्विंशतिवर्षः तदानीं वर्द्धमानाशैशव-वैभ्याभिविजयः (= वेणतनयस्य राजर्षेः पृथोः इव यस्य जयश्रीः शिशोः कालात् अभृति प्रचीयमाना आसीत् सः) तृतीये कलिङ्गराज-वंश-पुरुषयुगे (= कलिङ्गराजाव्यस्य तृतीयपुरुषे) महाराजाभिषेचनं प्राप्नोति (= प्राप्नोत्) ॥ अभिषिक्तवान् (= अभिषेकवान् = अभिषिक्तः, च प्रथमे वर्षे वात-विहत-गोपुर-प्राकार-निवेशनं प्रतिसंस्कारयति (= प्रतिसमकारयत्) कलिङ्गनगरीं खित्रीरम्, शीतलतडाग-पालयः (= उपारान्) च बन्धयति (= अबन्धयत्); सर्वोद्यान-प्रतिसंस्थापनं च कारयति (= अकारयत्); पञ्चविंशता शतसहस्रैः [मुद्राणां = कार्यापणानां ?] प्रकृतीः च रञ्जयति (= अरञ्जयत्) ॥ द्वितीये च वर्षे अविन्त्यित्वा (= अगणयित्वा) शातकर्णिं पश्चिमदिशं हय-गज-नर-रथ-बहुलं दण्डं (= सेनदलं) प्रस्थापयति (= प्रास्थापयत्); कृष्णवेषवा-गतया (= कृष्णानदीतीरगतया) च सेनया विव्वासयति ऋषिकनगरम् ॥ तृतीये पुनः वर्षे गन्धर्व-वेद-बुधः [खारवेलः] दर्पनृत्यगीतवादित्र-सन्दर्शनैः³ उत्सव-समाज-कारणाभिः

¹ Jayaswal : चकि.

² Jayaswal : चकधुर०.

³ Barua : राजसि-दंस-कुल. Cunningham : विनिगत. Here is a reference to Khāravēla's claim to have descended from the ancient Chedi king Uparichara Vasu.

⁴ For an *arhat*, see *supra*, p. 120, note 2. The Jain saints are sometimes called Buddha, Kevalin, Siddha, Tatāgata and Arhat. Khāravēla was a Jain by faith.

⁵ This seems to be associated with the name of the family. *Aira* (= *Ārya*) is found also in *infra*, No. 93. It is tempting to connect it with *Āla* = belonging to the lunar dynasty; but that is problematical. For *ariya* = *ay.ra* = *aira*, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, p. 84. Cf. the Velpuru inscription of Aira Mānasada ruling over the Guntur region in the second century A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 82ff.).

⁶ दप = दर्प-क्रीडा = मल्लयुद्ध-विशेषः (चर्चशास्त्र, II, 3, 58); or = दक्कम् or ccmics (*Mahāniddesa*, p. 379).

च क्रीडयति (= अक्रीडयत्) नगरीम् (= राजधानीम्) ॥ तथा चतुर्थे वर्षे विद्याधरा-
 धिवासम् अहत-पूर्वं कलिङ्ग-पूर्वराज-निवेशितं... वितथमुकुट.... च निक्षिप्तच्छत्रभृङ्गारं
 हतरत्नसम्पत्तिकं सर्व-राष्ट्रिक-भोजकं¹ पादौ वन्दयति ॥ पञ्चमे व इदानीं वर्षे नन्दराज-
 त्रिवर्षशतोद्घाटितां (= विशतवर्षीं) तन-सुलिया = तृण-सूर्य ? -वर्त्मनः प्रणालीं नगरं
 (= राजधानीं) प्रवेशयति..... ॥ अभिषिक्तः च षष्ठे वर्षे राजैश्वर्यं सन्दर्शयन् सर्वाकारवर्णानु-
 ग्रहानेकानि शतसहस्राणि [सुद्राणां] विस्मृजति पौर-जानपदम् [उद्दिश्य] ॥ सप्तमं च वर्षं
 प्रशासत् ॥ अष्टमे च वर्षे महता सेना... गोरथ-गिरिं घातयित्वा (= धर्षणानन्तरं)
 राजगृहम् उपपीडयति (= उपापीडयत्); एतेन कर्मापदान-संनानेन (= दुष्करकर्मसम्पादन-
 शब्देन)... सेनावाहनं विप्रमोक्तं [भयात्] मधुरां (= मथुराम् अपयातः (= पलायितः) यवनराजः
 डिमितः ?).... यच्छति पल्लव... कल्प-वृक्षः हय-गज-रथैः सह याति [खारवेलः] सर्व-गृहावास
 सर्वग्रहणं च कारयितुं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः जय-परिहारं ददाति (= अददात्) । [नवमे च
 वर्षे] [राज-सन्निवासं] महाविजय-प्रासादं कारयति अष्टविंशता शतसहस्रैः
 [सुद्राणाम्] ॥ दशमे च वर्षे दण्ड-सन्धि-साम-मयः [खारवेलः] भारतवर्ष-प्रस्थानां.... कारयति
 (= अकारयत्) । एकादशे च वर्षे... अपयातानां (= पलायितशत्रूणां) च मणिरत्नानि उपलभते
 (= उपालभत) । ... पूर्वं राजनिवेशितं (= कस्यचित् राज्ञः राजधानीं) पीथुषडं² गर्ह-भ-लाङ्गलेन
 कर्षयति (= अकर्षयत्); जनपदभावनं च त्रयोदशवर्षशतकृतं (= वर्ष-त्रयोदशशत-कृतं)
 भिनत्ति (= अभिनत्) तिमिर-हृद-सङ्घातं [यद्वा - तिमिरदेश-सङ्घातम् ?] । द्वादशे च
 वर्षे..... सहस्रैः विलासयति उत्तरापथ-राजान्... मागधानां च विपुलं भयं जनयन् हस्त्यश्वं
 गङ्गायां पाययति; मागधं च राजानं बृहस्पतिमित्रं पादौ वन्दयति; नन्दराज-नीतं च
 कलिङ्ग-जिनं सन्निवेश..... अङ्ग-मगध-वसुं च नयति; कर्तुं जठर-लक्ष्मी-
 गोपुराणि (= दृढसुन्दरतोरणसमन्वितानि) शिखराणि निवेशयति [सुद्राणां] शत-विंशकानां
 परिहारैः; अद्भुतम् आश्चर्यं च हस्तिनिवासं (= वस्त्रसज्जां) प्रतिहरति ... हयहस्तिरत्न-
 माणिक्यं; पाण्डुराजात्... मुक्ता-मणि-रत्नानि आहारयति इह शतसहस्राणि ... वासिनः वशी-
 करोति । त्रयोदशे च वर्षे सुप्रवृत्त-विजयचक्रे (= सुप्रतिष्ठितविजयान्वित-शासन-समृद्धे)
 कुमारीपर्वते (Udayagiri-Khandagiri Hills) अर्हद्भ्यः प्रक्षीण-संश्रितेभ्यः (= क्षीणाश्रयेभ्यः)
 काय-निषद्यायै (= वर्षासु विश्राम-लाभाय) यापोद्यापकेभ्यः राजभृतानां चीर्णव्रतानां

¹ Literally, राष्ट्रिक = provincial governor and भोजक = jāgirdār. For the Rāṭhika and Bhojaka tribes of Western India, see *supra*, pp. 22, 36.

² Or पृथुदं. This may have been the original of Ptolemy's *Pitundra*.

³ Rājagṛīha (Rājgir), ancient capital of Magadha (South Bihār). Bhāratavarsha = India. Uttarāpatha = N. W. India. Aṅga = East Bihār. Pitundra—near Masulipatam (*Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 48f.). Note the retaliation of the conquest of Kāliṅga by Nanda and Aśoka. The Present Tense in the verbs may be changed to Past Tense.

(= राजपुष्टानां व्रताचरकाणां) वर्षाश्रितानां पूजानुरक्तोपासक-खारवेळश्रिया जीवदेहाश्रयिकाः
(= आश्रयगुहाः) परिखानिताः । ..सकृतश्रमणः [खारवेळः] सुविहितानां च सर्वदिशानां
ज्ञानिनां तपस्वृषीणां संज्ञीयानाम् अर्हन्निपद्या-समीपे प्राग्भारे (= पर्वतपृष्ठे) वराकार-
समुत्थापिताभिः अनेकयोजनाहृताभिः...शिलाभिः चत्तरे च वैदूर्यगर्भं स्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठापयति
पञ्चोत्तरशत-सहस्रैः [सुद्राणां]; मुख्यकलावच्छिन्नं (= गीतनृत्यादिसमन्वितं) चतुःषष्ठपङ्कं
(= चतुःषष्टिप्रकारवाद्यविशिष्टं) शान्तिकं तौर्यं (= रगरहितकालोपयोगितौर्यविक्रमम्) उत्पादयति ।
क्षेमराजः सः वृद्धराजः (= उच्चत०) सः भिक्षुराजः धर्मराजः पश्यन् शृण्वन् अनुभवन्
कल्याणानि.. गुणविशेष-कुशलः सर्वपार्षद-पूजकः¹ सर्वदेवायतन-संस्कार-कारकः अप्रतिहृत-
चक्रवाहिनीबलः (= अपराजयेन राज्येन सैन्यबलेन च सनाथः) चक्रधरः (= धृतराजचक्रः,
सुशासितचक्रः) गुप्त-चक्रः (= सुरक्षितराजमण्डलः) प्रवृत्त-चक्रः (= अप्रतिहृतशासनः) राजर्षि-
वसु-कुल-विनिःसृतः (= चेदिराजोपरिचरवसु०) महाविजयः² राजा खारवेळश्रीः (= श्रीमान्
खारवेळः) ॥

No. 92—Manchapuri³ Cave Inscription of the Chief Queen of Kharavela

UDAY GIRI Hills, Puri District, Orissa

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Actes du 6me Congres Or. à Leide*, Part III, Sec. ii, pp. 152 ff.; R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 159; B. M. BARUA, *Old Brāhmī Ins.*, pp. 55f.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, p. 159; LÜDERS' List, No. 1346 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the first century B.C.

TEXT

1 अरहंत-पसादाय¹ कलिंगा[न] [सम]नानं लेनं कारितं (।*) राजिनो ललाक[स]

¹ *Pāshaṇḍa* = *pārshada* in the sense of a religious sect is found in Aśoka's inscriptions. See *supra*, Bk. I, Nos. 12, 17, 30, etc.

² The name of his palace in line 10 possibly suggests that Mahāvijaya was Khāravela's *viruda*.

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII. The inscription is in the upper story (also called Svargapuri) of the cave.

⁴ य was read by Indrajī as न. Some scholars read पसादानं.

- 2 हथि[सि]हस¹ पपोतस धु[तु]ना(या) कलिङ्ग-च[कवतिनो सिरि-खार*]वेलस
 3 अगमहिसि[य]। [कारितं] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अर्हत्-प्रसादाय (= अर्हताम् अनुग्रह-लाभाय) कलिङ्गेभ्यः (= कलिङ्ग-देशीयेभ्यः)
 श्रमणेभ्यः (= जैनभिक्षुभ्यः [-तेषां वासार्थं]) लयनं कारितम् । राज्ञः लाळार्कस्य (= लळार्क-
 पुत्रस्य ; यद्वा—लळार्क-वंशीयस्य) हस्तिसिंहस्य प्रपौत्रस्य दुहिता कलिङ्ग-चक्रवर्तिनः
 (= कलिङ्गाधिराजस्य) श्रीखारवेलेस्य अग्रमहिष्या [लयनं] कारितम् ।

No. 93—Mañchapuri Cave Inscription of Vakradeva² (?)

UDAYAGIRI Hills, Puri District, Orissa

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Actes du 6me Congres Or. à Leide*, III, iii, pp. 152ff.; R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 160; BARUA, *Old Brāhmī Ins.*, pp. 63f.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, p. 160; LÜDERS' List, No. 1347 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B C.

TEXT¹

- 1 ऐरस⁴ महाराजस कलि[']गाधिपतिनो माहा[मेघ]वाह[नस] [व?]कदेप-सीरीनो
 लेण ['] (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

आर्यस्य महाराजस्य कलिङ्गाधिपतेः माहामेघवाहनस्य वक्रदेवश्रियः (= श्रीमता वक्रदेवेन
 कारितं) लयनम् ॥

¹ Indrajī: ०साहानं ; Banerji: साहस.

² The king's name is sometimes read Kūḍepa or Kadāmpa. He may have been a successor of Khāravela. Another record in the cave refers to a Kumāra called Vaḍukha (Lüders' List, No 1348).

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII.

⁴ Some read: वेरस ; Banerji: खरस. The use of the same word in line 1 of *supra*, No. 91, suggests that it is connected with the name of the family. Cf. above, p. 219, note 5.

C—MADHYA PRADESH

No. 93A—Gunji Rock Inscription of
Kumaraviradatta—Regnal Years 5 and 6.

GUNJI, near the Sakti Railway Station, Raigarh District, Madhya Pradesh.

V. V. MIRASHI, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 49ff.; D. C. SIRCAR, *J.A.S.*, Letters, XIX, pp. 59-61.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the first century A.D.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिध (॥*) नमो भगवतो (॥*) रुं(रं)ओ कुमारवीरदत्त²-सिरिस संवहरे पचमे हेमत-पखे चतुथे ४ दिवसे [पंचद*]से १०(+*)^५ भगवतो उसुभ-तिथे अमचस पोठधिय [प*]पो[तस]^३
- 2 गोडछस णतुकेग अमतस^४ मतजु(जानपालित[स] पु[ते]न अमचेन दंडनायकेन बळाधिकतेन वासिठीपुतेन पोठदतेन^५ दत्तं वस-सहसायु-वधनिके
- 3 [ब]म्हनाणं गोसहसं १००० (१*) संवहरे [छ]ठे ६ गिम्ह-पखे छे ६ दिव[से १०] ब्रितियं गोसहसं दत्तं १००० (१*) एतस ये व भाव[टा]^६ अमचेन दंडनायकेन दानि[स नति]केन^७
- 4 ** [स पुते*]न ह्ददवे(ते?)न दत्ता^८ बह्मनानं गोसहसाय^९ (॥*)

1 From impressions and the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII.

2 Mirashi: कुमारवरदत्त०.

3 Mirashi: पठविय ध[सेन].

4 Mirashi: अमभ(च)स.

5 Mirashi: बोधदतेन.

6 Mirashi: विभावना, 'in view of [this gift].

7 Mirashi: दिनिक्क-नमि(ति)केन.

8 Mirashi: दहं.

9 Mirashi: गोसहसं य.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते ॥ राज्ञः कुमारवीरदत्तश्रियः (= श्रीकुमारवीरदत्तस्य)¹
 संवत्सरे पञ्चमे हेमन्तपक्षे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे पञ्चदशे १५ (= पौष-पौर्णमास्यां) भगवतः ऋषभतीर्थे²
 अमात्यस्य प्रौष्ठधियः प्रपौत्रस्य गोडछस्य नसृकेण अमात्यस्य मातृजनपालितस्य पुत्रेण अमात्येन
 दण्डनायकेन बलाधिकृतेन³ वासिष्ठीपुत्रेण प्रौष्ठदत्तेन दत्तं वर्ष-सहस्रायुर्वर्द्धनिकं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः
 गोसहस्रम् १००० । संवत्सरे षष्ठे ६ ग्रीष्म-पक्षे षष्ठे ६ दिवसे [दशमे] १० (= ज्येष्ठ-शुक्ल-
 दशम्यां) द्वितीयं गोसहस्रं दत्तम् १००० । एतस्य (= प्रौष्ठदत्त-प्रदत्त-द्वितीय-गोसहस्रस्य)
 ये एव भावादाः⁴ (= वस्त्राच्छादनाद्याः) [ते] अमात्येन दण्डनायकेन दानिनः नसृकेण ** स्य
 पुत्रेण इन्द्रदेवेन (यद्वा—इन्द्रदत्तेन) दत्ताः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः गोसहस्राय ॥

D—ANDHRA PRADESH

(a) Records from Bhattiprolu

No. 94-97—Bhattiprolu Casket Inscriptions of the time of Kuberaka

BHATTIPROLU Stūpa, Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh

G. BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 323 ff.; LÜBERS' List, Nos. 1329-39
 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the 2nd century B.C.⁵

¹ Cf. the name *Virapurushadatta*, literally 'one given away to Virapurusha (i. e., Viranārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu). Kumāravīra is the god Skanda-Kārttikeya.

² The holy place called Rishabhā-tīrtha is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Critical ed., III, 83, 10).

³ Both *Danḍanāyaka* and *Balādhyakṛita* mean 'a leader of forces'. The distinction is difficult to determine, though *Danḍanāyaka* may have really been the designation of a military governor.

⁴ The word means 'decorations', etc.

⁵ Bühler says, "If one.....places on the one side the alphabets of the Aśoka Edicts and on the other those of the Nānāghāt, Hāthīgumphā and Bhārhut-Torāṇa inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B. C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhattiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, may mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B. C., but

TEXT¹

Casket No. 1

On the rim of the lower stone

A. कुर-पितुनो च कुर-मा[तु] च कुरष सिव[ष] च मजुसं पणति फाल्गि-षमुगं च
बुध-सरिराणं निखेतु (॥*)

B. बनव-पुतष कुरष पपीतुकष मजुष (॥*)

C. उत्तरो पिगह-पुतो काणीठो (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

A. कुर-पितुः च कुर-मातुः च कुरस्य शिवस्य च मञ्जूषा (= पाषाण-पिटकः) प्रणीतिः
(= प्रणीता = उत्सृष्टा, यद्वा (— निर्मिता), स्फटिक-समुद्रः च बुद्ध-शरीराणि (= देहावशेषान्)
निक्षेप्तुम् ॥ B. बनव-पुत्रस्य कुरस्य सपितृकस्य मञ्जूषा ॥ C. [शिल्पी] उत्तरः
विग्रह-पुत्रः कनिष्ठः ॥

may be somewhat earlier" (*op. cit.*, p. 325). According to him, क, ख, क्, ज, ट, ठ, ण, त, थ, ध, न, प, फ, ब, य, र, व, स and ह agree exactly with those of the southern variety of the Maurya alphabet. But in some cases, the belly of व is vertically elongated and its neck is very short. ग has both the angular form and that with rounded top; च has the vertical a little prolonged downwards; ङ has slanting strokes instead of straight ones; द is open to the right; and भ is written upside down. ञ is expressed by the sign for ग with a curve to the right; ज has the angular form without the central horizontal bar; स is turned topsy-turvy; ल has a long slanting line to the right of the vertical stroke; ष looks like क; ऌ looks like प with a short horizontal bar to the right of the vertical stroke; the sign of medial *a* is marked by an 'ordinary medial *ā*'-like horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant (except when an *anusvāra* follows); medial *ā* is shown by a horizontal stroke with a vertical hanging from its end. Some letters are turned to left or right and some downwards. This is apparently due to the carelessness of the scribe or the engraver. Forms of व, ङ, ज and medial *ā* suggest that the records are not much earlier than 100 B. C. The diacritically marked *p*, representing *ḷ*, may really be *l* turned towards the right. Cf. *l* with a diacritical mark added to the right, used to indicate *ḷ*, in other Brāhmī inscriptions from the South (*Ancient India*, No. 2, p. 110).

¹ From facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II. The transcript of No. 4 is prepared from Bühler's eye-copy.

TEXT

Casket No. 2

On the centre of the lid

- A. (Centre) 1 गोठि
 2 हिरण्वधवा
 3 [वु]गाळको काळहो
 4 विसको थोरसिसि
 5 समणो ओदलो
 6 अपक[ठो?] समुदो
 7 अनुग[हो] कुरो
 8 सतुघो जेतको [जे]तो आळिनक
 9 वरुणो पिग[ल]को कोषको
 10 सुतो पापो कभेर[खो] [गाळे]को
 11 समन[दा]षो भरदो
 (Left) 12 ओडाळो ? थोरतिसो तिसो
 13 गीलाणो जंभो
 (Right) 14 पुडर[?] [आ]बो
 15 गालव त * * जनको
 16 गोसालकानं कूरो
 17 उपोषथ-पुतो उत्तरो
 18 कारह-पुतो (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

गोष्ठी—हिरण्यव्याघ्रपात्, उद्गारकः, कालहः, विश्वकः, स्थौलशीर्षी, श्रमणः, औदलः, अपकृष्टः, समुद्रः, अनुग्रहः, कुरः, शत्रुघ्नः, जयन्तकः, जयन्तः, आलीणकः, वरुणः, पिङ्गलकः, कोषकः (कौशिकः ?), श्रुतः, पापः, कुम्भीरकः (?), गालेकः, श्रमणदासः, भरतः, औदलः (औदारः ?), स्थौलतिष्यः, तिष्यः, ग्लानः, जम्भः, पुडरः, आम्रः, गालवः, त... , जनकः गोशाल-कानां (= गोशालक-वंशजः), कूरः उपोसथ-पुत्रः, उत्तरः कारह-पुत्रः [च इति एतेषां जनानाम्] ॥

B. On the rim, to the left

सम[णदा]ष[तो हित] * * * बुधष सरिरानि महियानु(नि) [षं]माष (॥*)

(=श्रमणदासतः [संगृह्य] हितानि (=निहितानि ?) बुद्धस्य शरीराणि महानि
-पूज्यानि) शर्मणे [सर्वसत्त्वानाम्] ।

C. On the outer rim, to the right

1 गोठि-समनो कुबो (।*)

2 हिरण्यकार गामणी-पुतो बूबो (।*)

(-गोष्ठी-श्रमणः कुम्भः । हिरण्यकारः (=स्वर्णकारः) गामणी-पुतः बूबः ।)

D. On the rim of the lower stone.

ष गठि निगम-पुतानं राजपामुखा (।*) पारिरष पुतो खुबिरको राजा षीहगोठिया
पामुखो (।*) तेष' अंनं म[ज्जूष'] फालिग-षमुगो च पाषाण-षमुगो च ॥

(=सा गोष्ठी निगम-पुत्राणां राज-प्रमुखा । शरीरस्य पुतः राजा कुबेरकः सिंह-
गोष्ठ्याः प्रमुखः (=प्रधानः) । तेषां (=सिंहगोष्ठीय-जनानां) अन्या मंजूषा, स्फटिक-समुद्रः च
पाषाण-समुद्रः च ॥)

E. On the rim of the lower stone outside D

समणो चघज-पुतो उत्तरो आरामु तर-[पू]त (।*)

(=श्रमणः जघन्य-पुतः उत्तरः, आरामः तर-पुतः ।)

Casket No. 3

A. On the upper stone

1 नेगमा

2 वडो चघो

3 जेतो जंभो तिसो

4 रेतो अचिनो षभिको

5 अखघो केळो केसो माहो

6 सेटो छदिको[घ] खबूलो

7 सोणुतरो समणो

8 समणदाषो सामको

9 कामुको चीतको (॥*)

(-नेगमाः-वत्सः, चङ्गः, जयन्तः, जम्भः, तिष्यः, रैवतः, अचीर्णः, सभिकः, अक्षप्लः,
केलः, केशः, माघः, श्रेष्ठः, छर्दिकोघः, खबूलः, सुवर्णोत्तरः, श्रमणः, श्रमणदासः,
इयामकः, कामुकः, चित्तकः [च इति ॥])

B. On the rim of the lower stone

अरहदिनानं गोठिया मज्जस च पमुगो च (I*) तेन कम येन कुबिरको राजा
अं [कि] (II*) (= अहं हत्तानां गोष्ठ्याः मज्जुषा च पमुदः च । तेन [इदं] कर्म [कृतं], येन
कुबेरकः राजा आङ्घ्रि [— अङ्घ्रितः = राज्ञः कुबेरकस्य प्रतिमा अङ्घ्रिता ।]

No. 4

On a hexagonal piece of crystal found inside one of the boxes

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 मातृगामस्य [नं] दपुराहि | 2 सुवर्णमाहा |
| 3 शमनुदेशानं च | 4 गिलानकेरस अयसक- |
| 5 [स गो ?] ठिय | 6 गोहिया अङ्ग दानं (II*) |

(मातृग्रामस्य [= स्त्रीसंघस्य] नन्दपुरात्, सुवर्णमाघात् श्रमगोद्देशानां (?) च, ग्लानकार्यस्य
आयसक-गोष्ठ्याः [च] गोहिका [= गृहं, गुहा] अत्यग्र-दानम् ।)

(b) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IKSHVĀKUS OF THE KRISHNA-GUNTUR REGION

Nos. 98-100—Nāgarjunikōṇḍa Inscriptions of

Virāpurushadatta¹—Regnal year 6

Remains of a Stūpa in the valley of the NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA Hills,

Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh.

J. Ph. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 16, 19f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Southern Brāhmī of the second half of the 3rd century A.D.

No. 1

TEXT²

1 सिधं (II*) नमो भगवतो³ देवराज-सकवस सुपबुध-त्रोधिनी सर्वजुनो

¹ Bühler suggested that Purushadatta is the king's name and *vira* is only an epithet. But here the epithet seems to form a part of the name.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Ayaka pillar inscription No. C 9).

³ According to Buddhist works, the qualifications of a *bhagavā* are *issariya* (*animā*, etc.), *dharmā* (transcendental virtues), *yasa* (pure fame of universal recognition), *siri* (all-round accomplishment), *kāma* (all objects of desire) and *payatana* (supreme effort to gain sovereignty over all). See also *supra*, p. 91, note 2.

- 2 सब-सतानुकंपकस जित-राग-दोस-मोह-विषमुत्तस महागणि-वसभ-
- 3 [गं]धहधिस संमसं¹[बुध]स धातुवर-परिगहितस (।*) महाचेतिये² महाराजस
- 4 विरूपखपति-महासेन-परिगहितस³ हिरण⁴-कोटि-गोसतसहस-हलस-
- 5 तसह[स]-दायिस सवथेसु अपतिहत-संकपस वासिठि-पुत्तस इरुवाकुस
- 6 सिरि-चातमूलस⁵ सोदरा भगिनि रंजो मादरी-पुत्तस सिरि-विरपुरिसदत्तस
- 7 पितुछा महासेनापतिस महातलवरस⁶ वासिघो-पुत्तस⁷ पूकीयानं कंदसिरि[स]⁸
- 8 भरिया समण-वमण⁹-कवण-वनिजक-दीनानुगह-वेळामिक¹⁰-दान-पटिभागवो-
- 9 छिन-धार-पदायिनि सब-साधु-वच्छा महादानपतिनि महातलवरि खंदसागरनक-माता
- 10 च[र]तिसिरि¹¹ अपनो उभयकुलस अतिछितमनागतवटमानकानं¹² परिनामेतुनं¹³

¹ Some of the Nāgārjunikonḍa records read इमंस्ति or इमंस्ति before महाचेतिये.

² Some records read अग्निहोताग्निदोम-वाजपेयामसंधयाजिस after परिगहितस. Aśvamedha is usually seen to have been performed by kings to celebrate their victory over other kings, especially the former overlords of their families. Śāntamūla apparently ousted the Śātavāhanas from their suzerainty over the Kṛṣṇa-Guṇṭūr region.

³ Some records read हिरण.

⁴ Some records read चांतमूलस. For the change of श into च, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 17, note 1.

⁵ In Vinayavijaya's *Subodhikā*, commentary on the *Kaṭhasūtra* (N. S. P. ed., leaf 60, lines 6-7), *talavara* is explained as तुष्ट-भूपाल-प्रदत्त-पट्टवन्ध-विभूषित-राजस्थानीय, i.e. a feudatory ruler, while its modification *talāra* is used in Harishcandra's *Bṛhatkathākośa* (931-32 A.D.) in the sense of an administrator of a city or the prefect of the city police (*J.U.P.H.S.*, XIX, Pts. 1-2, pp. 79-83).

⁶ Some records have वासिठी-पुत्तस which is the correct expression.

⁷ Some records have खंदसिरि.

⁸ Better read वन्धुण.

⁹ One record has वेळामिक and two others वेळामि. Velāma was a person celebrated for charity in Buddhist mythology (*Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 228; *Vibhangaṭṭhakathā*, p. 114, *Anguttara N.*, IV, 394f; *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 33); cf. reference to Karna in later records. The Brāhmaṇa Velāma was a priest of king Brahmadatta of Banāras. He spent the great wealth inherited from his father in continuous charity for seven years and seven months (cf. I. C. Ghosh, *Jātaka*, I, p. 86, no. 2). For the *velāma-jātaka*, see *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLIV, 2, 1959, pp. 609 ff.

¹⁰ Some records have चांतिसिरि.

¹¹ Some records read वटमानकं.

¹² Some records have परिनामेतुन.

- 11 उभय-लोक-हित-सुखावहयनाय¹ च अतनो च निवाण-संपत्ति-संपादके
 12 सव-लोक-हित-सुखावहयनाय च इमं खंभं पत्तिपत्तिं ति (।*)
 13 रंजो सिरि-वीरपुरिसदत्तस सव ६ वा प ६ दि १०² (।।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराजसत्कृताय सुप्रबुद्धबोधये सर्वज्ञाय सर्वसत्त्वानुक्रम्यकाय
 जितरागदोषमोह (= ०आसक्तिवृणाज्ञान०) - विप्रमुक्ताय महागणि - वृषभगन्धहस्तिने
 (= बहुसङ्ख्यकशिष्य-महाचार्येषु प्रधानः) सम्यक्संबुद्धाय धातुवर-परिगृहीताय (= निर्वाण-
 प्राप्ताय) । [अस्मिन्] महाचैत्ये महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य³ हिरण्यकोटि-
 गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-दायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-संकल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः
 (= इक्ष्वाकु-वंशीयस्य) श्रीशान्तमूलस्य सोदरा भगिनी, राज्ञः माठरी-पुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य
 पितृष्वसा, महासेनापतेः महातलवरस्य (= राजप्रदत्तपट्टवन्धूभूषित-राजस्थानीयस्य) वासिष्ठी-
 पुत्रस्य पूकीयानां (= पूकीय-वंशजस्य) स्कन्दश्रियः भार्या, श्रमण-ब्राह्मण-कृपण (= कृपाहं)-
 वणिजक (= दुर्गत)-दीनानुग्रह-वैलामिक = वेलामाण्य-दानशौण्ड-सम्बन्धि-दान-प्रतिभागानव-
 च्छिन्न (= दान-विसर्जनस्य निरवच्छिन्न०)-धारा-प्रदायिनी सर्वसाधुवत्सला महादानपत्नी
 (= महादानपत्युपाधिकस्य पत्नी) महातलवरी (= महातलवर-पत्नी) स्कन्दसागर-माता⁴
 शान्तिश्रीः आत्मनः उभयकुलस्य (= माता-पितृ-कुलस्य ; यद्वा—स्वामि-पितृ-कुलस्य) अत्याच्छिन्ता-
 नागतवर्त्तमानकानि (= अतीत०) [कल्याणानि] परिणमस्य (= उद्दिश्य) उभयलोक-हित-सुखा-
 वाहार्थनाय (०सुखानयनं प्रार्थयितुं) आत्मनः च निर्वाण-सम्प्राप्ति-सम्पादक⁵ सर्वलोक-हित-
 सुखावाहार्थनाय च इमं स्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठापित[वती] इति । राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे षष्ठ
 ६ वर्षापक्षे षष्ठे ६ दिवसे दशमे १० (= आश्विन-शुक्ल-पक्षस्य दशम-दिवसे) ॥

No. 2

TEXT⁶

- 1 सिधं (।।*) नमो भगवतो देवराज-सक्तस सुप्रबुद्ध-बोधिनी सर्वज्ञानो सवस्त[ानु*]-

¹ Some records have ०सुखनिवाणयनाय.

² वा प ६ is written under the line.

³ Virūpāksha is supposed to have been the *gana* of which Skanda was the leader. The Kadambas of Banavās and, imitating them, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi also claimed to have been protected by Mahāseṇa.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 192, note 2.

⁵ According to Childers (*Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *Nibbāṇa*), the expression निष्ठाण-सम्पत्ति in the *Khuddakapāṭha* means 'the enjoyment of Arhatship'.

⁶ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Āyaka-pillar inscription No. B 5).

- 2 कंफकस जित-राग-दोष-मोह-विप्रमुक्तस महागणि-वसभ-गंधहृदिस¹
- 3 संमसंबुधस धातुवर-परिगहितस (I*) महाचेतिये उज्जिनिका-महार-बालिका²
- 4 महादेवि रुद्रधरभट्टारिका इमं सेल-खंभं अपनो हित-सुख-निवाणधनाय³
पतिष्ठपितं (I*)
- 5 महातलवरिहि च पूकियानं चांतिसिरिणिकाहि इमस महाविहारस महाचेतियं
- 6 समुथपियमाने महातलवरीय उभयिता दिनारि-मासका⁴ सतरि-सतं १०० (+*) ७०
खंभो च (I*)
- 7 रंजो सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस संव ६ वा प ६ दिव १० (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराज-सत्कृताय सुप्रबुद्धबोधये सर्वज्ञाय सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पकाय
जित-राग-दोष-मोह-विप्रमुक्ताय महागणि-वृषभ-गन्धहस्तिने सम्यक्संबुद्धाय धातुवरपरि-
गृहीताय । [अस्मिन्] महाचेत्ये उज्जयिनिका-महाराज-बालिका (—उज्जयिन्याः शकराज-कन्या)
महादेवी (=वीरपुरुषदत्त-महिषी) रुद्रधरभट्टारिका इमं शैल-स्तम्भम् आत्मनः हित-सुख-निर्वाण-
धनाय (यद्वा—निर्वाणार्थनाय) प्रतिष्ठापित[वती] । महातलवरीभिः च पूकियानां शान्तिश्रीभिः
(—महातलवर्यां च पूकियानां शान्तिश्रिया) अस्य महाविहारस्य महाचेत्ये समुत्थाप्यमाने,
[रुद्रधरभट्टारिकया] महातलवरीभ्यः (=महातलवर्यै शान्तिश्रियै) ऊर्द्धिताः (=उपायनी-कृताः
उत्थापितः च) दिनार-माषकाः ससति-शतं (=ससत्यधिकं शतम्) १७०, स्तम्भः च ।
राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे ६ वर्षा-पक्षे ६ दिवसे १० ॥

No. 3

TEXT⁵

- 1 सिधं (II*) नमो भगवतो देवराज-सकतस संमसंसंबुधस⁶ धातुवर-
- 2 परिगहितस (I*) महाचेतिये महारजस विरूपखपति-महासेन-परिगहितस

1 Other records have गंधहृदिस.

2 We may accept Vogel's correction *महाराज-बालिका. Many Śaka kings of Ujjain had *rudra* at the beginning of their names; see *Suc Sāt*, pp. 22f.

3 Vogel likes to correct it to निवाणधनाय, i.e. निर्वाणार्थनाय.

4 Cf. *दौनार* of later records, derived from the Roman *denarius*. *दिनारि* may refer to actual Roman coins (imported in South India) or to their local imitations. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 27 n. te.

5 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Āyaka pillar inscription No. C 2).

6 Read संमसंबुधस.

- 3 अग्निहोतागिठोगिठोम¹-वाजपेयासमेध-याजिस हिरण्यकोटि-गोसत-
- 4 सहस्र-हलसतसहस्र-प्रदायिस सवथेसु अपतिहत-संकपस
- 5 वासिष्ठी-पुतस इक्ष्वाकुस सिरि-चातमूलस सोदराय भगिनिय हंम-
- 6 सिरि'गिकाय बालिका रंजो सिरि-विरपुरिमदतस भया महादेवि बपिसिरिणिका
- 7 अपनो मातरं हंमसिरिगिकं परिमत्तुन अतने च निवाण-संपति-सपादके
- 8 इमं सेल-थंभं पतिउपतिं (।*) अचरि[या]नं अपरमहाविनसेलियानं सुपरिगहित[*]
- 9 इमं महाचेतिय-नवकमं (।*) पणगाम-वथवानं दीघ-मज्झिम-पंद-म[।]तुक-देस[क-वा*]-
चकानं²
- 10 अ(च*)रयान अयिर-हघान अंतेवासिकेन दीघ-म(झिम*)-निगय-धरेन भदंतान-
देन
- 11 निउपति[.] इम[.] नवकम[.] महाचेतियं खंभा च ठपिता ति (।*) रजो सरि-
विरिपुरिमदतस
- 12 संव ६ वा प ६ दिव १० (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराज-सत्कृताय सम्यक्संबुद्धाय धातुवर-परिगृहीताय ।
महाचैत्ये महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्चमेध-
याजिनः हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-संकल्पस्य
वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः (= इक्ष्वाकु-वंशीयस्य) श्रीशान्तमूलस्य सोदरायाः भगिन्याः
हर्म्यश्रियाः बालिका (= तनया) राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य भार्या महादेवी बप्पीश्रीः आत्मनः
मातरं हर्म्यश्रियं परिगमय (= उद्दिश्य) आत्मनः च निर्वाण-सम्प्राप्ति-सम्पादकम् इमं
शैल-स्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठापितवती । आचार्यैः अपरमहावनशैलीयेः³ सुपरिगृहीतम् इदं महाचैत्य-
नवकर्म (= महाचैत्यस्य संस्कृतांशः ; यद्वा - वर्द्धितांशः) [च कारितवत्] । पर्णग्राम-वास्तव्यानां
दीर्घ-मध्यम-पञ्चमातृका-देशक-वाचकानां (= दीर्घनिकाय मज्झिमनिकायादि-पञ्चग्रन्थानां

1 R ad अग्निहोतागिठोम.

2 Read पंद. But cf. पंदरम in *supra*, No. 91.

3 For the cross-cousin marriage, see *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 13.

4 See *ibid.*, pp. 25f.

5 मातृका=matrices, i. e. the texts on original, basic or fundamental doctrines.

The word here seems to refer to the five *nāyās* of the *Sūttapīṭaka*, viz. दीघ-निकाय, मज्झिम, संयुत, अङ्गुत्तर and खुद्दक.

व्याख्यातृ-पाठकानाम्)¹ आचार्याणाम् आर्यसङ्घानाम् (=आर्यसङ्घीयानाम्) अन्तेवासिकेन
(=शिष्येण) दीर्घ-मध्यम-निकायधरेण [तस्य] भवता आनन्देन निष्ठापितं (=समाप्तिं नीतम्) इदं
नवकर्म महाचैत्यम्, स्तम्भाः च स्थापिताः इति । राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे ६ वर्षा-पक्षे
६ दिवसे १० ॥

No. 101—Nāgarjunikonda Inscription of

Virapurushadatta—Regnal Year 14

J. Ph. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 22

Language: Prakrit

Script: Southern Brāhmī of the second half of 3rd century A.D.

TEXT²

- 1 सिधं (॥*) नमो भनवतो इस्वाकु-राजपवररिसि-सत-पभव-वंस-संभवस देव-
मनुस-सव-सत-हित-सुख-मग-देसिकस जित-काम-कोध-भय-हरिस-तरिस-मोह-दोसस³
दपित-मार-बल-दप-मान-पसमन-करस दसबल-महबलस अठग-मग⁴-धमचक-
पवतकस चक-ल्लखण-सुकुमार-सुजात-वरणस तरुण-दिवसकर-पभस सरद-ससि-सोम-
दरिसनस सव-लोक-चित-महितस बुधस (॥*) रंजो मा[ढ]रि-पु[त*][स]⁵
[संवकरं*] चोदं १० (+*) ४ हेमंत-पखं छं ६ दिवसं तेरं १० (+*) ३ (॥*)

¹ See *supra*, notes on Bk. I, Nos. 41-43. Some scholars believe that भनन्त is derived from भद्रं ते, the blessing always in the mouth of the monks. Cf. स्वस्तिमुख=a Brāhmaṇa.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Second Apsidal Temple inscription No. F).

³ H. Sastri's suggestion is better than Vogel's दीस-मद[र*]पित-मार०.

⁴ The 'noble eightfold path' consists of सम्मा दिट्ठि (right view-), सम्मा संकप्पो (right resolution), सम्मा वाचा (right speech), सम्मा कम्मन्तो (right action), सम्मा आजीवी (right living), सम्मा वायाम (right exertion), सम्मा सत्ति (right recollection), and सम्मा समाधि (right meditation). Daśabala is a name of the Buddha derived from his knowledge of ten kinds. The story of Māra's defeat by the Buddha is famous in Buddhist mythology. The inauguration of the Buddhist doctrine is technically known to the Buddhists as the Buddha's turning of the Wheel of Law.

⁵ विरपुरिमदतस seems to have been omitted owing to inadvertence.

[अ*][चं]त-[रा]जाचरीयानं¹ कस्मोर-गंधार-चोन-चिलात-तोसलि-अवरंत-
वंग-वनवासो-[यवन]-[दमिल]-[प]लूर-तंबपणिदोप-पसदकानं थेरियनं तंबपं-
णकानं सुपरिगहे

- 2 सिरिपवते विजयपुरीय पुव-दिसा-भागे विहारे चुल-धंमगिरीयं चेतिय-धरं सपट-
संथरं स-चेतीयं सव-नियुतं कारितं उवासिकाय बोधिसिरिय अपनो भतुनो
बुधि[']नकस पितुनो च से गोवगाम-वथवस रेवत-गहपतिस मातुय च स
बुधंनिकाय भातुनं च से चंदमुखनस करं बुधिनस ह्वनस भगिनीय च रेवतिंनिकाय
भातु-पुतानं च महाचंदमुख-चुलचंदमुखानं भागिनेयानं च महामूल-चुलमूलानं अपनो
च अयकस मूलवानियस अयिकाय बुधवानिकि[ताय] मातुलक²कोठ[1]-
कारिकस भदस बोधिसंसस चंदस बोधिक[स] महामातुकाय भदि[ला]य (1*) बोधिय
च अपनो [पितुनो] बुधि[वा]नियस मा[तुय]... ..
- 3 भातुनो मूलस भगिनीनं बुधंनिकाय मूलंनिकाय नागबोधिनिकाय धूतुय
वीरंनिकाय पुतानं नागंनस³ वीरंनस च सुंन्हानं च भदसिरि-मिसीनं (1*) एवमेव
च कुलह-विहारे चेतिय-धरं सीहळ-विहारे बोधि-रुख-पासादो महाधंमगिरीयं
ओवरको १ महावि(हा*)रे मंडव-खंभो[११] देवगिरियं पञ्चान-साला पुवसेले
तळाक['] अळ[']दा-मंडवो च कंटकसोले महाचेतियस पुव-दारे सेल-मंडवो
हिक्कमुटुवे ओवरका तिंणि ३ पपिलायं ओवरका सत ७ पुफगिरीय['] सेल-मंडवो
धं⁴.....विहारे सेल-मंडवो[१?] (1*) एतं च सवं उपरि-वणि[तं*]
.....[सा*]धु-वगस अचत-हित-सुखाय थवितं सव[स] च लोकास (1*) इमं
नवकंमं तिंहि नवक[']मिकेहि कारितं चंदमुख-थेरेन च
- 4 ⁵धंमनंदि-थेरेन च नाग-थेरेन च [1*] सेल-वढाकिस विधिकस कंमं ति (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते इक्ष्वाकु-राजप्रवरर्षिशतप्रभव-वंश-संभवाय (= इक्ष्वाकुप्रभृति-
वरराजर्षिशत-जनयितरि वंशे जाताय) देव-मनुष्य-सर्वसत्त्व-हित-सुख-मार्ग-देशिकाय

¹ Vogel suggests भदंतराजाचरीयानं. But the Achantarājāchāryas are mentioned in another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 212).

² The reading seems to be मातुलकनो (or, कनं च) अंक-कोठाकारिकस.

³ Names like this indicate the name-suffix *amna* instead of *amnaka*, the *ka* being *svārthika*. See notes on Nos. 76-81 above.

⁴ Some ten *aksharas* are lost after धं.

⁵ The line begins from below इमं in line 3.

(= •निर्देशकाय) जित-काम-क्रोध-भय-हर्ष-तर्प (= तृष्णा-मोह-दोषाय) (= •अज्ञान-घृणाय)
 दर्पित-मार-बल-दर्प-मान-प्रशमनकराय दशबल-महाबलाय अष्टाङ्गमार्गधर्मचक्र-प्रवर्तकाय चक्र-
 लक्षण-सुकुमार-सुजात (= सुगठित)-चरगाय तरुण-दिवसकर-प्रभाय शारदशशि-सौम्य-दर्शनाय
 सर्वलोक-चित्त-महिताय (= •पूजिताय) बुद्धाय । राज्ञः माठरी-पुत्रस्य [वीरपुरुष-दत्तस्य]
 संवत्सरः चतुर्दशः १४ हेमन्त-पक्षः षष्ठः ६ दिवसः तयोदशः १३ (= माघ-शुक्ल-पक्षस्य तयोदश-
 दिवसे) । अचन्तराजाचार्याणाम् (= अचन्तराजसंघोयाचार्याणां) काश्मीर-गन्धार-चीन-किरात-
 तोसल्यपरान्त-वङ्ग-वनवासि-यवन-दमिल-पल्लर-ताम्रपर्णीद्वीप-प्रसादकानां^१ (= बौद्ध-धर्म-प्रचारेण
 तोषकाणां)^२ स्थविराणां ताम्रपर्णकानां (= सिंहलकीयानां) सुपरिग्रहे (= पोषणाय ;
 यद्वा—ग्रहाणाय) श्रोपर्वते विजयपूर्वाः^३ पूर्व-दिशाभागे विहारे क्षुद्रधर्मगिरौ चैत्यगृहं सत्पट्ट-संस्तरं
 सचैत्यं सर्वनियुक्तं (= सर्वावश्यकद्रव्य-संयुक्तं) कारितम् उपासिकया बोधिश्रिया—आत्मनः,
 भ्रातुः बुद्धेः, पितुः च अस्याः गोपग्राम-वास्तव्यस्य रैवत-गृहपतेः, मातुः च अस्याः बुद्धायाः,
 भ्रातृणां च अस्याः चन्द्रमुखस्य कर्म्मबुद्धेः सङ्घस्य, भगिन्याः च रेवत्याः, भ्रातृपुत्रयोः च
 महाचन्द्रमुख-क्षुद्रचन्द्रमुखयोः, भागिनेययोः च महामूल-क्षुद्रमूलयोः, आत्मनः च आर्यकस्य
 (= पितामहस्य) मूलवाणीकस्य, आर्यिकायाः (= पितामह्याः) बुद्धवाणीकायाः, मातुलकानां
 कोष्ठागारिकस्य, भद्रस्य, बोधिशर्मणः, चन्द्रस्य, बोधिकस्य [च], महामातृकायाः (= मातामह्याः)
 भद्रिलायाः—बोध्या च [कारितम्]—आत्मनः, पितुः बुद्धिवाणीकस्य, मातुः...भ्रातुः मूलस्य,
 भगिनीनां बुद्धायाः मूलायाः नागबोधेः च, दुहितुः वीरायाः, पुत्रयोः नागस्य वीरस्य च, स्नुषयोः
 च भद्रश्री-मिलोः [एतेषां सर्वेषां कल्याणाय] । एवम् एव च [कारितं] कुलह-विहारे (= कुलहक-
 वंशीयैः स्थापिते विहारे) चैत्य-गृहं, सिंहल-विहारे (= सिंहलीय-भिक्षूणां वासाय निर्मिते विहारे)
 बोधिवृक्ष-प्रासादः, महाधर्मगिरौ अपवारकः (= गृहागृहं) १, महाविहारे मण्डप-स्तम्भः १, देवगिरौ

^१ Kāśmīra to the north of the Punjab; Gandhāra=Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts of the West Pakistan; Kīrāta in the Himālayas, possibly Nepal; China in Tibet or China beyond Kīrāta. 'Tosali'=Dhauli in the Purī District. Aparānta=North Konkan. Vaṅga=parts of Eastern and Southern Bengal. Vanavāsī=Banavasi in the North Kanara District. Daśila=Tamil country. Yavana=Greek colony of North West or South India or Southern Annam. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp 28-32. Some scholars have wrongly taken the reference here to be to the Buddhist nuns and not to monks. But see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp 243-49. For the contribution of Ceylonese nuns to the organisation of a Bhikṣuṇī-saṅgha in China, see *Univ. of Ceylon Rev.*, July 1954, p. 177. But the earliest batch of Ceylonese nuns is stated to have reached China in 429 A.D.

^२ All the monks may not have visited all the countries. The reference seems to be to wandering monks generally. For *paśādaka*, cf. Pāṇ *dīpa-paśādaka*, 'one who has converted the Island (i.e. the people of Ceylon) to Buddhism.'

^३ Vijayapuri in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley was possibly the capital of the Ikṣhvākus. Śrīparvata was the name of the Nallamālur range. The old name is represented by mod. Śrīśaila which is only a point in the range. Cf. Mahendragiri (=Eastern Ghāṭe) and Mahendrāchala in the Ganjam and Tinnevely Districts.

प्रधानशाला, पूर्वशैले तडागम् आलिन्द-मण्डपः च, कण्टक-शैले¹ (यद्वा—शैले) महाचैत्यस्य पूर्वद्वारे शैल-मण्डपः, हिस्सुस्तूपे (?) अपवारकाः त्रयः ३, पपिलायाम् अपवारकाः सप्त ७, पुष्पगिरौ शैल-मण्डपः, ध विहारे शैल-मण्डपः १—एतत् च सर्वम् उपरि-वर्णितं साधुवर्गस्य अत्यन्त-हितसुखाय स्थापितं, सर्वस्य च लोकस्य [हितसुखाय] । इदं नवकर्म (= निर्माण-वर्द्धन-संस्कारादि-कर्म) विभिः नवकर्मिकैः कारितं—चन्द्रमुख-स्थविरेण च धर्म-नन्दि-स्थविरेण च नाग-स्थविरेण च । शैल-वर्द्धकेः (= शिला-तक्षणः) विधिकस्य कर्म इति ॥

No. 102—Nagarjunikonda Inscription of
Virapurushadatta—Regnal year 18

J. Ph. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 21

Language: Prakrit

Script: Southern Brāhmī of the second half of 3rd century A.D.

TEXT²

- 1 सिधम् । नमो भगवतो बुधस (1*) चेतिथ-घर³ महारजस विरूपखपति-महासेन-परिगहितस अगिहोत[1] गिठोम-वाजपेयासमेध-याजिस अनेक-हिरन-कोटि-गोसतसहस-हल्लसतस(हस*), पदायिस सवथेसु अपतिहत-संकपस वासेठि-पुतस इखाकुलस⁴ सिरि-चातमूलस सहोदरा भगिनि महातलवरस वासेठि-पुतस पुगियान खंदसिरिस भरिय महातलवरि खंदसागरंनग-म[1]ता चातिसिरि अपनो जामतुकस रजो मठरि-पुतस इखकुनं सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस अयु-वधनिके वेजयिके
- 2 अपनो च उभय-[लोक]-हित-सुख-[निवाणथनाय] . . [संसंबुधस] [धा]तु-परिगहितस महाचेतिथ-पादमूले⁵ पवजितानं नाना-देश-समनागतानं⁶ सव-साधूनं महा-

¹ The name Kaṇṭakaśūla is suggested by Ptolemy's Kautakassulos.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (First Apsidal Temple inscription No. E).

³ Read चघरे.

⁴ Read इखाकुस which is the reading of the other records.

⁵ ह्वा is written under the line.

⁶ Cf. the Kura inscription of Toramāṇa and *supra*, No. 101, line 1. Records at Sāñchī and Barhut show that picu- people from all parts of the country visited the Buddhist establishments on pilgrimage and dedicated pillars, etc., with a view to acquiring merit.

भिक्षु-स[']घस अप[नो][च][उ]भय-कुलस अतिष्ठित[म]नागत-वटमानके निकपतिके¹
 च परिनामेतुनं अपरमहाविनसेलियानं परिगहे सब-नियुत चातुसल-परिगहितं
 सेल-मंटव पतिठ[1]पित (1*) रंजो सिरि-वीरपुरिसदतस संवत्तरं अठार सं
 १०(+*)८ हेमंत-पखं छं ६ दिवसं पंचम ५ (1*) सब-सतानं हित[1]य सुखाय
 होतु ति (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते बुद्धाय । चैत्यगृहे—महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-
 परिगृहीतस्य (= ० अनुगृहीतस्य) अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमवाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-
 गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः² सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-सङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः
 श्रीशान्तमूलस्य सहोदरा भगिनी, महातलवरस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य पुत्रीयानां स्कन्दश्रियः
 भार्या महातलवरी स्कन्दसागर-माता शान्तिश्रीः आत्मनः जामातृकस्य³ राज्ञः माठरी-पुत्रस्य
 इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य आयुर्वर्द्धनिकं वैजयिकम् (= आयुर्वृद्धये विजयाय च) आत्मनः च
 उभयलोकहितसुखनिर्वाणार्थनाय (= ० निर्वाण-लाभार्थं) सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य धातु-परिगृहीतस्य
 (= लब्धनिर्वाणस्य) महाचैत्य-पादमूले प्रव्रजितानां नानादेश-समन्वागतानां सर्वसाधूनां
 महाभिक्षुसङ्घस्य आत्मनः च उभयकुलस्य (= मातापितृ-कुलस्य ; यद्वा—पतिपितृ-कुलस्य)
 अत्यार्च्छितम् (= अतीतं कालम्) अनागत-वर्त्तमानकं (= भावि-वर्त्तमान-कालं) त्रिकल्पान्तिकं
 (= त्रिकल्प-पर्यन्तं) च परिणमय (= उद्दिश्य) अपर-महावन-शैलीयानां [आचार्याणां]
 परिग्रहे (= ० ग्रहाय ; यद्वा—पोषणाय) सर्वनियुक्तं (= सर्वावश्यकवस्तु-सनाय)
 चतुःशाल-परिगृहीतं (= चतुःशाला-वेष्टितं) शैल-मण्डपं प्रतिष्ठापित[वती*] । राज्ञः
 श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरः अष्टादशः सं १८ हेमन्त-पक्षः षष्ठः ६, दिवसः पञ्चमः ५ (= माघ-
 शुक्ल-पक्षस्य पञ्चम-दिवसे) । सर्वसत्त्वानां हिताय सुखाय [च] भवतु इति ॥

¹ Read तिकपतिके (Sanskrit त्रिकल्पान्तिकम्).

² For हल, see *supra*, p. 208, note 4.

³ Note that *supra*, No. 100 refers to the lady simply as the king's paternal aunt. Here is another reference to cross-cousin marriage.

No. 103—Nāgarjunikōṇḍa Inscription of
Ehuvula Śāntamūla —Regnal year 2

NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh

J. Ph. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 62

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Southern Brāhmī of the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम् (॥*) नमो भगवतो बुद्धाय (॥*) महाराजस्य
- 2 विरूपक्षपत्ति-महासेन-परिगहितस्य अग्निहोतागिठोमवाजपे-
- 3 यस्मिन्ध-याजिस अनेक-हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हृत्तसह-
- 4 [स-प्रदायि*]स स्वधेषु अपतिहत-संकप्पस्य वासिठी-पुत्तस्य इक्ष्वा[कुन*]
- 5 सिरि-चंतमूलस्य सुन्हाय महाराजस्य² मा[ठ]री-पुत्तस्य सिरि-वीरपुरि-
- 6 सद्धत्तस्य भय्याय महादेवीय [भट्टिदेवाय] देयधम्म इमं स्व-जात-नियुतो
- 7 विहारो अचरियानं बहुसुतियानं पतिट्ठपितो (॥*) रजो वासिठी-पुत्तस्य इक्ष्वा[॥]कून
- 8 सिरि-एहुवुल-चंतमूलस्य संवत्तरं वितियं गिम्ह-पक्खं छठं ६ दिवसं दसमं
- १० (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते बुद्धाय ॥ महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य अग्नि-
होताग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हृत्तसहस्र-प्रदायिनः
सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीशान्तमूलस्य स्नुषायाः महा-
राजस्य माठरी-पुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य भार्यायाः महादेव्याः भर्तृदेवायाः देयधर्मः
(—धर्मार्थं दानम्) अयं सर्वजातनियुक्तः (=सर्वावश्यकद्रव्य-सनाथः) विहारः आचार्येभ्यः
बहुश्रुतिकेभ्यः (=तेषां बौद्धाचार्य-विशेषाणां व्यवहाराय) प्रतिष्ठापितः । राज्ञः वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI (Āyaka pillar inscription No. G 2). This is one of the records of the Ikshvākus in which conjuncts (cf. नत्ति, in No. 104, line 8) are employed as is the case with the Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava *Yuvamahārāja* Sivaskandavarman, *infra*. Ehuvula Śāntamūla appears to have ruled about the time of Sivaskandavarman's father. There are other inscriptions of this kind as well as Sanskrit inscriptions belonging to Ehuvula Śāntamūla's time. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147ff.

² In the records of his reign, Virapurushadatta is called *rāja*.

इक्ष्वाकूणां श्री-एहुवुल-शान्तमूलस्य संवत्सरः द्वितीयः ग्रीष्म-पक्षः षष्ठः ६ दिवसः दशमः १०
(= ज्येष्ठ-शुक्ल-पक्षस्य दशम-दिवसे) ॥

No. 104—Nagarjunikonda Inscription of Ehuvula Śāntamūla —Regnal year 11

J. Ph. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 24

Language: Prakrit

Script: Southern Brāhmī of the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिधम् । नमो भगवतो समासं-
- 2 बुधस (1*) महाराजस वासेठि-पुतस
- 3 इखाकुनं सिरि-एहुवल-चा[त*]मूलस² सव १०(+*)१
- 4 [गि प³ ?] १ दिव ७ (1*) महाराजस अगिहोतगिधेम-वाजवेज⁴-
- 5 असमध-यायिस⁵ [अनेक]-हिरणकोटि-गोसतसहस-
- 6 हलसतसहस-पद[यि]स सवथेसु अपतिहत-
- 7 संकपस वासेठि-पुतस इखाकुन सिरि-चतमुल[स*]
- 8 नत्तिय महाराजस माठरि-पुतस सिरि-विरपुरिस-
- 9 दतस धूतुय महाराजस वासेठि-पुतस इखाकुनं
- 10 सिरि-एहुवल-चतमुल[स] भगिनिय वानवासक⁶ -महाराज-
- 11 महादेविय कोद[व]लिसिरिय इमं खनियं⁷ विहारो च

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX (Detached pillar inscription No. H.

² In another record, the name appears to be एहुवुल-चा[*]तमूल. Cf. the name इङ्गुणवुल-देवन of a Darsi inscription of the 7th century (*An. Rep. S.I.E.*, 1933-34, p. 41).

³ Not noticed by Vogel. गि seems to be clear.

⁴ Read ०होतागिठोम-वाजपेय.

⁵ Read ०मेध-याजिस. Usually Śāntamūla I is called *mahārāja* and his son *rāja*. But here all the kings are styled *mahārāja*.

⁶ Here is possibly a reference to the so-called Chuṭu-Śākarni kings of Banavasi.

⁷ Since the ruins of a chaitya and of no cave have been discovered at the site, the intended reading may be चेतियं.

- 12 अचरियानं महि[सा]सकनं सुपरिगहे चातुदिसं
 13 संघं उदिसाय सव-सतानं हित-सुखथं ठापितं ।।*) अचरिये-
 14 ना महा-धम्मकथिकन धम्म[घो]स-थेरेन अनुथितं ति ।

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते सम्यक्सम्बुद्धाय । महाराजस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्री-एहुवुल्ल-शान्तमूलस्य संवत्सरः एकादशः ११ ग्रीष्म-पक्षः प्रथमः १ दिवसः सप्तमः ७ (—चैत्र-कृष्ण-पक्षस्य सप्तम-दिवसे) महाराजस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजिनः अनेक-हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-सङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीशान्तमूलस्य नप्तया, महाराजस्य माठरी-पुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य दुहिला, महाराजस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्री-एहुवुल्ल-शान्तमूलस्य भगिन्या, वानवासक-महाराज-महादेव्या (=महिष्या) कोदबलिश्रिया इदं *खनिकम् (—इयं खनिका=गुहा) [यद्वा—इदं चैत्थं] विहारः च आचार्याणां महीशासकानां¹ (=बौद्धाचार्यविशेषाणां) सुपरिग्रहे (=ग्रहणाय ; यद्वा—पोषणाय) चातुर्दशं सङ्गम् उद्दिश्य सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थं स्थापितौ । आचार्येण महा-धर्मकथकेन (=धर्मशास्त्रव्याख्यात्रा) धर्मघोष-स्थविरेण अनुष्ठितौ (—निर्वाहितौ) इति ॥

¹ They were a branch of the Sthaviravādins (*I. H. Q.*, XXIV, p. 252). The 10000 heretical monks subdued in the Second Council formed the Mahāsaṅghika school, from which arose the Gokulika and Ekavyavahārika sects. From the Gokulikas arose the Prajñāpti and Bahulika sects and from these the Chetiyas. Two more sects parted from the Sthavira doctrine, viz. Mahīśāsaka and Vajjiputraka, and from them the Dharmottariya, Bhadrāyānika, Chhandāgārika, Sammitiya and Vajjiputriya sects. From the Mahīśāsaka parted the Sarvārtha and Dharmaguptika and from the Sarvārtha arose the Kāśyāpiya, thence the Saṃkrāntika and thence the Sūtra. Later sects were the Haimavata, Rājagiriya, Siddhārthaka, Pūrva-Sāliya, Aparā-Sāliya and Vājirīya (these six belonging to India) as well as Dharmaruchi and Sāgaliya (these two belonging to Ceylon). See *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. V.

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTIONS OF COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA

A—CEYLON

No. 105—Āndiya-kanda Cave Inscription of Tissa Abaya (= Tishya Abhaya)

RITIGALA Hill Range, 25 miles to the south-east of Anurādhapura,
North Central Province, Ceylon.

Don Martino de Zilva WICKREMASINGE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I, p. 144.

Language: Prakrit influenced by the local language.

Script: Brāhmī of the second or first century B. C.¹

TEXT²

- 1 देवनपिय-महरज्ञ'-गमिणि-तिसह पुत[श*] देवनपिय-तिस-अ[बय]ह लेने अगत-
अनगत-चडुदिसि-शगश⁴ [दिने*] (॥*)

¹ Gamini Tissa has been identified by Wickremasinge with Saddha Tissa [Abhaya] who reigned at A'pura in c. 77-59 B. C. and his son Tissa Abaya with Lajji-Tissa or Lāmāṇi-Tissa who ruled in c. 59-49 B. C. The modification of early Brāhmī was slower in South India than in North India and, in Ceylon, it was even slower than in South India.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Zel.*, I, and a photographic print kindly supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.

³ Correctly ०रज्ञ The use of the word महाराज is interesting. In India, the Indo-Greek king Eukratides (*circa* 175-155 B. C.) is the earliest ruler who has been called महाराज (Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 12) on his coins. The title possibly indicates Ceylon's intercourse with the north-western part of India, because royal titles like महाराज, राजातिराज (cf. महाराजाधिराज, etc.) were popularised by foreigners who flourished in that region. One of the earliest use of the title *Mahārāja* in an indigenous Indian record is traced in the inscription of Khāravela (No. 91 above). But Ceylon is supposed to have used it as early as the second century B. C.

⁴ I.e. सचस.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रिय-महाराज-ग्रामणी-तिष्यस्य पुत्र[स्य] देवानांप्रिय-तिष्याभयस्य लयनं
(= खानित-गुहा) आगतानागत-चातुर्दिश-संघाय (= सर्वदेशीयाय भिक्षु-सङ्घाय) दत्तम् ॥

No. 106—Duwé Gala Cave Inscription, No. 7

DUWÉ GALA Cave, Ceylon.

Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, III, p. 104, Plate XX.

Language: Prakrit influenced by the local language.

Script: Brāhmī (to be read from right to left)¹ of about the 1st century B. C.

TEXT²

1 णाले शतमिदिग शतदश [- बद्धश गदिमिदश लेणां]³ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भवतः (= तत्त्वभवतः) गतिमिदस्य लयनम् (= खानित-गुहा) ॥

¹ This peculiar characteristic of the record, which appears to belong to about the first century B.C., may tempt one to suggest that the Brāhmī script was introduced in Ceylon before Aśoka (c. 273-232 B. C.) who writes it usually from left to right or that it was influenced by an earlier script of the south. Excepting some portions of the barbarously engraved Yerragudi MRE, Aśoka's Brāhmī records are not to be read from right to left. It may be argued that, like Kharoshthī, Brāhmī too was originally written from right to left and this may be regarded as connecting the Brāhmī alphabet with the pre-historic writing of the Indus Valley from which it was undoubtedly derived. But I am inclined to ascribe the peculiarity to the error, ignorance or idiosyncrasy of the engraver as in the case of early medieval inscriptions engraved negatively or to be read from bottom to top or top to bottom. See *J. R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 19; 1959-60, No. C 421; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 223. 𑀅 has here a developed form; but other letters have not. Development of Brāhmī characters outside India was not uniform with their development in this country.

² From a photographic print kindly supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.

³ There is the figure probably of a ship engraved at the right side of the inscription.

B—CENTRAL ASIA

Nos. 107-114—Documents from Chinese
Turkestan¹**Language :** Prakrit² influenced by local languages.**Script :** Kharoshthi³ of the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

No. 1 (=BRS No. 14)

Double-wedge Tablet

¹ These records were discovered by Aurel Stein in his three expeditions to Chinese Turkestan in 1900-01, 1906-08, 1913-16, beyond the Niya river in the regions of Niya, Lou-lan, Tun-huang, Imām Ja'far Sādiq and Endere. They are described and the circumstances of their discovery are recorded respectively in Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, 1907; *Serindia*, 1921; and *Innermost Asia*, 1928. The records discovered in the first and second expeditions were published by A. M. Poyer, E. J. Rapson and E. Senart in their celebrated work entitled *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, Part I, 1920, Part II, 1927. Part III (1929) of the work dealing with the records of the third expedition were published by Rapson and P. S. Noble. Their number has been given here in brackets. The results of the researches of T. Burrow have been published in his *Language of the Kharoshthi Documents* (Cambridge, 1937) and *A Translation of the Kharoshthi Documents* (London, 1949). Most of these records are written with ink on wedge-shaped wooden tablets; but some are on other materials such as leather. Many documents and a good many works in Sanskrit and Prakrit and in other languages and scripts, sometimes entire libraries, have been unearthed in Central Asia by missions sent by the governments of different countries of the world, especially Russia, Germany and Japan.

² It may be a variety of what is called the Paisācī Prakrit by grammarians. A few records are in Sanskrit and in verse (e.g., BRS Nos. 511, 523). Kharoshthi has been made to suit the requirements of Sanskrit in some cases; cf. note 3 below.

³ The late date of the records is also responsible for many peculiarities of the script. Interesting is the *visarga* indicated by two dots placed above the letter and the length of the vowel by a slanting curved stroke to the right of the base of a letter. Signs for *e* and length indicate *ai*. Modification of consonantal sounds is indicated usually by a sign resembling the subscript *r* (marked by us with a dot below the letters); cf. र, ज, ड, ढ, etc. The editors of the records have also noticed modified च (=क्च?), ग (=ग्), ग (=ग्र), व (=व), स (=सं), ष (=ष्), स (=स), ह (=ह्) with a horizontal stroke above them. Modified क (=क्ख?) with the right arm touching the vertical base, and letters like फ (=फ्), ट (=ट्ठ?), etc., may be conjuncts. The modified प (subscript) is either प् or प्. Final व, त् or द is indicated by a *visarga*-like sign put below the preceding letter. There are also some peculiarities in the numerals.

TEXT¹

Covering-tablet: Obverse

चोम्बो²-भिमय षोटंग-ल्यपे(य*)स च ददवो (॥*)

Under-tablet.

- 1 मङ्गुअव मङ्गरय लिहति चोम्बो-भिमय-षोटंग-ल्यपेय-
- 2 स च मत्त देति (१*) स च अहो नो इश षमेक बिंजवेति यथ एष खोतंनमि इति याय
गद (१*) चल्मदानदे
- 3 वळ्ग दितंति याव सचंमि गद (१*) सचदे वळ्ग दितंति

Covering-tablet: Reverse

- 1 याव निनंमि गद (१*) निनदे याव खोतंनमि चङ्गोददे⁴ वळ्ग ददवो होअति
[याव][खो]तं.....⁵
- 2 यहि एद किलमुद अत्त एशति प्रठ यहि-पूर्विक निनदे खोतंनमि वळ्गस परिक्रेय
- 3 तेन विधनेन सध अयोगेन ददवो (१*) यथधर्मेन निश्चि कर्तवो (॥*)

Under-tablet: Reverse

षमेकस (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

चोम्बो-भिमय (= भिमयाख्यः चोम्बो इति मुख्यकर्मचारिविशेषः)-षोटंग-ल्यपेयाभ्यां
(- षोटंगाख्य-मुख्यकर्मचारी ल्यपेय-नामा) च [द्वाभ्यां] दातव्यम् ।

महानुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोम्बोभिमय-षोटंगल्यपेयाभ्यां च मन्त्रं ददाति ।-तत्
(- यत्) च—“अधुना अस्मिन् [स्थाने] षमेकः (- षमेकाख्य-जनः) विज्ञापयति—यथा एषः
(= सः) खोतम्ने (= खोतम्नाख्यं देशं ; to Khotan) दौत्याय गतः । चल्मदानतः (- चल्म-
दानाख्यस्थानात् ; from Charchan) पालकं (= अश्वयायिनं रक्षिणं) ददाति यावत् साचं

¹ From the transcript in *Khar. Ins.*, I. See Lüders, *Act. Or.*, XVII, p. 36.

² *Chojhbo* is a title of the chief local official. It is possibly of Iranian origin ; cf. Avestic *cazdahrant*. It is also found in the Maralbashi records as *chazba*.

³ *Shothamga* (tax-collector ?) is also an official title ; possibly the same as *soshtānkān* of the Tokhari records च is superfluous.

⁴ *Chadoda* is the ruined establishment on the Niya river. It was the name of the headquarters of Niya. It has been identified with the chief city of the territory called Ching-chüeh by the Chinese.

⁵ About 19 letters are lost.

(-साच-नामकं स्थानम् ; Endere १) गतः । साचतः पालकं ददाति यावत् निनं (-निनास्थं स्थानं ; Niya) गतः । निनतः यावत् खोतम्नं [गमनाय], चडोदतः(-चडोदाख्यात् स्थानात्) पालकः दातव्यः भवति यावत् खोतम्नं गतः ।]...यदा एषा कीलमुद्रा (=मुद्राङ्कित-कीला-कार-काष्ठखण्ड-लिखितादेशः) अल (=तल) एष्यति, प्रष्टुं (-अविलम्बेन) यथापौर्विकं (-यथापूर्वं निर्दिष्टं) निनतः खोतम्ने (=यावत् खोतम्नं) पालकस्य परिक्रयेण (=वर्तनं) तेन विधानेन (=यथाविधानं) सार्द्धम् आयोगेन (=वृद्ध्या ; यद्वा-पारितोषिकेन) दातव्यम् । यथाधर्मेण निश्चयः (-परिक्रयायोगयोः अवधारणः कर्तव्यः ।)

षमेकस्य (=षमेक-सम्बन्धीया कील-मुद्रा) ॥

No. 2 (=BRF No. 45)

Double-wedge Tablet

TEXT¹

Covering-tablet : Obverse

चोम्बो-यितक-तो'ग'-वुक्तोस् च ददवो (॥*)

Under-tablet : Obverse

- 1 मङ्गनुअव मङ्गरय लिहति चोम्बो-यितक-तो'ग'-वुक्तोस् च मल देति (।*)
- 2 स च अहोनो इश वसु-ल्यिपेय विंजवेति यथ एदस् दक्षि चिमिकए भित् रुसयस्
उनिति गिटए इश रय-द्वरंमि
- 3 कुठ-विक्षरस् ति व*,र्ष-अइप व्योछिंनिदग् (।*) एद प्रचे द्विति त्रिति वर किल-मुद्र
गछति (।*) यव अजक-दिवस् निश्चे न करित् (।*)
- 4 यहि एद किलमुद्र अल एशति प्रठ अत्र समुह अनद प्रोछिदवो यथ रयद्वरंमि

Covering-tablet : Reverse

- 1 व्योछिंनिदग् सियति तेन विधनेन अत्र विभशितव्य (।*) यति अंज विवद किंचि
सियति अल यथ-धर्मेन निश्चे कर्त्तवो (।*) अल न परिवु-
- 2 जिशतु हस्तगद रय-द्वरंमि विसृजिदेवो (।*) इशेमि समुह निश्चे भविष्यति (॥*)

Under-tablet : Reverse

वसु-ल्यिपे रुसयेन सध (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

चोम्बोयितक-तो'ग'वुक्तोभ्यां च दातव्यम् [एतत् लेखनम्] ।

¹ From the transcript in *Khar. Ins.*, I.

² *Tonga* may have been a transport-official. Burrow suggests a military rank, and translates it as 'captain'.

महानुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोद्भवोयितक-तौगवुक्तोभ्यां मन्त्रं वदति [च] । तत्
 (= यत्) च—“अधुना अस्मिन् [स्थाने] वसु-ल्यिपेयः विज्ञापयति यथा—एतस्य (= ल्यिपे-
 यस्य) दास्याः चिमिकायाः द्रुहिता रुतयस्य उच्चीतिः (= पालनं = पालनार्थं) गृहीता कन्या
 गृहीतिका [सती] अस्मिन् राज-द्वारे कृष्ट-क्षीराय (= मातृस्तन्य-धारशोधनाय) त्रिवर्षाश्वः
 व्यवृच्छिकः (= निर्द्धारितः) ।¹ एतत्-प्रत्यये = एतद्विषये द्वितीयं तृतीयं वारं कीलमुद्रा (= लेखः)
 गच्छति यावत् अद्यक-दिवसम् (= अद्यतनं) युवाभ्यां निश्चयः न कृतः । यदा एतत्-कीलमुद्रा
 अत्र (= तत्र) एष्यति, प्रष्टुम् अत्र (= तत्र) सम्मुखं [यथा तथा युवाभ्याम् उभयपक्षः] आज्ञप्तं
 (= राजाज्ञा) प्रष्टव्यः । यथा राजद्वारे व्यवच्छिन्नकः स्यात् तेन विधानेन अत्र (= तत्र)
 विभाषितव्यं (= वक्तव्यं) [युवाभ्याम्] । यदि अन्यः विवादः कश्चित् स्यात् अत्र (= तत्र)
 यथाधर्मेण निश्चयः कर्तव्यः । [यदि कः अपि] अत्र (= तत्र) न परिवोधिष्यते (= मीमांसां
 प्रमाणयति), हस्तगतं [कार्यं] राजद्वारे विसर्जयितव्यं (= प्रेरयितव्यम्) । अस्मिन् [स्थाने]
 सम्मुखः (= साक्षाद्भावेन) निश्चयः भविष्यति ॥”

वसु-ल्यिपेयः रुतयेण सार्द्धम्² ॥

No. 3 (= BRS No. 152)

Rectangular Double-Tablet

TEXT³

Covering-tablet: Obverse

प्रियदर्शनस्य देव-मनुश-संपुजितस्य प्रियभ्रतु षोडश-ल्यिपेयस्य त्रियलिद्वो (॥*)

Under-tablet: Obverse

- 1 प्रियदर्शनस्य देव-मनुश-संपुजितस्य प्रियभ्रतु षोडश-ल्यिपेयस्य
- 2 चोद्भवो नस्तिंत नमकेरो करेति दिव्य-शरिर अरोगियो प्रेषेति बहु अप्रमेय (।*) एवं
- 3 च स च अदेहि गदेमि तहि प्रसदेन अरोगेमि (।*) [को]लियमि श्वसु....न⁴...
हदनि (।*)
- 4 अहुनो अत्र रयक उटियन त्रि सजिदेमि (।*) तत्र ले-वर्षग उट १ (।*) एष भूय रज्यमि

¹ A payment (here, a horse) was due to the parents from the people who adopted the child as a return for having nourished the child in its infancy. त्रिवर्षाश्व = a horse which is 3 years old; cf. त्रिवर्षकः उट्टः in No. 3 below.

² I.e., Vasu-Ly'ipey versus Rutraya.

³ From the facsimile in *Kharosthi Inscriptions*, I.

⁴ According to Rapson's suggestion, the two aksharas preceding न may be विश्वे.

- 5 अज्ञतु ओड़िदवो (।*) किलमुंल अल ह ..¹ सगमोयस् वंति (।*) एद किलमुंल
वजिति पु-
- 6 नु सगमोयस् ददवो धरंनए अवश।*) एदे किलमेचिये सर्वभावेन ज्ञेनिग सि-
- 7 यंति (।*) प्रथदे एत लेख अत्र प्रहिदेमि (।*) प्रहुङ्-अर्थय न तिमिदवो (।*) अत्रि
एदस् सुमतस्

Covering-tablet : Reverse

- 1 एष² उटियन पिचविदेमि (।*) इतु उवु.तय अचोविन अचोयदे तुर निखलिदवो (।*) अत्रि
- 2 श्रंमंन धर्मप्रिय-नम सलुवअए गोठंमि वुच्यति (।*) यहि एष सुमत अल एइयति
- 3 तपदय एद श्रंमन सुमतस् हस्तंमि अनविदवो पिचवंनए (।*) एष श्रंमंन भरि-मण्डि-
- 4 गेय-नि-ओङ्गेयस्³ दल्ल असि (।*) महि वंति पद विक्रित।*) सर्व निश्चेय किङ्गम (।*)
एष श्रमंन
- 5 अहुनो दहि होतु (।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

प्रियदर्शनस्य देवमनुष्य-सम्पूजितस्य प्रियभ्रातुः षोडंग-ल्यिपेयस्य [समीपे] विजालयितव्या
(— निग्रन्थोक्तव्या) [एषा कोलमुद्रा] ॥

प्रियदर्शनाय देवमनुष्यसम्पूजिताय प्रियभ्रात्रे षोडंग-ल्यिपेयाय चोद्भवो-नस्तिन्तः (=चो-
द्भवो-पदाधिष्ठित-नस्तिन्ताख्यः जनः) नमस्कारं करोति दिव्यशरीरम् आरोग्यं [च] (=तद्विषयकं
आशीर्वचनं) प्रेषयति बहु अप्रमेयं [च] । एवं च तत् (=यत्) च—“अतः
(=ततः) [आ]गतोऽस्मि, तव प्रसादेन अरोगोऽस्मि । कोलिये (=कोलियाख्ये स्थाने)
... ..इदानीम् ... । अधुना अत्र (=तत्र) [यं] राजकं (=राजकीयं) उष्ट्री-गणं
विमर्जितवानस्मि, तत्र (=तन्मध्ये) त्रैवर्षकः (=त्रिवर्ष-वयस्कः) उष्ट्रः १ । एषः भूयः
राज्याय (=राष्ट्राय) अध्यातं (=निर्विचारं) उद्घातव्यः (=प्रतिदातव्यः) । कोलमुद्रा (=मुद्रा-
ङ्कित-कोलकाकार-काष्ठखण्डस्थः लेखः) अल हेतौ शक-मोगस्य उपान्ते (=शक-मोगं प्रति) ।
एतत्-कोलमुद्रा वाचयित्वा पुनः शक-मोगाय दातव्या धारणाय (=रक्षणार्थम्) अवश्यम् ॥
एते किल्मेकीयाः (=किल्मे-सम्बन्धिनः जनाः; यद्वा - किल्मे-वासिनः) सर्वभावेन [तव] ध्यानिकाः

¹ Read हुतु.

² ए was originally omitted and subsequently added above ए.

³ Or, मोखीयस्.

(- ध्यान-विषयाः - परिचरणाहार्हाः) स्युः¹ । प्रथतः (= प्रथ-नामक-स्थानतः ; यद्वा—पथितः) एतं लेखं अन्न (= तन्न) ग्रहितवान् अस्मि ; [अतः] प्राभृतायाय (= पुरस्कारार्थाय) न स्तिमितव्यम् [इति विचिन्त्य] ॥ अपि [च]—एतस्य सुमतस्य (= सुमताख्यस्य जनस्य) [हस्तेन] एतम् उष्ट्रीगणं प्रत्यर्पितवानस्मि² । इतः उपादाय (= वर्तमानात् प्रभृति) अचोविनाः (- पुरुष-विशेषाः) अचोयतः (- गुल्मात् ?) त्वरया निष्कालयितव्याः (- प्रेषयितव्याः) ॥³ अपि [च]—श्रमणः धर्मप्रियः नाम सलुवयायाः (- सलुवया-नाम्नयाः नार्याः) गोष्ठे [अस्ति इति] उच्यते । यदा एषः सुमतः अन्न (= तन्न) एष्यति तत् उपादाय (- ततः प्रभृति—तदा) एतस्य श्रमणस्य सुमतस्य हस्ते आज्ञापयितव्यं प्रत्यर्पणाय⁴ । एषः श्रमणः भरि-मष्टियो-नि-(- ०मष्टियोपापरनामा)-मोङ्गेयस्य दासः आसीत्⁵ । मां प्रति पादः (= तस्य भृत्यस्य [= भृत्यसम्बन्धिनः श्रमस्य] चतुर्थः भागः) विक्रीतः । [क्रय-विषयकं] सर्वं निश्चयं कृतवन्तः स्म । एषः श्रमणः अधुना तव भवतु [पादेन ?] ॥

No. 4 (= BRS No. 165)

Rectangular Under-Tablet

TEXT⁵

Under-tablet: Obverse.

- 1 प्रियदर्शन-चोम्बो-क्रनय-षोठंग-ल्यपेयस् च ओगु-किर्तिशर्म अरोग्य परि-
- 2 प्रोछति पुनपुनो बहो अप्रमेयो (।*) एवं च स च प्रथमदरो इमदे मगेन-पगोस् च
- 3 हस्तमि लेख प्रहुड प्रहिदेमि (।*) तदे जदर्थ भविदवो (।*) अवि-पेत-अवनमि पल्यि पर-
- 4 वर्षि शेष यं च इम-वर्षि पल्यि तह सर्व स्वोर तौमिहि⁶ सध इश विसुजिदवो (।*) यति
- 5 तदे पुरिम-पश्चिम विसुजित्यतु पंधमि परस् भविष्यति तुओ षोठंग-ल्यपेय

¹ Were the Kilmechias carrying the letter? Kilme=district, according to Burrow Kilme=estate and Kilmech=tenant, according to Thomas (*Act. Or.*, XIII, p. 63).

² The Achovinas were possibly a kind of special messengers to report among other things impending attacks from enemies. Acho may be a kind of frontier outpost. Thomas connects them with *ājara* or *ājuh*. The writer possibly wanted to have informations regarding any attempt to steal the camels on the way.

³ Burrow: "orders must be given for handing over this Śramaṇa into the hands of Sumata."

⁴ It is interesting to note the degraded condition of the Buddhist monks in this period. नि=alias? Burrow makes नि=निज and suggests that often a word like *putra* or *dāsa* is omitted after नि. This interpretation of *ni* as a sort of genitive suffix seems to suit some of the cases. See below, No. 7, line 1, on the Covering-tablet (obverse).

⁵ From the facsimile in *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, I.

⁶ तौमि is equated by some with तौमि (= तया) of some records.

- 6 तनु गोठदे व्योषिशसि नधन भगेन (I*) यं च भुम-नवक-अंनेन घिद अतिबहो
 7 क्रिनिदवो इश प्रहदवो (I*) वेग-किलिम-खियन पलिय भुम-नवक-अंन स्वोर विसृजित-
 8 वो (I*) अवि पलिय उट तेनेव सध इश विसृजितवो (I*) म इ चि तोंगन परिदे उट
 विथिण्यतु (I*)
 9 तस उट-प्रचेय रय-सविक्ष लिहिदग क्रिदग (I*) लिविस्तरंमि अनति-लेख अल गद (I*)
 :10 तहि चोभ्वो-क्रनयस् लिहमि एद कर्यमि तुओ चित कर्तव्य (I*) एष लियपेय न चित
 11 करेति (I*) यो पुन तहि कर्यनि हक्क्षंति शक्क्षयमि अहो करंनय (I*) यो अल शुभाशुभ-
 12 स प्रवृति हक्क्षति एमेव लेहरगस हस्तमि लेख इश प्रहतवो (I*) यो इश वर्तमान
 13 लियंसुअस् परिदे जदर्थ भविदवो (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

प्रियदर्शन-चोझबोक्रगय-घोटंघलियपेयो (=०चोझबोपदाधिष्ठित-क्रणयनामानं घोटंघ-
 पदाधिष्ठित-लियपेयनामानं च) ओगु-कीर्तिशर्मा (=ओगूपाधिक०) आरोग्यं परिपृच्छति पुनःपुनः
 बहु अप्रमेयम् । एवं च तत् (=यत्) च—प्रथमतः (=प्रथमतः) इतः मगेन-पगवोः च (=मगे-
 नाख्यस्य पगुनान्नः च पुरुषयोः) हस्तेन लेखं प्राभृतम् (=उपहारं [च] प्रहित[वान्] अस्मि[अहम्] ।
 ततः ज्ञातार्थाभ्यां [युवाभ्यां] भवितव्यम् । अवि-पेत्वापणे (=नानाजातीयमेष-विक्रय-स्थाने ;
 यद्वा—अपि [च]०) [लभ्यः] बलिः (=करः) पूर्ववर्षीय-शेषः (=पूर्ववर्षीयकरस्य अवशिष्टांशः) यः
 च (=एवं च) एतद्वर्षीयः बलिः तथा सर्वं स्फुरं (=स्फूर्तियुक्तं = त्वरया) तोम्मिभिः (= तोम्मि-
 संज्ञैः राजभृत्यैः ?) सार्धम् अस्मिन् [स्थाने] विसर्जयितव्यम् । यदि ततः पूर्व-पश्चिमम् (=अग्रतः
 पश्चात् च = असकृत् [बलिं] विसर्जयितव्यः, पथि परस्य (=दस्युतस्करादेः = दस्युतस्करादिहृतः)
 भविष्यति [च], [ततः] त्वं घोटंघ-लियपेयः 'तनु-गोष्ठतः (=आत्मनः०) व्यवशेक्षसि (=क्षतिपूर्णं
 करिष्यसि) नद्धानां (=बद्धानां पशूनां ; यद्वा—शस्यभाराणां) भागेन (=अंशानुसारेण) ॥ यत्
 च—भूमिनवकाब्जेन (=भूमिजात-नवशस्येन) घृतम् अतिबहु (=बहुपरिमाणं) क्रेतव्यम्, अस्मिन्
 [स्थाने] प्रहेतव्यं [च] । वेगकिलिखीगां (=भारवाहि-घोटक-स्वामिनीनां ?)¹ बलिः भूमि-
 नवकाब्जं स्फुरं (=त्वरितं) विसर्जयितव्यः । अपि [च] बलिः उष्ट्रः (=बलि-स्वरूपः उष्ट्रः) तैः
 (=तोम्मिभिः) एव सार्धम् अस्मिन् [स्थाने] विसर्जयितव्यः । न किञ्चित् [कालं] तोङ्गानां
 (=राजभृत्यविशेषान्) परितः (=सकाशे) उष्ट्रः वितिष्ठतु (=उष्ट्रः रक्षितव्यः)² । तस्य उष्ट्र-प्रत्यये
 (=उष्ट्रस्य विषये) राज-साक्षि[कं] लिखितकं (=लेखः) कृतकं (=कृतः) ; लिपि-स्तरे

¹ Burrow explains the passage as 'widowed district-women'. Thomas suggests 'women of the land irrigated by Vega.' Alternatively, भुमन वक अंन = corn paid as rent for the lands, according to Burrow.

² Burrow : "Do not keep back the camel from the Tongas".

(= लिपिविस्तारेण) आज्ञसि-लेखः अत्र (= तत्र) गतः [च] । त्वां चोद्भवो-क्रगयं छित्वाभि-
 एतत्-कार्यं त्वया चित्तं (= मनोयोगः) कर्तव्यम् । एषः ल्यिपेयः न चित्तं करोति । यानि पुनः
 तव कार्याणि [अपराणि] सन्ति, शक्यामि अहं करणाय [तेषाम्] । या अत्र शुभाशुभस्य
 प्रवृत्तिः (= वार्ता) अस्ति, एवम् एव लेखहारकस्य हस्ते [तद्विषयकः] लेखः अस्मिन् [स्थाने]
 प्रहेतव्यः (= प्रेषयितव्यः) । यः अस्मिन् [स्थाने] वर्तमानः [व्यापारः], ल्यिम्सुयस्य (= लिम्सुय-
 नामकस्य जनस्य) परितः [= सकाशात्] [तद्विषये] ज्ञातार्थं न भवितव्यं [त्वया] ।”

No. 5 (= BRS No. 288)

Double-wedge Tablet

TEXT¹

Covering-tablet: Obverse

- 1 भटरगस् चोद्भवो-सौचकस्
- 2 पदमुलंमि वियलिदवो (॥*)

Under-tablet: Obverse

- 1 भटरगस् प्रिय-देव-मनुशस् देव-मनुश-संपुजितस् प्रचक्क्ष-बोधिसत्वस् महचोद्भवो-
 सौचक-
- 2 स् पदमुलंमि चोद्भवो-यिलि नमिल्लग्नए सच नमकेरो करेति दिव्य-शरिर
 अरोगिय च
- 3 प्रेषेति बहु अप्रमेगो (॥*) एवं च विजति स् च बहु-चिर-कल हुद न शकिदम तेहि वंति
 लेख-
- 4 प्रहुङ्ग-प्रेषनए (॥*) तेन करंन सुठ संजवे, यम न-इं चि य दिव्यज अंजत हवक्षति (॥*)²
 एष घमने-
- 5 र चक्व ... [क]³ अल विसृजिद तेहि दिव्यशरिर-अरोगि-प्रेषनए (॥*) यो से अल वेधन

Covering Tablet: Reverse

- 1 किंचि करिशाति अवश मंलं शुनिदवो (॥*) से श्रमंनेर तेहि झेनिग् स्यति (॥*)
 न-इं चि अबो-
- 2 मत किंचि करेति (॥*) प्रहुङ्गम् अर्थ येन न दिमिदवो लहुग प्रहुङ्ग प्रहित (॥*) पश्चदर
 धर्मप्रि-

¹ From the facsimile in *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, I.

² Burrow: "For that we earnestly beg your indulgence. Nothing should be unknown to your divine knowledge." हक् चति = हक्कति = अक्कइ = Bengali आर्क्षे

³ The alternative reading suggested is चक्रमेर. Burrow: चकल,

- 3 यसु हस्तमि लेख-प्रहुड प्रेशिषम यो तेहि पिचर स्यति (।*) यिलियसु परिदे रजु १
नमिल्ल-
4 अए परिदे लस्तुग १ (।*) अपरिमित-गुनस मंम-गतस प्रियभ्रतु चोम्बो-
बुधरक्कियसु
5 पदेभ्यं धर्मप्रिय अरोगि संप्रेषयति बहु (॥*)

Under-tablet

समरेन¹ (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भट्टारकस्य चोद्बो-सौचकस्य (= चोद्बोपदाधिष्ठित-सौचकाख्यस्य) पादमूले विज्ञातयि-
तव्यम् (= उन्मोचयितव्यं) [लिखित-काष्ठ-द्वय-बन्धनम्] ॥

भट्टारकस्य प्रिय-देवमनुष्यस्य देव-मनुष्य-सम्पूजितस्य प्रत्यक्ष-बोधिसत्त्वस्य महाचोद्बो-
सौचकस्य पादमूले चोद्बो-यिलियः नमिल्ययया (= यिलियपत्न्या नमिल्यायाख्यया) [†] सचा
(= सार्द्धं) नमस्कारं करोति दिव्यशरीरम् आरोग्यं च प्रेषयति बहु अप्रमेयम् । एवं च विज्ञायते
तत् (= यत्) च - बहुचिरकालः भूतः न शक्ताः स्मः तव उपान्ते (= सकाशे) लेख-प्राभृत-प्रेषणाय ।
तेन कारणेन सुष्ठु संज्ञापयामः—नकाचित् (= न) च दिव्याज्ञा (= भवतः आज्ञासनि)
[आवाभ्याम्] अज्ञाता अस्ति । एषः श्रमणेरः चक्र+कः अत्र (= तत्र) विसर्जितः तव दिव्यशरीरा-
रोग्य-प्रेषणाय (= स्वास्थ्यादि-ज्ञापनाय) । यत् सः अत्र (= तत्र) वैधानं (= विधान-समूहं =
कर्मजातं) किञ्चित् करिष्यति, अवश्यं [तव] मन्तः [तेन] श्रोतव्यः । सः श्रामणेरः तव ध्यानिकः
(= ध्यान-विषयः) स्यात् । माकिञ्चित् (= न) अभ्यवमतं (= अनभिप्रेतं त्वया ; यद्वा—
अननुज्ञातं त्वया) किञ्चित् करोतु । प्राभृतस्य अर्थे येन (= यथा) न स्तिमितव्यम् (= विलम्बः
न स्यात्), [तत्-कारणान् मया] लघुकं (= किञ्चिन्मात्रं) प्राभृतं प्रहितम्² । पश्चात्तरं (= पश्चात्)
धर्मप्रियस्य हस्ते लेख-प्राभृतं प्रेषयिष्यामः यत् तव प्रत्यहं (यद्वा—प्रतीत्यहं) स्यात् । यिलियस्य
परितः (= सकाशात्) रज्जुः १, नमिल्यायायाः परितः लस्तुकः (= बन्धन-विशेषः³ ;
यद्वा—लस्तुकः = धनुर्मध्यम्) १ ॥” अपरिमित-गुणस्य मम-गतस्य (= हृदये दत्त-स्थानस्य =

¹ Read °गिर.

² Burrow : “Whatever communication he makes to you there, by all means his words must be listened to. Let this *Srāmaṇera* be under your care. Let them do nothing in disregard of him. We have sent a small present, so that you need not worry about the present.”

³ Cf. Hindi *latti*, ‘the string of a child’s top; a cloth tied to the end of a pole to direct the flight of pigeons; a filler.’

प्रियस्य) प्रियभ्रातुः चोङ्गो-बुद्धरक्षितस्य पदाभ्यां धर्मप्रियः आरोग्यं संप्रेषयति बहु ॥¹
श्रामणेरः (=श्रामणेर-सम्बन्धि-लेखः) ॥

No. 6 (=BRS No. 358)

Leather Document

TEXT²

Obverse

- 1 मङ्गनुअव महरय लिहति चोङ्गो-सोङ्गकस्³ मंस देति ।(*) एवं च जनन्द भविद्वय
यो लिहमि ।(*) सच यहि रज-किचस् क्रि-
- 2 देन अनदि दित तह रज-कर्यंमि ओसुक अवजिद्वय ।(*) अवि स्वस् जिबिद-परिचगेन
अनद रक्षिद्वय यहि खेम खोतनदे वर्तमन सियति ।(*) एम चेव महि महरयस्
पदमुलमि विंजविद्वय ।(*) यो च अदेहि लेहरग्-चदियस् ह-
- 3 स्तमि विंजति-लेख प्रहितेसि तह सर्व-अर्थो स्मि ।(*) अपि च विंजवेतु
कल-पुर्णबलस् उट २ न इश थियंति पलयति ।(*) एदे उट अल लं चग् परिपलि-
तव्य ।(*) पिवरए होतु ।(*) शरतंमि न-इ चि इश अनिद्वो ।(*)
- 4 अवि विंजवेसि यथ कल-पुर्णबल-नि-चमकस् मनुशन अंजे जन कर्मवेति ।(*)
लिहिदग् सविक्ष नस्ति ।(*) से मनुश कल-पुर्णबलस् नमेन निखलिद्वो ।(*) येष
विचद सियति रय-द्वरंमि गरहिद्वय ।(*)
- 5 अवि च यो इश [अवर]धि हुयंति इशेव तेष मर्तव्य हुअति इत्यर्थ अल
विसज्जिदम ।(*) श्रयति विहरवल अल दनु-क्लिमचियन मसु-ग्त्सेन सुठ विहेडेति
विन[जेति] ।(*) [दिवसि] निसग् विहरवल-
- 6 म् मध पुल-परिवरस्य च दनु-क्लिमयटे दद्वो अट यं च सतु वचरि ४ ।(*)
यथ-अवरधि-धर्मेन रक्षिद्वो न हस्त पददे ओडिण्यति न बलस्त⁶ भविष्यति ।(*)
अवि सुदर्शनस् इमदे कुड

¹ This sentence appears to bear a message from Dharmapriya to Chojhbo Buddhara-kshita in a letter actually from Chojhbo-Yilli and his wife Namalgaya to the Great Chojhbo Somchaka,

² From the facsimile in *Ancient Khotan*, Plate 93. The record has been translated by F. W. Thomas in *Acta Orientalia*, XIII (1935), p. 64, and by Burrow in his *Translation*, pp. 69f.

³ Evidently the same as Somchaka of the previous inscription.

⁴ BRS : विनटे वे दिनसि. Burrow connects निसग् with निस्सय.

⁵ BRS read यं भ in the text.

⁶ Thomas बलस्त=वा लस्त. Burrow points out the improbability of the change of initial व to व. He takes it to be an unknown word.

- 7 [२] विसृजितंति (।*) एदे तस् वंति ओडिदवो (।*) तेन विधनेन तनु किल्मेयदे भत ददव्य (।*) एम चेव सुरक्खिद कर्तव्य (।*) अवि अत्त सुदर्शनस् अत्त किल्मेयि-गोठ २ (।*) एदे जंन
- 8 शवथ शवाविदव्य न इमदे पप कर्य मत्त जल्लिदव्य न अदेहि श्रुनिदव्य (।*) वेल्-वेलय एदे जंन सुदर्शनस् वंति ओडिदवो (।*) अवि बहुवर अजदि-लेख गद पोठ-
- 9 ग-सल्लुविद्यस् पलयने-मनुश-देयनए (।*) यव अजक न देनसि खंनवट्ठेसि (।*) चवळ ददवो (।*) यदि अहुनो भुय चवल न दस्यसि मनसंमि हुजु (।*) सिहधर्मस् पुत्त चवल श्रमनेर दनु
- 10 निखलिदवो (।*) कुतिश-धर्म श्रमन अंनेस दस ददवो (।*) मसे, ४(+*)२ दिवसे, १०(+*)३ (।*)

Reverse

चोम्बो सौजकस् ददवो (।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महानुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोम्बो-सौजकस्य मन्त्रं ददाति ।—“एवं च जानता भवितव्यं [त्वया] यत् लिखामि । तत् (= यत्) च—यथा राज-कृत्यस्य कृतेन आज्ञासिः दत्ता, तथा राजकार्ये औत्सुक्यम् आवर्जयितव्यं (= विधेयम्) । अपि [च] स्वस्य जीवित-परित्यागेन आज्ञासम् (= आज्ञा) रक्षितव्यं, यथा (= येन) क्षेमं (= मङ्गलं) खोतन्मतः (= तदाख्य-राज-धानीतः = राजसकाशान्) वर्तमानं स्यात् (= आगच्छेत्) । एवं च एव [सर्वं] मम महाराजस्य पादमूले विज्ञापयितव्यम् । यं च अतः (= अमुष्मात् स्थानात्) लेख-हारक-चडियस्य हस्ते [त्वं] विज्ञासिलेखं प्रहितवानसि, तथा (= तत्पाठात्) सर्वज्ञातार्थोऽस्मि । अपि च [त्वया] विज्ञापितं [यत्] कल-पूर्णबलस्य (= कलोपाधिकपूर्णबलस्य) उष्ट्रौ २ न अस्मिन् [स्थाने] श्रयतः (= तिष्ठतः), [परंतु] पलायेते । एतौ उष्ट्रौ अत्त (= तत्त) रब्जकं (= रब्जयित्वा)¹ पालयितव्यौ । पीवरो भवताम् । शरदि² [तौ उष्ट्रौ] नक्खित् (= न) अस्मिन् [स्थाने] आनेतव्यौ ॥ अपि [च] [त्वं मां] विज्ञापयसि यथा कल-पूर्णबल-नि (= कल-पूर्णबलापराख्य)-चमकस्य मनुष्येण³ (= भृत्येन) अन्ये जनाः कर्मयन्ति (= भृत्यकर्म कारयन्ति) । लिखितकं (= स्वामित्व-प्रत्यायकं पत्तादि) साक्षी [च]

¹ Burrow : 'properly'.

² Thomas takes शरदि with the previous sentence.

³ I.e., servant; cf. Bengali *munish*. Burrow : "a man belonging to Chamaka of *k ala* Pūṇabala is doing work there, and not other people; ... there are neither written documents nor witnesses."

नास्ति । सः मनुष्यः कल-पूर्णबलस्य नाम्ना निष्कालयितव्यः = परेषां भृत्यकर्मणः बहिष्कर्तव्यः) । येषां विवादः स्यात्, राजद्वारे गर्हयितव्यम् (= अभियोक्तव्यं) [तैः] ॥ अपि च 'यैः अस्मिन् [धर्माधिकरणे] अपराधिभिः भूयते अस्मिन् [धर्माधिकरणे] एव तैः मर्त्तव्यम् भवति' इत्यर्थम् (= त्वया एवं विज्ञापितत्वात्) अत्र (= तत्र) [अपराधिनः] विसर्जितवान् अस्मि । श्रूयते, विहारपालः अत्र (= तत्र) तनु (= आत्मनः)-किल्मे-कीयानां मद्यमांसेन सुष्ठु विहृतयति' (= विशेषेण विहारं करोति - अपचिनोति) विनाशयति [च] । दिवसीयः निश्रयः (= दैनिकं खाद्यादिकं) विहार-पालाय सार्द्धं पुत्र-परिवारेण तनु-किल्मियतः (= विहारपालस्य स्व-विषयतः) दातव्यः—अट्टं (= गोधूमचूर्णं)² यत् च शक्तं वच्यः ४ (= चतुर्वचरी परिमाणम् अट्टशक्तुक्) । [सः] यथापराधिधर्मेण रक्षितव्यः, न हस्त-पादतः उद्धास्यते (= वञ्चयिष्यते = पाणिपादं न कर्त्तव्यते) ; न तस्य बलास्तं (= शनिक्रयः) भविष्यति ॥ अपि सुदर्शनाय अतः कुटौ (= पात्रे) २ विसर्ज्यते । एतो तस्य उपान्ते उद्घातव्यौ । तेन विधानेन (= पूर्वोक्त-विधानेन) [सुदर्शनाय] तनु-किल्मियतः भक्तं (= आहार्यं) दातव्यम् । एवं च एव सुरक्षितः कर्त्तव्यः [सः] । अपि च अत्र (= तत्र) सुदर्शनस्य अत्र किल्मकीय-गोष्ठे २ । एतैः जनैः (= किल्मेकीयैः शपथः शापयितव्यः 'न अतः पापं कार्यं', मन्त्रः [च] जल्पितव्यः ; न अमुतः (= कारास्थ-सुदर्शनात्) [मन्त्रः] श्रोतव्यः । वेला[यां] वेलायां (= काले काले एते जनाः सुदर्शनस्य उपान्ते उद्घातव्याः ॥ अपि च बहु-वारं आज्ञप्ति-लेखः गतः (= प्रेषितः) सोढंग-सलुवियाय पलायन-मनुष्य-दानाय (= पलायितः) । यावत् अद्य न दत्तवान् असि । क्षणवर्त्तकः (= कालक्षेपकः) असि । चपलं दातव्यः [मनुष्यः त्वया] । यदि अधुना भूयः चपलं न दास्यसि, मनसि [ते मनुष्य-दान-कथा] भवतु ॥ सिंहधर्मस्य पुत्रः चपलं श्रामणेरः [त्वया] तनुः (= स्वयं) निष्कालयितव्यः । सिंहधर्म-पुत्रस्य कृतेशधर्मः (= प्रभुधर्मी = प्रभुः⁴ श्रमणः [अस्ति चेत्, तस्मै] अन्यस्य दासः दातव्यः ॥" मासि ६, दिवसे १३ ॥

चोड्वो-सोन्नकाय दातव्या [कील-मुद्रा] ॥

¹ Or, विहृतयति from विहृट्, 'injury'.

² Cf. the Bengali and Hindi word आटा.

³ Burrow: "He is to be kept under the conditions [prescribed] for criminals [in such a way, namely that] he shall not be free either hand or foot and shall not be *balasta*. These people are to be made to swear an oath, and no mere scandal is to be talked from here or heard there." Thomas: "Further, we have sent to you to the effect that those who are here offenders are to die here. We hear that the monastery-master there causes much damage to the vine crops of his own *kulma*-people with flesh, by reason of the corpses (*vinashte*) which you give him. On the part of the monastery-master and from the sons and family [of the condemned man] is to be supplied from their own *kilmi* flour, and any meal, *tacaris* 4, so that the offender may [during the interval before his execution 'here'] be kept properly alive".

⁴ कुतिश् (from a stem कु?) = कोडि, according to some.

No. 7 (= BRS No. 579)

Rectangular Double-Tablet

TEXT¹

Covering-tablet : Obverse

- 1 एष प्रबनग मोगत-नि-भुमस् प्रचेय (।*)
- 2 तिविर-रमसोत्स अनद धरिदवो (।।*)

Under-tablet : Obverse

- 1 संवत्सरे ४ (+*)४ (+*)१ महरय रयतिरयस् महंतस् जयंतस् धर्मियस् सच-
धर्म-स्थिदग्
- 2 महनुअव-महरय-अंकग-देवपुत्स वक्षुनंमि मसे. ४ (+*)२ तिवसे. १० (+*)४
(+*)१ (।*) अस्ति मनु-
- 3 श चर-पुरुष मोगत नम (।*) से. उथिद तिविर-रमसोत्स वंति अक्रि-भुम विक्रिद
अङ्गि-
- 4 नि-भिज-पयति मिलिम १ खि १० गिड मुळि तवस्तग हस्त १० (+*)३ बदश (।।)
मुलिये-
- 5 न संम संम सरजितंति (।*) तह एदस् भुमस् वंति तिविर-रमसोत्स एष्वर्थं हु-
- 6 द ववन्नए किपन्नए अंजस् प्रहुइ देयन्नए सर्व-योग-परिभुटन्नए
- 7 किकम करंनि सियति (।*) एद क्रय-विक्र क्कितंति पुरठिद महात्मन (।*)
सविक्ष जनं-
- 8 ति रज-दरो क्कित्तेत्स पितेय काल-करंत्स (।*) स च सविक्ष अप्सुअन अघिय-
शांच[।] (।*) स च
- 9 सविक्ष भियो अंज सविक्ष तोघ-कुवय सविक्ष वसु-चटिय सविक्ष

Covering-tablet : Reverse

- 1 अप्सु-करंत्स सविक्ष चोडवो-लुम्तु सविक्ष वुर्यग-गित सविक्ष त्सधि|नव|-
कपोत सविक्ष
- 2 कोरि-ख्वल्य यस वटयग शिरास सविक्ष (।*) को पश्चिम-कळमि वेतेयति चोतेयति

¹ From Stein, *Serindia*, p. 361 Plate XXIII.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

- 3 सजेयति तह रयद्वरमि मो चोदति अग्रमनं च सियति (।*) एष प्रवन्नग लिखि-
 4 दग महि दिविर-तमस्व-पुलेन दिविर-मोगतस् त[न] महत्वन अनतेन (।*)
 प्रमन व-
 5 षं-सहस्रमि ।*) यवजिवो
 6¹ सुख-छिनिदं कित्तेत्सस् वटयग
 7 श्रोङ्ग स*। कर्मेनव-शोदि(ते?)ङ्गस् च (।।*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

एतत् प्रपर्णकं² (= पल्लम् = आज्ञापत्री। मोगत-निज-भूमनः (= मोगत-भूमनः) प्रत्यये
 (= सम्पर्के)। दिविर-रम्भोत्सस्य (= रम्भोत्सेण) आज्ञसं धर्तव्यम् ॥³

संवत्सरे [नवमे] ९ महाराज-राजातिराजस्य महतः जयतः धार्मिकस्य सत्यधर्मस्थितस्य
 महानुभाव-महाराजाविवग-देवपुत्रस्य क्षणे (= शासन-समये) मासे ६ दिवसे १४। अस्ति मनुष्यः
 चर-पुरुषः (= गूढचारः) मोगतः नाम। सः उत्थाय (= स्वेच्छया) दिविर-रम्भोत्सस्य उपान्ते
 (= रम्भोत्सं प्रति) अग्र-भुम्नं (= उत्तम-भूमिं) विक्रीतवान् ; [अस्मिन्] अडिनि-वोज-पर्याप्तिः⁴
 (= अडिनिनामक-शस्यबीजानां वपनाय पर्याप्त-परिमाणं) मिलिम० १ खि० १० ; गृहीतं मूल्यं
 तापवस्त्रकाणि हस्ताः १३ (= तयोदशहस्त-परिमितानि) द्वादश (= द्वादश-संख्यकानि)।⁵ मूल्येन
 सम्यक् सम्यक् संरब्ज्येते [क्रेतृ-विक्रेतारौ]। तथा एतस्य भूमनः उपान्ते (= भूमिं प्रति) दिविर-
 रम्भोत्सस्य ऐश्वर्यं (= स्वामित्वं) भूतं वपनाय कर्षणाय अन्यस्मै प्राभृत-दानाय सर्वभोगपरि-
 भोगाय - किंकर्म (= यत्किमपि कर्म) करणीयं स्यात् [भूम्यां अस्याम्]। [क्रेतृविक्रेतारौ] एतत्
 क्रयविक्रयं कुरुतः पुरःस्थितौ [सन्तौ] महात्मनोः (= मुख्यराजपुरुषयोः) ; [महात्मानौ] साक्षिणौ तौ
 च एतत् जानीतः—राज-दार[कः] कित्तेत्सः, पितृव्यः (= राज-पितृव्यः)⁶ कल-करंत्सः [च]। तौ च
 साक्षिणौ अप्सूनां (= अप्सूयवंश्यानां?) अप्पीय-शांचौ (= तदाख्यौ)। ते च साक्षिणः भूयः
 अन्ये—साक्षी तौघ-कुवयः, साक्षी वसु-चडियः, साक्षी अप्सु-करंत्सः, साक्षी चोड्वो-लुस्तुः, साक्षी

¹ The letters are in the middle of the line.

² Cf. the Persian word *parwana*.

³ Burrow : "This receipt concerning land of Mogata is to be carefully preserved by the scribe Ramshotsa." दिविर = कायस्थ ; cf. Persian *dabir*.

⁴ Cf. the words द्रोणवाप, कुलवाप, etc. मिनिम and खि are probably abbreviations indicating names of measures.

⁵ Burrow : "thirteen hands (i.e. cubits) of carpet valued at twelve."

⁶ Burrow : "the royal administrator, the *kitsailsa* Peteya." सहात्सा = a magistrate.

दुयंग-गितः, साक्षी त्सचिनव-कपोतः, साक्षी कोरि-प्वल्यः यस्य वर्तकः (=स्थलवर्ती= प्रतिनिधिः)¹ शिरासः साक्षी । कः (-यः कश्चित्) पश्चिमकाले विवादयति (यद्वा—वेदयति), चोदयति (=विवादयितुं प्रोत्साहयति), सजायते [विवादयितुं] (यद्वा—संजयति भूकृतारं), तथा राजद्वारे मुखं चोदयति (=राजकुले निवेदयति), [तस्य विवाद-चोदना-संजयनादिकं सर्वम्] अप्रमाणम् (=अयथार्थं—प्रमाणविरुद्धं) स्यात् । एतत् प्रपणकं लिखितकं (=लिखितं) मया दिविर-तमस्व-पुत्रेण दिविर-मोगतेन तेषां महात्मनां (=साक्षि-भूतानां राजदारक-राजपितृव्या-दीनाम्) आज्ञतेन (=आज्ञया) । [अस्य] प्रमाणं (=प्रामाण्यं) वर्ष-सहस्रे (=सहस्रं व्याप्य) [भविष्यति] । यावज्जीवं (=चिराय) सूख-चिह्नितं² [क्षेत्रं=क्षेत्रसोमा] कित्सेत्सस्य वर्तकेन श्रोत्रेण, कर्षेणव-शोदिक्नेन च ॥

No. 8 (=BRS No. 661)

Oblong Tablet

TEXT³

Obverse

- 1 संवत्सरे १० मसे, ३ धिवस्स १० (+*) ४ (+*) ४ (१०) इज्ज क्षुनमि खोतन-महरय-रयतिरय-हिनभदेव-विजि-⁴
- 2 दसिंहस्य (१०) त-कलि अस्ति मनुश(=शे) नगरग(=ग) ख्वर्नसँ-नम (१०) तथ मद्र(=द्रे)दि (१०) अस्ति मयि उटः (१०) तनुवगः सो उटः अ-
- 3 विहज्जु हरदि धहि-अधि तद्विज्जु.⁵ वशो (१०) त इदनि सो उटो विक्रिनामि मुख्यल्ये -)न मष(-षे)-सहस्र अष्टि ४ (+*)
- 4 ४ (x*) १००० सुलिग-वगिति-वधगस्य सगज्जि (१०) तस्य [उटस्य किद(=दे) वगिति-वधग(-गे) निरवशिषो मुख्यो मस् =सँ] धितु ख्व-
- 5 नंसंस्य ग्रहिडु शुधि उवगडु (१०) अजि उवदयि सो उटः वगिति-वधगस्य तनुवगः संजितः (१०) यथ-गम ग्रनीयः (१०)

¹ I.e., साचिषः कोरि-प्वल्यस्य प्रतिनिधिः शिरासः साक्षी. Burrow : 'attendant.'

² Burrow : 'cut the string' (पूर्वं कृत्स्नम्).

³ From Stein, *Serindia*, p. 291, Plate XXXVIII, and *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, II, Plate XII. See Noble, *BSOS*, V, pp. 445f.; Burrow, *ibid.*, VI, pp. 430f.; Konow, *Act. Or.*, XIII, pp. 231f. A consonant with a dot above it (possibly representing short *e*) is indicated here as in श्(=शे), etc.

⁴ BRS : ०भस्स अविजि०.

⁵ BRS : अचित् दज्ज. अधि = अज्ज (Konow); अषट् (Burrow).

6. सर्वकिंच करणीयः (१०) यो पचेम-कलि तस्य उटस्य किद (= दे) चुदियदि विदियदि
विवदु उयवियदि त (= ते न तथ
7. भदु धिनदि यथ रजधमुं स्यदि (१०) मय धलवगु, बहुधिव (= वे) लिखिदु ख्वर्णसंस्य
अजिषनयि पुरदु स्य श न¹
8. र स²
9. ननिवधग (= गे) सक्षि शशिवक (= के) सक्षि स्यनियक (= के) सक्षि (१०)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरे १० मासे ३ दिवसे १८ । इह (—अस्मिन्) क्षणे खोतन्न (Khotan)-महाराज-
राजातिराज-हीनाप्यदेव-विजितसिंहस्य (= हीनाप्यदेवनाम्नः विजितसिंहोपनामकस्य)^१ ।
तत्काले अस्ति मनुष्यः नागरकः (= नगरवासी) ख्वर्णसं-नामा । [सः] तथा मन्त्रयते
—“अस्ति मे उष्ट्रः । तनुवकः (= स्वकः) सः उष्ट्रः अभिज्ञानं धरति दाहाङ्गं तादृशं
‘वशो’ (= वशो इति दाहाङ्गम्) । तत् इदानीं तम् उष्ट्रं विक्रीणामि मूल्येन माष-सहस्राष्ट-
[केन] ८००० सुलिक-वगिति-वधगस्य (= सुलिकजातीय-वगितिनामकस्थानवासि-वधगाख्यस्य १)
सकाशे ।” तस्य उष्ट्रस्य कृते वगिति-वधगेन निरवशेषः मूल्य-माषः दत्तः (= दत्तः), ख्वर्णसेन [च]
गृहीतः; [विक्रयसम्बन्धीयाः] शुद्धिः (—परिशोधः) उपगता । अद्य उपादाय (= अद्य प्रभृति) सः
उष्ट्रः वगिति-वधगस्य तनुवकः (= स्वकः) संवृत्तः; यथाकामं करणीयः (= व्यवहरणीयः [उष्ट्रः
वधगेन]) । सर्व-कृत्यं करणीयम् [अनेन उष्ट्रेण वधगेन] । यः पश्चिम-काले तस्य उष्ट्रस्य कृते
चोदयति (= विवादयितुं प्रोत्साहयति), वेदयति (= राजकुले निवेदयति), विवादम् उत्था-
पयति [च], तस्य तथा दण्डः दीयेत (—तेन विधानेन दण्डः देयः) यथा राजधर्मः स्यात् ।
मया धलवगु-बहुधिवे[न] (= धलवगुग्रामस्य तदाख्यवंशस्य वा बहुधिव-नाम्ना) लिखितः [लेखः]
ख्वर्णसंस्य अध्येषणया (= प्रार्थनया) पुरतः स्प०, श०, न०, र०, स० (—स्प-शादि-
नामपूर्वभागानां साक्षिणाम्)^४ । ननि-वधगः साक्षी, शशिवकः साक्षी, स्यनियकः साक्षी ॥

¹ In larger characters with long stems, apparently initials of three witnesses. Cf. note 4 below.

^२ These two letters are in Brāhmī. They are followed by some letters and symbols which cannot be read. On the reverse there are various isolated *aksharas*, many of which are Brāhmī. These may be the initials of various witnesses some of whom were used to writing in Brāhmī.

^३ *Hinajha* is connected with Iranian *henaja*, ‘commander of armies’. BRS make *हिनभस्य* अविजित०.

^४ It is possible that स्प = स्यनियक, श = शशिवक and न = ननिवधग.

BOOK III

**Inscriptions of the Gupta Age from the
Fourth to the Sixth Century A.D.**

CHAPTER I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

No. 1—Inscription on Gold Coins mentioning Chandragupta I (c. 320-35 A.D.)¹ and Kumaradevi and the Lichchhavis

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 8f.

First Side²

Chandragupta I standing to left, wearing close-fitting coat, trousers and head-dress, ear-rings and armlets, holding in left hand a crescent-topped

¹ See *infra*, p. 270, note 4. On stylistic grounds Allan takes these coins to be issues of Samudragupta in commemoration of his father and mother. But, since the name of Samudragupta is absent, Allan's plausible theory has not been generally accepted. A. S. Altekar has recently revived the old theory that the coins were issued by Chandragupta I (*JRASB*, III, Num. Sup., No. 47). Some recent writers are inclined to rely on the details of Gupta history as found in the *Kaliyugarājarpittānta* section of the *Bhaviṣhyottara Purāṇa* (M. Krishnamachariar, *Hist. Classical Sans. Lit.*, pp. cii-iii; *J.N.S.I.*, V, pp. 35-36, etc.) :

श्रीघटोत्कचयुगस्य तनयोऽमितविक्रमः ।
लब्धप्रवेशो राज्येऽर्धान् लिच्छवीनां सहायतः ।
लिच्छवीयां समुद्राह्वं देव्याश्चन्द्रश्रियोऽनुजाम् ।
चन्द्रश्रियं घातयित्वा निषेणैव हि केनचित् ।
वर्षेस्तु सप्तभिः प्राप्तं राज्यं वीरायणीरसौ ।
आन्ध्रं भागधं राज्यं प्रसञ्चाप्यदृष्टि ।
विजयादित्यनाम्ना तु सप्त पाञ्चयिता समाः ।
एकच्छत्रवक्त्रवर्चो पुत्रस्य सहायशाः ।
वयस्कं पितरं हत्वा सहपुत्रं सन्ध्यावम् ।

कुमारदेवीमुद्राह्वं नेपालाधीशितुः सुताम् ॥
सेनाध्यक्षपदं प्राप्य नानासैन्यसमन्वितः ॥
राष्ट्रीयस्त्रालको भूत्वा राजपदं च चोदितः ॥
तत्पुत्रप्रतिभूत्वे च राज्ञा चैव नियोजितः ॥
तत्पुत्रं च पुलोमानं विनिहत्य वृषार्भकम् ॥
क(का)चेन स्वेन पुत्रेण लिच्छवीयेन संयुतः ॥
स्वनाम्ना तु शकं त्वेकं स्थापयिष्यति भूतले ॥
नेपालाधीशदौहित्रो स्नेच्छसैन्यैः समावृतः ॥
अशोकादित्यनाम्ना तु प्रख्यातो जगतीतले ॥ etc.

These details may be summarised as follows. The son of Ghaṭotkachagupta (sic. Ghaṭotkacha), i.e. Chandragupta I, married Kumāradevi, daughter of the Lichchhavi king of Nepal, and sister-in-law of the Andhra king Chandrasri of Magadha. He became first *Senādhyaksha* of the Magadhan army with Lichchhavi help and then became *rāshṭriya-śyālaka*. He killed Chandrasri and, after 7 years, also the latter's son Puloman. With the help of his son Kācha, the Lichchhavi, he extirpated Andhra rule from Magadha which he ruled for 7 years with the title Vijayāditya. He started a Saka or era of his own. His son Samudragupta, daughter's son of the Nepal king, became king with the title Aśokāditya after having killed his father and other relations with the help of the Mlechchhas. These details go against many of the known facts of early Indian history. The Andhras never ruled in Magadha and Chandragupta and Samudragupta were never known respectively as Vijayāditya and Aśokāditya. Samudragupta did not kill his father. The account has to be regarded as a foolish forgery assignable to the 19th century when the reconstruction of Gupta history on epigraphic and numismatic basis was at its beginning.

² From representations in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate III, No. 1 f. The gold coins of the Guptas were called *dināra* (from Roman *denarius*).

standard bound with fillet, and with right hand offering an object (which on some coins is a ring) to Kumāradevi who stands on the left, to right, wearing loose robe, ear-rings, necklace and armlets, and tight-fitting head-dress; both nimbate; inscription in Sanskrit language and Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class¹ :—

(right, on either side of the standard) च² [गु]
द्र [म][ः*] (i.e., चंद्रगुप्तः)

(left) कुन[ः*]र[दि]व[ी*]³

Second Side

Lakshmi⁴, nimbate; wearing long loose robe; seated, facing, on lion couched to right or left; holding fillet in outstretched right hand and cornucopiae in left arm; her feet rest on lotus; behind her on left are traces of the back of throne on most specimens; border of dots; inscription in Sanskrit language and Late Brāhmī characters :—
(right) [लि]च्छवयः⁵.

No. 2—Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.)⁶

In the ALLAHABAD Fort, U.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 6 ff.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1538
(for other references).

¹ See *infra*, p. 263, note 1

² On some specimens, we have च
द्र (i.e., चंद्र०).

³ On some specimen, we have कदेवी-श्रीः.

⁴ The lion may possibly indicate that the goddess represents the Annapūrpā aspect of Ambikā. Gupta gold coins are imitated directly from those of the Kushāṇas and indirectly from those of the Indo-Greeks. The goddess may ultimately be an adaptation of the Greek goddess Pallas Athene; but it is directly connected with the goddess Ardoksho of the Kushāṇa coins.

⁵ This type of the coins and the claim of Samudragupta to have been a *Lichchhavi-dauhitra* appear to point to the fact that Chandragupta I received the Lichchhavi dominions through the right of his wife. The republican tribe of the Lichchhavis is known to have ruled in North Bihār and later in Nepāl. It is however not impossible that Chandragupta I actually got Magadha from the Lichchhavis who were possibly in possession of that region in the early years of the 4th century A.D. It is interesting to note that the Purāṇas recognise early Gupta rule only over Prayāga on the Ganges, Sāketa (=Ayodhyā) and Magadha.

⁶ See *infra*, No. 9, note 1. The pillar also bears two Aśokan records (*supra*, Bk. I. Nos. 33-34).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class¹

Metre: Verses 1-2, cannot be determined; V. 3 स्रग्धरा;
V. 4 शाङ्खलविक्रीडित; V. 5 स्रग्धरा; V. 6 मन्दाक्रान्ता;
V. 7 शाङ्खलविक्रीडित; V. 8 स्रग्धरा; V. 9 पृथ्वी

TEXT²

- 1' ...कुल्यैः(?) ..स्वे ... ।तस.....
- 2 [यस्य ?'] (॥*) [१*]
- 3 . मुं(?) व...
- 4 [स्फु]रङ्ग(?) .. क्षः स्फुटोद्ध[']सितप्रवितत... ..(॥*) [२*]
- 5 यस्य प्र[ज्ञानु]षङ्गोचित-सुख-मनसः शास्त्र-त[त्त्व]।त्यं-भक्तुः
—स्तब्धो— — — नि— — — नोच्छृ— — — —(॥*)
- 6 [स*]त्काव्य-श्री-विरोधान्बुध-गुणित-गुणाज्ञाहृतानेव कृत्वा
[वि]द्वल्लोके(॥*)वि[ना][शि*] स्फुटबहु-कविता-कीर्ति-राज्यं भुनक्ति (॥*) [३]
- 7 [ए*][हे]हीत्युपगुह्य भाव-पिशुनैरुत्कर्षितै रोमभिः
सम्येषूच्छसितेषु तुल्य-कुलज-म्लानाननोद्वीक्ष[त]ः (॥*)
- 8 [स्ने]ह-व्यालुक्लितेन बाष्प-गुरुणा तत्त्वेक्षिणा चक्षुषा
यः पित्राभिहितो नि[रीक्ष्य] निखि[लां*] [पाद्येव*][मुर्वी]मिति (॥*) [४]
- 9 [ह*]ष्टा कर्माण्यनेकान्यमनुज-सदृशान्य[द्भु]तोन्निरुद्ध-हर्षा
भ[॥*]वैरास्वादयन्तः*] — — — — — — — — — — [के*]चित् (॥*)

¹ The name Brāhmī is usually applied to the early form of the script which is found in the pre-Gupta records, though it must not be supposed that Aśokan forms of letters continued up to the Gupta period. As a matter of fact, letters gradually changed and there is a great deal of difference between the characters of 'Aśokan' Brāhmī and those of 'Kushāṇa' Brāhmī. The developed Brāhmī as noticed in the records of the Gupta age is sometimes called the Gupta Script. This dynastic name is unsatisfactory. The script developed differently in different parts of the land; but usually two classes—North Indian and South Indian—are recognised. The three stages in the development of Brāhmī both in the North and the South, as indicated above, may preferably be characterised as Early, Middle and Late corresponding respectively to the so-called Aśokan, Kushāṇa and Gupta scripts.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. The record was engraved late in the king's life, but before his performance of the Aśvamedha. See *infra*, p. 275, note 2.

³ The first four lines, containing two verses, are almost wholly destroyed.

- 10 वीर्योत्तसाश्च केचिच्छरणमुपगता यस्य वृत्ते(५*)प्रणामे-
(५*)प्य[त्ति १]-[ग्रस्तेषु*] — — — — — (॥*) [५*]
- 11 संग्रामेषु स्व-भुज-विजिता नित्यमुच्चापकाराः
श्वः-श्वो मान-प्र — — — — — (॥*)
- 12 तोषोत्तुङ्गैः स्फुट-बहु-रस-स्नेह-फुल्लैर्मनोभिः
पश्चात्तापं व — — — — — म[?] स्य[?]द्वसन्त[सृ१] (॥*) [१०]
- 13 उद्वेलोदित-बाहु-वीर्य-रभसादेकेन येन क्षणा-
दुन्मूल्याच्युत-नागसेन-ग¹ — — — — — (*)
- 14 दण्डैर्ग्राह्यतैव कोतकुलजं पुष्पाङ्गये क्रीडता²
सूर्य्ये(१) नित्य(१) — — — — — (॥*) [७]
- 15 धर्म-प्राचीर-बन्धः शशि-र-शुचयः कीर्तयः स-प्रताना
वैदुष्यं तत्त्व-भेदि प्रशम — — — — — सु(सु१) — — — — — तात्थ्यम् (१) (१*)
- 16 [अद्धेयः] सूक्त-मार्गाः कवि-मति-विभवोत्सारणं चापि कान्यं
को नु स्याद्यो ५*)स्य न स्याद्गुण-मति-[वि]दुषां ध्यानपात्रं य एकः (॥*) [८]
- 17 तस्य विविध-समर-शतावतरण-दक्षस्य स्वभुज-बल-पराक्रमैकबन्धोः पराङ्गमाङ्गस्य
परशु-शर-शङ्कु-शक्ति-प्रासासि-तोमर-
- 18 भिन्दिपाल-न[१]राच-वैतस्तिकाद्यनेक-प्रहरण-विरूढाकुल-व्रग-शताङ्ग-शोभा -समुदयो-
पचित-क्रान्तर-वर्ष्मणः
- 19 कौसलकमहेन्द्र-माह[१*]कान्तारकव्याघ्रराज-कौरालकमण्टराज-पैष्टपुरक-
महेन्द्रगिरि-कौटूरकस्वामिदत्तैरण्डपक्षकदमन-काञ्चेयकविष्णुगोपावमुक्तक-

¹ न may be supposed to be the first *akshara* of the name गणपति (cf. line 21 below). The lacuna then may be conjecturally filled up by गणपत्यादौमृपान् सङ्गरे.

² A prince of the Keta family appears to have been captured by his army while he was playing at the city of Pushpa (=Pushpapura=Pāṭaliputra), which may have been the capital of the king. Cf. the epithet पाटलिपुत्रक of a minister of Chandragupta II in *infra*, No. 11, and the epithets पाटलिपुरवराधीश्वर and उज्जयिनीपुरवराधीश्वर both applied to that king in the records of the Guttas of Guttala in the Dharwar District, South India; cf. also the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* tradition of Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya of Ujjayini, and of Vikramāditya described as the king of Pāṭaliputraka. Cf. Raychandhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 468. After Chandragupta II, the first historical Vikramāditya, had extirpated the Sakas of Western India, Ujjayini possibly became the second capital of the Gupta empire. The Guttas may have been descendants of a Kumāra viceroy of Ujjayini.

- 20 नीलराज-वैङ्ग्यकहस्तिवर्म-पालककोयसेन - देवराष्ट्रककुबेर - कौस्थलपुरक-
धनञ्जय-प्रभृति-सर्वदक्षिणापथराज - ग्रहण-मोक्षानुग्रह - जनित-प्रतापोन्मिश्र-माहा-
भाग्यस्य¹
- 21 रुद्रदेव-मतिल - नागदत्त - चन्द्रवर्म-गणपतिनाग-नागमेनाच्युत-नन्दि-बल-
वर्माद्यनेकार्यावर्त्तराज-प्रसभोद्धरणोद्धृत-प्रभाव-महतः² परिचारकीकृत-सर्वाट-
विक-राजस्य³
- 22 समतट-डवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल-कर्त्तृपुरादि-प्रत्यन्त - नृपतिभिर्मालवाजुनायन-
यौधेय-माद्रकाभीर-प्राज्ञ-सनजानीक-काक-खरपरिकादिभिश्च⁴ सर्व-कर-
दानाज्ञाकरण-प्रणामागमन-

¹ Kosala = South Kosala, mod. Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilāspur region, —old cap. Śrīpura, 40 miles NE of Raipur. Mahākāntāra was a jungly territory; Vyāghrarāja (cf. also below, No. 49, note) is wrongly identified with Vyāghradeva (feudatory of Vākāṭaka Prithivīśheṇa II) of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions. Kaunāla is possibly the 'Kaunāla water' = the Kollair Lake near Ellore, W. Godavari Dist. Koṭṭūra is possibly Kothoor near Mahendragiri in the Ganjam Dist. Piṣṭapura = mod. Piṭhāpuram in the E. Godavari Dist. The king's name is apparently Mahendragiri (for names referring to a hill or ending in *giri*, see Lüder's List, Nos. 217, 299, 315, 475, etc.). Vishnugopa was a Pallava king of Kāñchi and Hastivarman a Śālaṅkāyana king of Veṅḡ. Palakka may be Palakkaḍa in the Nellore region. Devarāshṭra is the Yellamañchili region of the Viśakhapatnam Dist. Kustha'apura may be Kuttalur in the North Arcot Dist. Eraṇḍapalla has been identified with some localities in the Ganjam and Viśakhapatnam Dists. Dakṣiṇāpatha is Peninsular India to the south of the Vindhyan range or the Narmadā river or the city of Māhishmatī on that river.

² Rudradeva is identified with Rudrasena I Vākāṭaka; but the Vākāṭakas of Berar belonged to Dakṣiṇāpatha. Rudradeva may be or Rudrasena III (343-78 A.D. with a break in 352-63 A.D.) of the Śaka dynasty of Western India while Nāgadatta may be an ancestor of the viceregal Dattas of Puṇḍravardhana (cf. *Proc. I. H. C.*, Madras, 1945, pp. 78-81). Matila may be Mattila of a seal found in the Bulandshahr Dist., U. P. Chandrarman may be the king of the Susuniyā inscription (*infra*). Gaṇapatiṇāga and Nāgasena were Nāga princes. The coins of the former have been found at Pawāyā = Padam-Pawāyā = ancient Padmāvatī, a centre of Nāga power according to the Purāṇas. The death of the Nāga prince Nāgasena at Padmāvatī is referred to in the *Harshacharita*. If they both belonged to the house of Padmāvatī, the record may refer to more than one expedition of Samudragupta. Coins of a king named Achyu[ta] have been found at ancient Abhicchhatrā, mod. Rāmnagar in the Bareilly Dist., U. P. In the place of Achyuta and Nandin, we may also suggest a single name, viz. Achyutanandin. But cf. *Mahārāja Achyutavarman of a Rajghat seal (JNSI, XXIII, p. 412)*. According to Manu, Aryāvarta is the land bounded by the Himalayas, the Vindhyas, the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal) and the Western Sea (Arabian Sea). Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 173.

³ Cf. below, No. 50, note.

⁴ Samataṭa was in South-East Bengal possibly with Karmānta (mod. Baḍ-Kāntā near Comilla, Tipperah Dist.) as capital. The chief city of Ḍavāka has been identified by some scholars with modern Ḍabokā in the Naogong Dist., Assam. The country thus corresponds to

- 23 परितोषित-प्रचण्ड-शासनस्य अनेक-भ्रष्टराज्योत्सन्न-राजवंश-प्रतिष्ठापनोद्धृत-निखिल-
भु[व]न-[विचरण-शा]न्त-यशसः देवपुत्रवाहिषाहानुवाहि-प्रकमुरुण्डैः सैहङ्ग-
कादिभिश्च
- 24 सर्व्व-द्वीप-वासिभिरात्मनिवेदन¹ - कन्योपायनदान - गरुत्मदङ्गस्वविषयभुक्तिशासन-
[य]चनाद्युपाय²-सेवा-कृत-बाहु-वीर्य्य-प्रसर-धरणि-बन्धस्य प्रिथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य³
- 25 सुचरित-शतालङ्कृतानेक-गुण-गणोत्सिक्तिभिश्चरग-तल-प्रमृष्टान्य-नरपति-कीर्त्तैः साङ्ग-
साधूदय-प्रलय-हेतु-पुरुषस्याचिन्त्यस्य⁴ भक्त्यवनति-मास-ग्राह्य-मृदुहृदयस्यानुकम्पावतो-
(५*)नेक-गो-शतसहस्र-प्रदायिन[ः]

the valley of the Kapili-Yamunā Kolang rivers (K.L. Barua, *E. Hist. Kāmarūpa*, p.42, note). Kāmarūpa is the Gaubāti region of Assam. Kartripura seems to have comprised Katārpur in the Jalandhar Dist. and the Katuria (Katyur) rāj of Kumaun, Garhwal and Rohilkhand. During this period, the Mālavās (see *supra*, p. 91, note 6; 169, note 6) possibly lived in Rājasthān and West Mālwa. Mālava coins have been discovered in large numbers at [Mālava]-Nagara Tonk Dist., Rājasthān. Coins of the Ārjunāyanas have been found in the Mathurā region (Smith, *Cat.*, p. 160). For the Yaudheyas, see p. 178, note 4. The Prājunas mentioned in the *Arthasāstra* are placed usually in the Narsingpur Dist., M. P. The Sanakānikas lived in East Mālwa (cf. *infra*, No. 19). The Kākas possibly lived in the Kākanādabotā (=Sāñchī) region. The Mādrakas had originally their capital at Sākala=mod. Sialkot in the Panjab. The Ābhiras possibly lived in Aparānta (Northern Konkan) about this time.

¹ For the Skytho-Kushāṇas, see *supra*, pp. 111ff. देवपुत्र = the title देवपुत्र of the Kushāṇa kings. वाहि = *Shāh*, and वाहानुवाहि = *Shāhān Shāh*; cf. *Kshāyathiya*, *Kshāyathiya Kshāyathiyanām*. वाहि may be the Kushāṇa chiefs and वाहानुवाहि their emperor; but the passage देवपुत्रवाहिषाहानुवाहि appears to indicate the Kushāṇa emperor. मुरुण्ड may be a Skythic tribe, or शक-मुरुण्ड may mean 'the Śaka lords'. सैहलक = inhabitants of Simhala or Ceylon. Here is possibly a reference to the people of other islands of the Southern Sea such as Java and Sumatra.

² गरुत्मदङ्ग-स्वविषयभुक्ति-शासन-याचन indicates 'the request for a charter endowed with the Garuḍa seal for the possession (or, administration) of one's own territory.' The Garuḍa bird is found on the standard of the Gupta kings represented on their coins and also on the seals attached to their charters.

³ Read पृथिव्या०.

⁴ Samudragupta claims to have been an incarnation of the Inscrutable Being (Viṣṇu) 'who is the cause of the prosperity of the pious and the destruction of the wicked.' Cf. the *avatāra* conception in the Gītā verse परितापय साधूनां विनाशय च द्यूकताम्। धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय सम्भवामि युगे युगे॥ See also *Gaṇḍavaha*, verses 167-81, 317-32, 1016-39, 1044-45, for king Yaśovarman described as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Samudragupta was certainly a Vaiṣṇava; but his successors, who claim to have been Bhāgavatas, do not apply that epithet to Samudragupta. There was probably some sort of doctrinal difference between Samudragupta's Vaiṣṇavism and the Bhāgavatism of his descendants. See *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, VIII, Nos. 9-10, 1946, pp. 109-11; *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 414.

- 26 [रूप]ण-दीनानाथातुर-जनोद्धरण-सन्तदीक्षाभ्युपगत-मनसः¹ समिद्धस्य विग्रहवतो लोकानुग्रहस्य धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समस्य² स्वभुज-बल-विजितानेक-नरपति-विभव-प्रत्यर्पणा-नित्यव्यापृतायुक्तपुरुषस्य³
- 27 निशितविदग्धमति - गान्धर्वलकितैर्ब्रीडित-विदशपतिगुरु - तुम्बुरुनारदादेर्विद्वज्जनोप⁴-जीव्यानेक-काव्य-विक्रयाभिः प्रतिष्ठित-कविराज-शब्दस्य⁵ सुचिर-स्तोतव्यानेकाद्भुतोदार-चरितस्य
- 28 लोकसमय-विक्रयानुविधान-मात्र-मानुषस्य लोक-धाम्नो देवस्य⁶ महाराज-श्री-गुप्त⁶-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य
- 29 लिच्छवि-दौहित्यस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्कृष्टस्य⁷ महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्र-गुप्तस्य सर्व्व-वृथिवी-विजय-जनितोदय-व्याप्त-निखिलावनितलां कीर्त्तिमितस्त्रिदशपति-
- 30 भवन-गमनावस-लकित-सुख-विचरणामाचक्ष्ण इव भुवो बाहुरथमुच्छ्रितः स्तम्भः (१*) यस्य ।⁸

प्रदान-भुजविवक्रम-प्रशम-शास्त्रवाक्योदयै-

रूपय्युपरि-सञ्चयोच्छ्रितमनेकमार्गां यशः (१*)

- 31 पुनाति भुवनत्रयं पशुपतेर्ज्जटान्तर्गुहा-

निरोध-परिमोक्ष-शीघ्रमिव पाण्डु गाङ्गं [पयः*] (॥*) १*)

एतच्च काव्यमेषामेव⁹ भट्टारकपादानां दासस्य समीप-परिसर्पणानुग्रहोन्मीलित-मतेः

¹ Read सन्न or मन्त्र. But उद्धरण-मन्त्र is better. Fleet : दीक्षाद्युप०.

² Note the conception of a divine king ; cf. Manu, VII, 4-8.

³ आयुक्त = a provincial governor, according to lexicons. Here it possibly indicates 'an officer'. Cf. Yukta in Aśoka's inscriptions and in other sources.

⁴ विदशपतिगुरु = बृहस्पति ; Tumbru—a Gandbharva ; Nārada—inventor of the Vīṇā. See *infra*, No. 6.

⁵ A fragmentary work called *Kṛishṇacharita* was published from Gondal (Kathiawar) in 1941. In the colophon of the work, we have श्रीविक्रमाङ्क-महाराजाधिराज-परमभागवत-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्त-कृतौ कृष्णचरिते, etc. The book however looks like a recent forgery (cf. *Pravāsi*, Pausa, 1350 B.S., p. 303). Samudragupta's gold coin with the epithet *Śricikrama* (*JNSI*, V. p. 136) is also a forgery.

⁶ The name of this chief is Gupta and not Śrigupta. His identification with Śrigupta mentioned by Itsing as having lived about 175 A.D. is not beyond doubt.

⁷ Read ०सुत्पन्न०. For the importance of the claim, see *supra*, No. 1.

⁸ This mark of punctuation is actually unnecessary. Evidently however it was used to separate the word यस्य from the verse following. Fleet believed that lines 29-30 refer to Samudragupta as gone to the abode of Indra (i.e., as dead); but the lines actually refer to the king's fame as reaching heaven (cf. *Raghuvamśa*, VI, 77). Fleet's interpretation has now been discarded by scholars.

⁹ A *Kāvya* may be composed in prose or poetry or in mixed prose and poetry. Harishepa's work belongs to this third variety which is called *Champū*.

- ³ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. The record may actually have been earlier than *supra*, No. 2.

TEXT¹

- 1 १^२ स्वस्ति (१*) महानौ-हस्त्यश्च-जयस्कन्धावारानन्दपुर^१-वासका[स्स]व्वरा-
[जोच्छे]त्तु(ः*) पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधि-सलि[ळास्वा]-
- 2 दित-यशसो धनद-वरुणे[न्द्रा]न्त(क*)-समस्य^१ कृतान्त-परशोन्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-
कोटि-प्रदस्य चिरोत्स[न्ना]-
- 3 श्वमेधाहत्तुर्महाराज-श्री-गु(स*)-प्रपौत्तस्य महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्तस्य महारा-
[जाधि]राज-[श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त]-पुत्र-
- 4 स्य लिच्छवि-दौ[हि]त्तस्य महादेव्याङ्गमारदेव्यामुत्पन्न-परमभा[गवतो] महा-
राजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगु[प्तः] तावि[र्गुण्य](१)-
- 5 वैषयिक भद्रपुष्करकग्राम-क्रिमिलावैषयिकपू[र्स्सना]गमा[म(योः*)] [ब्राह्मण-
पुरोग*]-ग्राम-व[ल]त्कौशभ्या^१माह^२ (१*)
- 6 एव[*] चाह विदितम्बो^३ भवत्वेषौ^४ ग्रा[मौ] [मया] [मा]तापित्तोरा[स्मनश्च]
पु[ण्याभिवृद्ध]ये जयभट्टिस्वामिने

regnal year of this king. At least the persons responsible for the forgery apparently believed that Samudragupta began to rule earlier than year 5 of the Gupta era. As however the records were forged with the help of the grant of a later ruler, nothing but the name of the villages granted and of the donees can be taken to be genuine. See below, p. 272, note 11.

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXV. Note that च in lines 3 and 10 approximates the form of the 6th or 7th century.

² Sign for सिद्धं later pronounced as श्री सिद्धि; or सिद्धिरस्तु and written र in Bengal even now.

³ Sastri reads नूपुर. The sixth case-ending in the epithets of Samudragupta shows that part of the grant was copied from a record of one of his successors. A grant of Samudragupta is required to have सर्वराजोक्तेता पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समः कृतान्तपरशोन्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्यकोटिप्रदश्चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्ता महाराज-श्री-गुप्त-प्रपौत्रो महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्रो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रो लिच्छवि-दौहित्री महादेव्यां कुमार-देव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्रगुप्तः.

⁴ Ghosh : °दानक.

⁵ Fleet finds here two officers called Valatkaushan. There are apparently some errors here, though we are reminded of *Valākoshṭhika* in *Mahāvalākoshṭhika* of some records (Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, III, p. 187). Probably शमवलत्कौशभ्याम् [उद्दिश्य] refers to the villagers and the royal agents in the village.

⁶ Read : चार्थो विदितो वो. The record uses व and ब indiscriminately and points to the later characteristic of representing both व and ब by the sign for व. This is possibly due to the fact that the grant was fabricated not earlier than the 5th-6th century, when, in North India, the sign for ब began to be replaced by that for व gradually.

⁷ Read °लेतौ.

- 7 * * * * ¹ [सोपरि]करो[द्देशेना]ग्रहा[रत्वे]नातिसृष्टः² (I*) तद्युष्मा-
भिर[स्य]
8 त्रैविद्यस्य श्रोतन्यमाज्ञा³ च कर्त्तव्या [स]र्व्वे [च] [स]मुचिता ग्रा(म*)-प्रत्या-
(या*) मेय-हिरण्यादयो देया न चेत = प्र-⁴
9 [भृ]त्यनेन त्रै[वि]द्येनान्य-ग्रामादि-करद-कुटुम्बि-[कारु]क[ा]दय = प्रवेश[यित]व्या-
[म]न्यथ[र] नियतमाग्रहाराक्षेपः⁵
10 [स्य]ादिति ॥⁶ सखत् ५ माघ-दि० २ निवद्धः⁷ (I*)
11 अनुग्रामाक्षपटलाधि[कृत]⁸ - महापीलुपति - महाबलाधि[कृत]⁹ - गोपस्वामा(स्या)देश-लि-
खितः (I*)
12 [कुमा*]र-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्तः¹⁰ (II*)

No. 5—Gaya Spurious¹¹ Copper-Plate Inscription of Samudragupta—Year 9.

GAYĀ, Gayā District, B'hār.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 256f. ; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1540.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of about the 6th or 7th century A.D.

¹ Ghosh is inclined to fill up the lacuna by some epithets of the donee.

² For the meaning of this expression and others below, see *infra*, pp. 273-74, notes.

³ Read श्रोत०. Supply a word like वचन after श्रोतव्यं.

⁴ Read देयाः । न चेतय०.

⁵ Read ०तयाः । अन्यथा and नियतम०. आक्षेप may indicate violation of the conditions relating to an *agrahāra*.

⁶ There are three short horizontal strokes after the usual sign for stop.

⁷ Read संवत् and निव०. Supply a word like लेखः after निवद्धः.

⁸ The Gayā plate reads अन्य०. See *infra*, p. 274, notes 6-7.

⁹ Read बला०. अक्षपटलाधिकृत = keeper of records, from अक्षपटल = a court of law, a depository of legal documents. The *Arthasāstra* suggests that he was the Accountant-General. He kept the accounts of profit, loss, expenditure, delayed earnings, *vyāji* or premia realised in kind or cash, status of the government agency employed, wages paid, free labourers engaged in connection with capital invested or work undertaken, market rates and the price of gems and commodities. महाबलाधिकृत = Field-Marshal. महापीलुपति = Head of the Elephant Force See below, No. 37, note.

¹⁰ He was possibly the दूतक (executor of the grant).

¹¹ The record was engraved long after Samudragupta's rule. Fleet thought that the fabrication was done sometime about the beginning of the 8th century A.D., as he found the

TEXT¹

- 1 १^२ स्वस्ति (॥*) महानौ-हस्यश्च-जयस्कन्धावाराजायोद्धा^३-वासकात्सर्व-राजो
च्छेत्तु^४ पृ-
- 2 धिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधि-सलिलस्वादित-यश(सो*) धनद-वरुणेन्द्रा-
- 3 न्तक-समस्य कृतान्त-परशोन्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-कोटि-प्रदस्य विरोच्छ-
- 4 चाश्वमेधाहत्तु^५ महाराज-श्री-गुप्त-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य
- 5 महाराजाधिराज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छिवि^६-दौहित्रस्य महादेव्या(*) कु-
- 6 मारदेव्यामुत्पन्न(ः*) परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्र-
- 7 गुप्तः गद्यावैषयिक-रेवतिक्राग्रामे ब्राह्मण^७-पुरोग-ग्राम-वल्-
- 8 त्कौषभ्या(१)माह । एव(*) चार्थं विदितम्बो^८ भवत्वेश^९ ग्रामो मया मातापितृ-रा-
- 9 स्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये भारद्वाज-सगोत्राय^{१०} बह्वृचाय^{११} स[ब्र]ह्मचा^{१२}
- 10 रिणे ब्राह्मण^{१३}-गोपदेवस्वामिने सोपरिकरोद्देशेनाग्रहारत्वेनाति^{१४}

expression महानौ-हस्यश्च-जयस्कन्धावारात् in later inscriptions. But this expression is also found in the grants of Harshavardhana of 627 and 630 A.D. and palaeographically this record may not be later than the time of Ādityasena. It may have been fabricated in the 6th or 7th century. It is not impossible that the record was prepared to replace a lost or damaged record of Samudragupta and the seal of the old record was attached to it. Gopadevasvāmin, donee of the Gayā plate, and Gopasvāmin, under whose orders the Nālandā and Gayā plates were prepared, may have been identical. Note that the forgers believed that Samudragupta had a camp at Ayodhyā. See *supra*, p. 270, note 4. The style may suggest that Nos. 4-5 were forged by the same person.

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

² Symbol for सिद्धं later pronounced as श्री सिद्धि; or सिद्धिरस्तु.

³ Read °वारादयोध्या°.

⁴ °च्छेत्तु; is intended; but read °च्छेत्ता. See above, p. 271, note 3.

⁵ The intended reading is चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहत्तुम्°.

⁶ Usually लिच्छिवि.

⁷ Read ब्राह्मण. For *Valatkaushan*, see above, p. 271, note 5.

⁸ Read °र्थो विदितो वो.

⁹ Read °त्वेष.

¹⁰ I. e., भारद्वाज-गोव-जाताय.

¹¹ Read बह्वृचाय or better बह्वृचसत्र.

¹² Read सत्रद्वय. सत्रद्वयचारिन् = fellow student = student.

¹³ Read ब्राह्मण.

¹⁴ उपरिकर, 'tax paid by temporary tenants'. See below, No. 49. उद्देश = space above the surface of the land often specifically mentioned as तल.

- 11 सृष्टः (।*) तद्युष्माभिरस्य श्रोतव्यमाज्ञा च कर्त्तव्या सर्व्वे [च] [स]मुचिता ग्राम-प्र-
 12 त्वया¹ मेय-हिरण्यादयो देयाः (।*) न चेतत्प्रभृत्येतदाग्रहारिकेणन्यद्गृ-²
 13 मादि-करद-कुटुम्बि-कारुकादयः प्रवेशयितव्यामन्यथा³ नियतमाग्र-⁴
 14 हाराक्षेपः(*) स्यादिति (॥*, सम्बत्⁵ ८ वंशाख-दि १० (॥*)
 15 अन्यग्रामाक्षपटलाधिकृत⁶-द्यूत-गोपस्वाम्यादेश-लिखितः⁷ (॥*)

No. 6—Inscription on the Lyrist type Gold Coins of Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.)

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 18ff.

*First Side*⁸

King seated, to left, nimbate, cross-legged on highbacked couch, wearing waist cloth, close-fitting cap,⁹ necklace, ear-rings and armlets, playing *Viṇā* which lies on his knees¹⁰; beneath the couch is a footstool¹¹; inscription in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class:—

महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्रगुप्तः¹²

¹ प्रत्यय = प्रत्याय (C. I. I., III, p. 170, note 5)—tax, revenue, income.

² Read चेतत्प्र० and ०णान्यथा०.

³ Read तव्याः । अन्यथा.

⁴ Read नियतमय०. अग्रहार = गुरुकुलादावत्तन्नचारिणे दीयं चेत्नादि । But later the word came to be used to denote any rent-free gift of land; see below, No. 37, line 8.

⁵ Read संवत्. See *supra*, p. 270, note 4.

⁶ *Supra*, No. 4 reads अनु which may be right. Gopasvāmin's office was possibly connected with the villages. Bhandarkar : नालन्दाग्राम.

⁷ Gopasvāmin's official titles are different in *supra*, No. 4. The occurrence of his name in both the grants may suggest that he is not a fictitious personality. द्यूत may indicate the Head of the department superintending the gambling houses. Supply लिखः अयम् after लिखितः.

⁸ From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate V, No. 3; see also Nos. 1ff. Nos. 6-8 here represent inscriptions on gold coins.

⁹ Some specimens represent the king as bare-headed.

¹⁰ Cf. निश्चितविदग्धमति-गाभर्वललितैर्बौद्धित-विदग्धपतिगुरु-तुम्बुरु-नारदादिः in l. 27 of *supra*, No. 2.

¹¹ On some specimens, the Brāhmī *akshara* सि is found inscribed on the foot-stool. सि may be an indication of the mint or the mint-master.

¹² The vowel-marks, etc., are not clear on the Plate.

Second Side

Lakshmī, nimbate, seated to left on a wicker-stool, wearing loose robe, close-fitting cap and jewellery, holding fillet in out-stretched right hand and cornucopia (the horn of plenty, a Classical symbol of abundance like the Indian Kalpa-vṛiksha) in left arm; inscription on right in similar Late Brāhmī characters :—

समुद्रगुप्तः¹

No. 7—Inscription on the Asvamedha type² Gold
Coins of Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.)

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 21ff.

First Side

Horse for the sacrifice to left before a sacrificial post (*yūpa*), from which pennons fly over its back³; beneath the horse, the Brāhmī *akshara* सि; inscription in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class :—

राजाधिराजः पृथिवीमवित्वा
दिवं जयत्यप्रतिवार्य-वीर्यः (॥*)⁴

Second Side

Mahishī Dattadevī standing to left, wearing loose robe and jewellery, holding chowrie over right shoulder in right hand; left hand hangs by her side; on left is a sacrificial spear bound with fillet; around the pedestal on which the queen stands—a chain of flowers (?) extending round the spear; on some specimens, a gourd (?) at her feet; inscription in similar Late Brāhmī characters :—

अश्वमेध-पराक्रमः

¹ On one specimen, the name seems to be written समुद्र०.

² From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate V, No. 10; see also Nos. 9-13. Note that the Asvamedha which is not mentioned in the detailed Allahābād inscription must have been performed late in the king's life.

³ On some specimens, we have a low pedestal below.

⁴ The superscripts, vowel-marks, etc., are not clear in the Plate. Here is a verse in the उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा) metre, of which only two *pādas* are given. On one specimen, the reading is पृथिवीं विजित्य, and on another we have

राजाधिराजः पृथिवीं विजित्य दिवं जयत्याहृत-वाजिमेधः.

See J. P. A. S. B., N. S., X, p. 256: Banerji, *Prācīnamudrā* (Bengali), p. 129.

No. 8—Inscription on the Coins of Kācha alias Samudragupta¹

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 15 ff.

*First Side*²

King standing to left, nimbate, wearing close-fitting cap, coat and trousers, ear-ring and necklace; holding standard surmounted by a wheel (चक्र) in left hand, and sprinkling incense on altar with right hand; inscription in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class :—(beneath left arm) का

च (i.e., काचः)

(margin in circle) काचो गामवजित्य

दिवं कर्मभिरुत्तमैर्जयति³ (॥*)

Second Side

Lakshmi standing to left, wearing loose robe, holding flower in right hand and cornucopia in left arm; border of dots; a symbol on left; on right, inscription in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class :—

सर्वराजोच्छेत्[†].

¹ Kācha is generally identified with Samudragupta and the identification is no doubt reasonable (cf. the title सर्वराजोच्छेत्ता). Samudragupta might have had a second name like his son who was also known as Devagupta or Devarāja. Some scholars however take Kācha to be a separate person. † Bhandarkar identifies him with Rāmagupta who is represented in the *Devichandragupta* to have succeeded Samudragupta and to have been ousted by Chandragupta II. The tradition recorded in the drama has however not been supported by contemporary epigraphic evidence and may not be entirely historical. It appears that the necessity of sticking to the name-ending *gupta* was felt only after Chandragupta I had become an emperor and that Samudragupta was the later name of one whose early name was without the *gupta*-ending like that of his grandfather. His early name seems to have been Kācha. The name of the Gupta dynasty is probably due to the stereotyped name-ending of Chandragupta I and his descendants and not to the name of Gupta, the first but a less important prince of the line. The Kācha issues of Samudragupta remind us of the early coins of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Shāh 'Alam bearing the pre-coronation names of the emperors, viz. Salīm, Khurram and Muazzam. See Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 97. For the evidence of the copper coins of a ruler named Rāmagupta, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, pp. 95-96. cf. also *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XXXIX, p. 189.

² From representation in Allan's *Cat.*, Plate II, No. 9; see also Nos. 6-33.

³ It is half of a stanza in the आर्या, उपगीति or उद्गीति metre. The superscripts, vowel-marks, etc., are not clear in the Plate.

No. 9—Mathurā Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II— Regnal Year 5 ; Gupta Year 61¹ (= 380 A.D.)

Chandul Mandul Bagichi at MATHURĀ, Mathura District, U. P.

D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 8f.; D. B. DISKALKAR, *A. B. O. R. I.*, XVIII, pp. 166-70; D. C. SIRCAR, *I. H. Q.*, XVIII, pp. 271-75.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Middle Brāhmī resembling 'Kushāṇa script' of c. 2nd century A.D.²

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्धम् (।०) भट्टारक-महाराज-[राजाधि]राज श्री-समुद्रगुप्त-स-
- 2 [ए]कस्य भट्टारक-म[हाराज-[राजाधि*]राज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-
- 3 स्य विज(य*)-राज्य'-संवत्स[रे*] [पं]चमे [५] कालानुवर्तमान⁵-सं-

¹ This is the earliest genuine date of the Gupta era, "The first year of the Gupta era, which continued in use for several centuries, and in countries widely separated, ran from February 28, A.D. 320, to March 13, A.D. 321; of which dates the former may be taken as that of the coronation of Chandragupta I" (Smith. *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 296). In the 11th century, Al-Bīrūnī accepted this epoch of the era, though he had wrong information about its relation with the Guptas. "As regards the Gupta-kāla, people say that the Guptas were wicked powerful people, and that, when they ceased to exist, this date was used as the epoch of an era. It seems that Valabha was the last of them, because the epoch of the Guptas falls, like that of the Valabha era, 241 years later than the Śaka-kāla" (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, p. 7). Accordingly, Gupta 1=Śaka 242=A.D. 320-21. In view of Al-Bīrūnī's statement regarding the beginning of the Gupta era, recent attempts to prove that it began from 200 or 272 A.D. or 57 B.C. must be regarded as utterly absurd. See *Ind. Cult.*, III, pp. 47ff.

² For a Mathurā record of Kapishka's 14th year in 'Eastern Gupta script,' see *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp. 96f. The peculiarity is due to the inclination and locality of the scribe and the existence of a cursive script side by side with the script generally used in the epigraphs.

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI.

⁴ Bhandarkar : रज्य.

⁵ Bhandarkar reads गुप्त before कालः. I do not find any trace of *aksharas* like गुप्त in the facsimile. Our reading shows that the first regnal year of the king was the Gupta year 57=376-77 A.D. For the expression *kāl-ānuvartamāna* in a similar context, see Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 113.

- 4 वत्सरे एकषष्ठे¹ ६० (+*)१.....²[प्र]थमे शुक्लदिवसे पं-
- 5 चम्यां (म्याम्) (1*) अस्यां पूर्वा[यां] [भ]गव[त्कु]शिकाहशमेन³ भगव-
- 6 त्पराशराचतुर्थेन [भगवत्क*]पि[छ]विमल-शि-
- 7 व्य-शिष्येण भगव[द्भुपमित*]विमल-शिष्येण⁴
- 8 आचर्योदि[ता*]चार्ये[ण*] [स्व*]-पु[ष्या]प्यायन-निमित्त⁵
- 9 गुरुणां च कीर्त्य[र्थमुपमितेश्च]र-कपिलेश्वरौ
- 10 गुर्वायतने गुरु⁶ प्रतिष्ठापितो⁶ (1*) नै-
- 11 तत्स्यात्यर्थमभिलि[ख्यते] (1*) [अथ*] माहेश्वराणां वि-
- 12 ज्ञप्तिः क्रियते सम्बोधनं च (1*) यथाका[ले]नाचार्या-
- 13 णां परिग्रहमिति⁷ मत्वा विशङ्क[] [पू]जा-पुर-
- 14 स्कार[] परिग्रह-पारिपाल्यं [कुर्या]दिति⁸ विज्ञप्तिरिति (1*)
- 15 यश्च कीर्त्यभिद्रोहं कुर्या[त्]प[श्चा]भिलिखित[मुप]र्यञ्जो

¹ Read एकषष्ठे or एकषष्टितमे.

² Bhandarkar fills up the lacuna by the expression आषाढ-मासे. प्रथम indicates the first of the two Āshāḍhas including the intercalary one. There were two Āshāḍhas in 380 A.D. Better read पंचमे for पंचम्यां.

³ Bhandarkar identifies this Kuśika with one of the four disciples of the great Śaiva saint Lakulin or Lakuliśa who was the last incarnation of Maheśvara (Śiva) flourishing at Kāyāvarohaṇa or Kāyāvatāra (mod. Karvan in the Dabhoi Taluk of the old Baroda State). According to the *Vāyu* and *Liṅga* Purāṇas, the four disciples were Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya while the Cintra *prastāvi* quotes the names as Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurushya and Maitreya, who were the founders of four lines amongst the Pāśupatas. The spiritual descendants of Gārgya were established at Somanātha in Kathiawar, as the Cintra record suggests, while those of Kuśika were settled at Mathurā. Lakuliśa flourished about the beginning of the second century A.D. The word *ārya* is taken by Bhandarkar in the sense of 'the owner of a shrine'. But the dead ascetics of this sect are styled *Bhagavat* while the living ascetic is called *Ārya*.

⁴ The names of the teachers end in *vimala*. Bhandarkar's translation makes a confusion between Upamita and Kapila.

⁵ Bhandarkar suggests the restoration गुरुप्रतिमायुतौ. Apparently the representations showed as if Upamita and Kapila were standing each with a Liṅga on the head.

⁶ Read ०तौ.

⁷ Read परिग्रहः इति (= परिग्रहः भविष्यति इति). Bhandarkar, who prefers full-stop after क्रियते (line 11) and आचार्याणां (lines 11-12) and translates यथाकालेनाचार्याणां as "the *āchāryas* for the time being," seems to have misunderstood the meaning of lines 10-14. यथाकालेन = यथाकालं, 'in proper time'. Cf. तस्मिन् काले = तेषां कालेन in Ārsha Prakrit (Sircar, *Gram. Prak. Lang.*, p. 62). आचार्याणां = गुरुणाम् ?

⁸ Read कुर्युः इति (= कुर्युः माहेश्वराः इति).

16 वा¹ [स] पंचभिर्मह[१*]पातकैरुपातकैश्च संयुक्तस्यात् (१*)

17 जयति च भगवा[ण्डण्डः]² रुद्रदण्डो[ऽ*]अ[ना]यको नित्य[ः](त्यम्) (॥*)

Nos. 10-11—Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II—Gupta Year 82 (=401 A.D.)

UDAYAGIRI Hill, near Bhilsā, now called Vidiśā, old Gwalior State, M.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 25 (for No. 10); p. 35 (for No. 11);
BÖHLER, *V. Or. Journ.*, V, pp. 226 ff.; BHANDARKAR'S List, Nos. 1260
and 1541 (for other references).

No. 1

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥ संवत्सरे ८० (+*) २ आषाढ-भास-शुक्ले(कै)कादश्याम्⁴ परमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधि(राज*)-श्री-चन्द्र[गु]प्त-पादानुद्धातस्य ।⁵
- 2 महाराज-कुगल-ग-पौलस्य महाराज-विष्णुदास-पुलस्यः सनकानिकस्य महा[राज*]
* * कस्यायं⁶ दे[यधम्मः] ।

No. 2

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-5—अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

¹ Bhandarkar wants to read उच्छिन्ध्यात् or some such word after वा.

² Bhandarkar suggests the correction भगवान्दण्डः स. Here is then half of a stanza in the *Āryā* or *Gīti* metre.

³ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

⁴ Fleet reads a stop after म्.

⁵ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. The word अनुष्टुप् is usually taken to mean 'meditating on...' But in some cases it certainly means 'favoured.' See the Tālagunda inscription (*infra*); also my note in *J.A.H.R.S.*, X, 1937, p. 229; cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, 1939, p. 239; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 115ff.

⁶ There is space for two letters, of which the latter may be ढ according to Fleet. May the name be सोढल ?

TEXT¹सिद्धम् (॥*)²

- 1 यद्[']तज्ज्योतिरर्काभमुख्या[म्भा]³ * * — — * (१*)
* * * * — क्यापि चन्द्रगुप्ताख्यमद्भुतम् (॥*) [१]
- 2 विक्रमावक्रयक्रीता दास्य-न्यग्भूत-पार्थिव[ः] (१*)
* * * [स]न⁴-संरक्ता धर्म * * — — * (॥*) [२]
- 3 तस्य राजाधिराजर्षेरचि[न्त्यो][ज्ज्वल-क*][म्म]णः (१*)
अन्वय-प्राप्त-साचिव्यो⁵ व्या[पृत-सन्धि-वि*]ग्रह[ः] (॥*) ३
- 4 कौत्सश्चाव इति ख्यातो वीरसेनः कुलाख्यया (१*)
शब्दार्थ-न्याय-लोकज्ञ⁶ कवि = पाटलिपुत्रकः (॥*) ४
- 5 कृत्स्न-पृथ्वी-जयार्थेन⁶ राज्ञैवेह सहागतः (१*)
भक्त्या भगवत्तदशम्भोगुं⁶हामेतामकारयत् (॥*) ५

No. 12—Sāñchī Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II—
Gupta Year 93 (= 412 A.D.).

SĀÑCHĪ, former Bhopāl State, now Raisen District, Madhya Pradesh.
FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 31 f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1262
(for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

² In the left margin in the level of line 3.

³ The lacunae may be conjecturally filled up as

०सुष्वर्गा⁴ भति निरन्तरम् ।

दिवा-विभावरी-व्यापि० ॥

⁴ For स, Fleet reads मा; but the ā-sign is not clear and the *akshara* may be read as a partially preserved स. The lacunae may be conjecturally filled up as यस्य शासन-संरक्ता धर्मश्च यमुन्मरा. अवक्रय = price.

⁵ Cf. *amātyas* described as *pitṛipaitāmaha* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 100, 26; etc.

⁶ Chandragupta II was a *digvijayin*. This claim apparently refers to his expedition against the Sakas of Western India.

TEXT¹[सिद्धम् ॥*]²

- 1 का[कना*]³दबोट-श्रीमहाविहारे³ शील-समाधि-प्रज्ञा'-गुण-भावितेन्द्रियाय परम-
पुण्य-
- 2 क्षे[क्ष][ग*]ताय⁵ चतुर्दिगभ्यागताय श्रमण-पुङ्गवावसथायार्थ्य-सङ्घाय महाराजाधि-
- 3 रा[ज-श्री]चन्द्रगुप्त-पाद-प्रसादाप्यायित-जीवित-साधनः अनुजीवि-सत्पुरुष-सङ्घाव-
- 4 वृ[त्त्यर्थ*] जगति प्रख्यापयन् अनेक-समरावास-विजय-यशस्पताकः सुकुलिदेश-न
- 5 छी * * * वास्तव्य उन्दान-पुलास्त्रकाद्देवो मज-शरभङ्गाधरात-राजकुल-मूल्य-की-
- 6 त-[म] * * * ईश्वरवासकां पञ्च-मण्डल्या[*] प्रणिपत्य ददाति पञ्चविंशतिञ्च⁶
दीना-
- 7 रान् (॥*) * * * * * ' यादर्थेन महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य देवराज
इति मि-
- 8 य-ना[नः*]⁸ * * * * * रितस्य सर्व-गुण-संपत्तये यावच्चन्द्रादित्यौ तावत्पञ्च
मिक्षवो भुंज-
- 9 तां र[त्न*]-गृ[हे*] [च*] [दी*][प]को ज्वलन्तु (१*) मम चापराद्धात्पञ्चैव मिक्षवो
भुंजतां रत्न-गृहे च

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 Above the beginning of line 1.

3 Kākanādabcta was apparently the old name of Sāncī.

4 Originally व was engraved instead of प.

5 Fleet reads क...ताय; but the first *akshara* is clearly क्ष and traces of व still remain. *Kshetra** seems to be more suitable than *kshetr-ā*°.

6 Read विंशतिञ्च.

7 Fleet: त[ह]च..... Pañchamaṇḍali is supposed to be the mod. Pañchāyat, the village jury of five or more persons. Cf. पाचक of a Nepalese inscription (*C. I. I.*, III, Intro., p. 133). राजकुल is a person belonging to the royal family or a nobleman; cf. mod. Rāwal. The word *rājakula* also means the king's court or court of justice, and hence a member of that court. It appears that the locality called Īśvaravāsaka was purchased by Āmrakārdava from the Rājakulas Maja, Sarabhaṅga and Āmrarāta and was offered to a monastery.

8 Fleet fills up the lacuna by प्रियनामामात्यो भवत्येतस्य, and takes देवराज to be the name of an officer of Chandragupta II. देवराज or देवगुप्त was however another name of this king. The grants of Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II mention Chandragupta II, his maternal grandfather, as देवगुप्त. See *infra*, Nos. 60-62.

- 10 दीपक इ[ति] (॥*) [त]देवप्रवृत्तं य उच्छिन्धात्स गो-ब्रह्म-हृत्यया संयुक्तो भवे-
त्पञ्चभिश्चान-
- 11 न्त्यैरिति¹ (॥*) सं ९० (+*) ३ भाद्रपद-दि ४ (॥*)

No. 13—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Chandragupta II—Gupta Year 90+x (= 409-10+x)

ALLAN, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 49 ff., Nos. 133 ff.

*First Side*²

Bust of king Chandragupta to right with traces of Greek letters³;
on left:—

व ९० (+*) [*]⁴ (= [गुप्त]-वर्षे ९० + x)

Second Side

Garuda, standing, facing, with outspread wings; border of dots;
above on right, cluster of dots; inscription in Late Brāhmī Characters
of the Northern Class:—

परमभाग[व*]त-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त- विक्रमादित्य[:*]⁵

¹ The पञ्चानन्तर्यकर्म or ०धर्म are the five sins that bring with them immediate retribution. They are five of the six *abhiṭhānas* (*supra*, p. 70, note 8), viz. *mātughāto* (matricide), *pitughāto* (parricide), *arahantaghāto* (killing an Arhat), *lohituppādo* (shedding the blood of a Buddha), *saṅghabhedo* (causing divisions among the priesthood), *aññasatthuddeso* (following other teachers)—with the exception of the last or the last but one.

² From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate X, No. 15.

³ The silver issues of Chandragupta II were originally meant for circulation in Western India conquered from the Saka Satraps. The introduction of the king's bust, traces of Greek characters and the date are all due to the influence of the Satrapal coins. The silver coins of the Guptas were called *rūpaka* just as their gold coins were styled *dināra* (cf. No. 41 below).

⁴ There is a small sign after the figure for 90. We cannot be definite regarding its value. The date shows that Western India was conquered before 409-10+x A.D. Cf. *supra*, p. 188, note 2, and the provenance of *supra*, Nos. 3 and 10-12.

⁵ The vowel-marks, etc., are not clear on the Plate. On another variety of these coins, we have the legend—श्रीगुप्तकुलस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तविक्रमादित्य (Allan's *Cat.*, p. 51).

No. 14—Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription of Chandra¹

MEHARAULI or Memharauli, near Delhi

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 141; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1243 (for earlier references); *J. A. H. R. S.*, X, pp. 86ff.; D. C. SIRCAR, *J. R. A. S. B.*, L., V, pp. 407ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the 5th century A.D.²

Metre: Verses 1-3—शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

TEXT³

- 1 य[स्यो]द्वत्तयतः प्रतीपमु[र]सा शबून्समेत्यागता-
नृङ्गेष्वाहव-वर्त्तिनोऽ[*]मिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्त्तिर्भुंजे (1*)
- 2 तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि⁴ येन [स]म[रे] सिन्धोज्जिता [व]ाहिका⁵

¹ He should probably be identified with Chandragupta II. The facts (1) that his name was Chandra (cf. the name on the copper coins of Chandragupta II) who died in the fifth century (cf. note 2 below), (2) that he went on a *digvijaya* (cf. *supra*, No. 11, line 5), (3) that he was lord of an empire (cf. line 5), (4) that the Delhi region formed part of his kingdom, and (5) that he was a Vaishnava, suggest a monarch like Chandragupta II. His identification with Chandragupta I, the Nāga Chandrāmśa, or Chandravarma of Mālwa or of the Susuniyā record, etc., is less convincing. The identification with Maurya Chandragupta is absurd.

² As has been pointed out by Fleet, allowing for the stiffness resulting from engraving on iron, the characters approximate in many respects the Allahābād inscription (*supra*, No. 1), supposed by that scholar to be later than Samudragupta; but with the very marked *mātrās* or horizontal top-strokes, the letters resemble most closely those used in the Bilsāḍ inscription of Kumāragupta (No. 15, *infra*). The record must therefore be assigned to the 5th century. Prinsep placed it in the 3rd or 4th century and Bhau Daji in the post-Gupta period.

³ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. This pillar was brought here from some hill near the Beas by some energetic ruler of Delhi (Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, p. 401). Cf. Aśoka's pillars transferred to Delhi by Firūz Shāh (*supra*, p. 53, note 1).

⁴ For the seven mouths of the Indus, see *Periplus*. § 38, and Ptolemy's *Geog.*, VII, i. § 2.

⁵ Bhau Daji reads बाल्हिका. The right arm of the triangle of व is not preserved. हि is however quite clear. Bhandarkar places this Vāblika (=Balkh) on the Vipāsā (Beas) on the strength of the *Rāmāyaṇa* verse quoted at p. 285, note 4, *infra*. There however the reading बाल्हिकान् is certainly a mistake for बाल्हिकान् or बाल्हिकान्. For the

- यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्यानिर्लेह्यक्षिणः (॥*) 1¹
- 3 [खि]न्नस्येव विसृज्य गां नरपतेर्गामाश्रितस्येतरां
मूर्त्यां² कर्म-जितावनिं³ गतवतः कीर्त्यां⁴ स्थितस्य क्षितौ (॥*)
- 4 शान्तस्येव महावने हुतभुजो यस्य प्रतापो महा-
काद्याप्युत्सृजति प्रणाशित-रिपोऽर्थकस्य शेषः क्षितिम् (॥*) 2⁴
- 5 प्राप्तेन स्व-भुजाज्जितञ्च सुचिरञ्चैकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ
चन्द्राक्षेन समग्र-चन्द्र-[स]दृशीं वक्र-श्रियं विभ्रता (॥*)

well-known Vāhika country (=the Punjab) on the Beas and other rivers, cf. पञ्चानां सिन्धुषष्ठाणां नदीनां येऽन्तरा स्थिताः । तान्मर्कवाद्यानयुचीन्वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥.....वहिष नाम इति च विपाशायां पिशाचकौ । तयोरेष्यं वाहीका नैषा सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ॥ *Mbh.*, VIII, 44, vv. 7 and 41; Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 184 ff.

¹ The verse simply refers to the four limits of the territory claimed to have been traversed by the king in course of his *digvijaya*. The eastern limit was वङ्ग; the southern limit दक्षिण-जलनिधि; the western limit सुखानि सिन्धोः; and the northern limit बाल्हिक. The conventional claim is on a par with that of later kings, e.g., Yaśodharman who boasts of conquering the whole country to the west of the लौहिल्य, to the south of the तुहिन-शिखरिन्, to the east of the पश्चिमपयोधि and to the north of the महेन्द्र (cf. Mahendrāchala in the Tirunelveli Dist.). It is a प्रशस्ति which may have germs of truth, but is conventional and may not be entirely historical. For the conventional *Chakravartikshetra* or sphere of influence of an Indian imperial ruler, see Sircar, *Stud. Geo. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 1ff. For *sva-bhuj-ārjita* kingdom of a king's successor, cf. *Ep Ind.*, XV, p. 251, text line 3, *IHQ*, XX, p. 78.

² Fleet unnecessarily corrects मूर्त्यां to मूर्ति.

³ Read जितावनिं which is the reading of Fleet.

⁴ Bhandarkar thinks that the king was not dead but alive when the eulogy was engraved, though he was no longer ruling. The natural interpretation of the verse however suggests that the pillar is posthumous. Cf. खिन्नस्य (= अविजितदेशाभावात् क्षुब्धस्य) गां (= इहलोकं) विसृज्य (= परित्यज्य) [नवदेशान् जेतुम्] इतरां गां (= लोकान्तरम्) आश्रितस्य (cf. इत्यं पार्थिवराजराजविजयव्यापारपारंगतयुक्ते शक्रजयाय कृष्ण-रूपतिः स्वर्लोक-यात्रा-गतम् in Hemādri's introduction to the *Vṛatakhanda* quoted in R. G. Bhandarkar's *E. Hist. Dek.*, App. C, verse 11; मूर्त्यां (= देहेन) कर्म-जितावनिं (= सुकृतार्जितस्वर्गलोकं) गतवतः, [परं] कीर्त्यां क्षितौ स्थितस्य [च] नरपतेः (= यद्यपि शरीरम् इहलोकं त्यज्यत्, तथापि कीर्तिः इह एव तिष्ठति यस्य राज्ञः); शान्तस्य (= स्वर्गतस्य [राज्ञः]); तथा—निर्वासस्य अपि अविगत-तापस्य [इतभुजः इव]), etc. If our identification is correct, the pillar was made for Chandragupta II about the end of his life; but the record was engraved by Kumāragupta I soon after his father's death.

6 तेनायं प्रणिधाय¹ भूमि-पतिना भावेन² विष्णो³ मतिं
प्रान्थुर्विष्णुपदे⁴ गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजः स्थापितः (॥*) 3

No. 15—Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of

Kumārāgupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.)

—Gupta Year 96 (=415-16 A.D.).

BILSAD or Bilsand, Etā (Etah) District, U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 43f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1263 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metres: Verse 1—अग्न्या ; V. 2—शादूँकविष्नीहित.

TEXT⁵

- 1 [सिद्धम् ॥*] [सर्व-राजोच्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुर्दक्षि-स०][लिङ्गा]-
स्थादित-यशसो
- 2 [धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समस्य कृतान्त-परशोः न्यायागतानेक-गो-हि०]रथ्यकोटि-प्रदस्य
चिरोत्सन्नाशमेधाहत्तुः

¹ There are traces of an incomplete च after च in the original.

² Fleet reads धावेन. The first *akshara* with *serif* is भा of which however the left slanting stroke has been joined with the right vertical arm. It may pass as a form of व, but not as च which is written without serif. It may be tempting to suggest the correction देवेन referring the name to Chandragupta II Devagupta

³ Read विष्णो.

⁴ Read प्राण्य०. This Vishnupada hill is not far from the Kurukshetra and the Beas. Cf. गत्वा हि श्रद्धया युक्तः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरुक्षेत्रः ।...ततो गच्छेत् धर्मज्ञो विष्णोः स्थानमनुत्तमम् । etc. (*Mbh.*, III, 73, 8ff.; also 103ff.); एतद्विष्णुपदं नाम दृश्यते तीर्थसुत्तमम् । एषा नदी विपाशा च नदी परमपावनी ॥ (*ibid.*, III, 138, 8); ययुर्मध्येन वाङ्मोकान् (sic. वाङ्मोकान्) सुदामाजघ पर्वतम् ॥ विष्णोः पदं प्रेषमाणा विपाशा चापि शाबलीम् । (*Rām.*, II, 68, 18-19). Al-Bīrūnī (*Sachau, Alb. Ind.*, II, p. 142) refers to Lake Vishnupada in the Nishadha Range as the source of the Sarasvatī on the authority of the *Matsya P.* But the extant texts of the *Matsya* (121, 66), *Vāyu* (47, 64) and *Brahmāṇḍa* (51, 66) Purāṇas do not support this view.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

- 3 [महाराज-श्रीगुप्त-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्रीघटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य म० [हा] राजाधिराज-
श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य¹
- 4 लिच्छ[वि-दौहित्यस्य*] [महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजा०]धिराज-
श्रीसमुद्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य²
- 5 महादेव्यां दत्त[देव्यामुत्पन्नस्य*] [स्वयमप्रतिरथस्य*] [परम*]-भागवतस्य महा-
राजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य²
- 6 महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्याभि[व]र्द्धमान-
विजय-राज्य-संवत्सरे षष्ठवर्ते³
- 7 [अस्यान्दि]वस-पूर्वायां⁴ भगवतस्त्वैलोक्य-तेजस्संभार-संभूताद्भुत⁵-मूर्तेर्ब्रह्मण्यदेवस्य
- 8 • • • • निवासिनः स्वामि-महासेनस्यायतने[ऽ०]स्मिन्कात्तं युगाचार-
सद्धर्मं-वर्त्मानुयायिना
- 9 [माता]⁶ • • • • • [प]र्वदा मानितेन ध्रुवशर्माणा कम्म
महच्छ्रुतेदम् ।
- 10 कृ[त्व]ा [नेत्र*]ामिरामां मु[नि-वसति][मिह*] [स्व]र्गां-सोपान-[रू]पा ।⁷
कौबेरच्छन्दविम्बां स्फटिकमणिदलाभास-गौरां प्रतीलीम् ।¹⁰

¹ The illegible portion in lines 1-3 can be restored from passages in the Aliḥhābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta.

² For the faulty construction here (properly समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्य) and in line 5 (properly चन्द्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्य), see *supra*, p. 181, note 4 and the Garhā inscription, p. 185.

³ Read षष्ठवर्तितमे. राज्यसंवत्सर=regnal year; but, when eras came into use, the same expression was technically used also with the year of an era (which took the place of the regnal year) just to indicate that the particular year of the era falls in the reign-period of the king. When both of them are mentioned, sometimes a distinction is made between the regnal year and the year of an era (*cf. supra*, No. 9).

⁴ See *supra*, p. 124 text line 1; p. 137, note 3, etc. पूर्वा= what has been given above, the date indicated above; *cf.* सालव-पूर्वा in one record. The word *pūrvā* is often used in respect of *tithi* (date) and *prastuti* (eulogy).

⁵ Fleet: संतता०. See Jagannath in *Proc. I. H. C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 59.

⁶ The lacuna may be filled up as मातापिवीरात्मनश्च पुण्यायै साधु-पर्वदा.

⁷ Read कृतमिदम्.

⁸ The letters are indistinct in the first half of line 10.

⁹ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. कौबेरच्छन्द is a kind of pearl necklace.

¹⁰ Properly गौरां. प्रतीली= 'street, main road of a city', according to lexicons. Here the meaning appears to be 'a gateway, a gateway with a flight of steps'.

- 11 प्रासादाग्रामिरूपं गुणवर-भवनं [धर्म-स०]त्त^१ यथावत् ।
 पुण्येष्वेवामिरामं व्रजति शुभमतिस्तात-ग्रन्था ध्रुवो(५०)स्तु^२ ॥१०॥ 1
- 12 — १ — १ — स्य — — शुभासृतवर-प्रख्यात-छ[न्धा भुवि] ।^३
 — — भक्तिरहीन-सत्त्व-समता कस्तं न संपूजयेत् ।
- 13 [येनापूर्व०]-विभूति-सङ्ख्य-चयैः शैली — — — — : ।^४
 तेनायं ध्रुवशर्मणा स्थिर-वरस्तमो[च्छ्र]यः कारितः ॥१०॥ 2

No. 16—Dhanaidaha Copper-plate Inscription [of the time of Kumāragupta I]—Gupta Year 113 (= 432-33 A.D.)

DHĀNĀIDAHA, Rājshāhī District, North Bengal (East Pukistan)

R. D. BANERJI, *J. A. S. B.*, V, pp. 459ff.; R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, pp. 347f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1267.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुप् (इच्छोक).

TEXT⁵

1[स*]स्वत्सर-श[ते]^७ वयोदशोत्त[रि*]^८

¹ The restoration is due to Fleet.

² The *danḍa* is redundant.

³ "May the venerable Sarmā endure for a long time". Here the second part of the name (शर्मा) represents the whole name (ध्रुवशर्मा). See *supra*, p. 269, note 3. There is a play on the word ध्रुव.

⁴ The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁵ Read सत्त्व.

⁶ From the facsimile (not quite satisfactory) in *Ep. Ind.*, XVII. The record is fragmentary. Lines 15-16 show that each complete line of the epigraph contained some 40 *aksharas*. This is the right half of the original record containing about 22 *aksharas* in a line. But lines 1-5 and 16-17 are further damaged. According to Banerji, the fragments of the upper left corner which was broken in the exhibition ground in 1906-07 contained the two *aksharas* स and र which are evidently the second and third syllables of Kumāragupta's name. Nos. 16, 18, 19, etc., are essentially sale-deeds and not records of free gift. They record semi-gifts, the state land being sold at a reduced rate to Brāhmaṇas, etc., who purchased it with religious motives. The land was probably rent-free.

⁷ Read संवत्सर. Some 28 *aksharas* are lost; but they may be conjecturally restored as १ चतुर्दधि-सलिलास्त्रादितयशसो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-कुमारगुप्तस्य संवत्सर०.

⁸ Here followed the names of the month and the *tithi* (cf. *infra*, No. 17, lines 3-4).

- 2 [सं १०० + १० + ३*]..... [अस्या*][न्दि]वस-पूर्वायां परमदैवत-पर-
- 3 [म-भट्टारक-महाराज-धिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीपती*] कुटु[म्बि]¹
 ब्राह्मण-शिवशर्म-नागशर्म-मह-
- 4वकीर्ति-क्षेमदत्त-गोष्ठक-वर्मापाल-पिङ्गल-शुद्धक-काल-
- 5 विष्णु-[देव]शर्म-विष्णुभद्र-खासक-रामक-गोपाल-
- 6श्रीभद्र-सोमपाल-रामाद्यक १)-ग्रामाष्टकुल-विकरणञ्च²
- 7विष्णुना(णा) विज्ञापिता इह खादा टा१)पार³-विषये⁴ १)बुद्ध-
 मर्यादास्थि[ति]-
- 8नीवीधर्म[क्षयेण⁵ कर्म्यते] (1*) [त]दर्हय ममाद्यानेनैव⁶ कर्ममेन(ण) दा[तु]⁷
- 9समेत्या(१)मिहितैः(*) सव्वमेव * * कर⁸-प्रतिवेशि(१)-कुटुम्बिभिरवस्थाप्य क-
- 10 * रि * कन * यदितो * * [त]दवष्टतमिति यतस्त्रयेति प्रतिपाद्य
- 11[अष्टक-न*]वक-नला[भ्या]मपविच्छन् क्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप(*) मेकं(एकः⁹
 दत्तं(सः)(1*) ततः आयुक्तक-

¹ The word *kuṭumbin* means 'an agriculturist householder'.

² Banerji : चमदत्त, The previous name is something like Sivakīrti.

³ Banerji : विषमद्र.

⁴ अष्टकुल, like पञ्चमखली (mod. पञ्चायत) of *supra*, No. 12, may indicate the Pañchāyat Board. अधिकरण=court of justice and office of administration. The passage thus seems to mean 'the office of the Pañchāyat Board of the village'. अष्टकुल=eight families=representatives of eight (or more) families forming the board of administration.

⁵ Banerji : महासुखापार.

⁶ I.e. अक्षयेन नीवीधर्मेण. Basak has धर्मक्षयेण.

⁷ मम = ममम्.

⁸ Probably चित्रकर.

⁹ कुल्यवाप (lit. 'area which required one *kulya* of seed grains of the main crops') may be related to Old Beng. *kuṛobā*=mod. *bighā* (80×80=6400 square cubits=1600 sq. yards=½ of an acre which is 4840 sq. yards). But it appears to be a much larger area. This is supported by the price of a *Kulyavāpa* of land (4 *Dināras*=64 *Rūpakas* per *Kulyavāpa* of arable land and 2 *Dināras*=32 *Rūpakas* per K. of fallow land) considering the apparently high purchasing power of the Gupta coins. 4 *Āḍhakas*=1 *Droṇa* and 8 *Droṇas*=1 *Kulya*; therefore 4 *Āḍhavāpas*=1 *Droṇavāpa* and 8 *Droṇavāpas*=1 *Kulyavāpa*. In regard to Bengal, the reference should be to paddy seeds or more probably seedlings. According to the Bengal school of *Smṛiti* writers, a *Droṇa* of paddy is equal to 1 md. 24 sra, or 2 mds. As the present Bengal rate is seedlings of 1 md. of paddy for 10 *Bighās*, seedlings of one *Kulya* of paddy would require between 125 and 160 *Bighās*. If it is supposed that the system refers to sowing of seeds and not of seedlings, one *Kulyavāpa* would be from 38 to 48 *Bighās* as the rate is 1 md. of paddy seeds for 3 *Bighās*. The *Āṛhā* (*Āḍhavāpa*), *Don* (*Droṇavāpa*) and *Kulvāy* (*Kulyavāpa*) are well-known units of land measurement in different parts of Bengal. But their present area have nothing to do with the original measurements. The areas have been modified owing to the

- 12 *भ्रा(?)ह्मकटक-वास्तव्य-छन्दोग-ब्राह्मण-वराहस्वामिनो दत्तं(त्तम्) (1*)
त[ञ्जव]-¹
- 13 भूम्या दा[नाक्षे]पे च गुणागुणमनुचिन्त्य शरीर-क[1*]ञ्जनकस्य वि-
- 14 [र-चञ्जलत्वं*] (11*) [ड]कञ्च भगवता द्वैपायनेन (1*)
स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्बा²
- 15 [यो हरेत् वसुन्धरां(राम्) (1*)]
[स विद्यायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृ*]भिः सह पच्यते (11*) 1
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्रानि(णि) स्वर्गे मोदति [भू]मिदः 1³
- 16 [आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् 11*] 2
[पू*]र्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (1*)
महीं [मही][मताच्छेष्ट]
- 17 [दानाच्छेयोऽनुपालनं नम् (11*) 3
..... यं . भद्रेन उत्कीर्णं स्थम्भेश्वरदासे[न]⁴ (11*)

No. 17—Karamdaṇḍa Stone Linga Inscription

of the time of Kumāragupta I

—Gupta Year 117 (=436 A.D.)

Bharādhi Dih, near KARAMDĀNDĀ, Faizābād District, U.P.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, X, pp. 71f.; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1270 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

TEXT⁵

1 नमो महादेवाय । म[हाराजाधिराज-श्री][चन्द्रगुप्त-पादा*]-

varying length of the measuring rod as prevalent in different regions. See *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, pp. 943ff. See *infra*, Nos. 19 and 42 and notes अपविच्छा=severing=separating=measuring out.

¹ Possibly we have to restore भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुसोद्यानुपालनीयं, °स्वामिनः = °स्वामिने.

² Read दत्तां वा.

³ The intended reading may be [लिखिता पट्टिके]यं अमात्य-भद्रेण. Traces of क before यं are visible. Basak reads सु(?)श्रीभद्रेण(ण).

⁴ Read सन्धे°, Banerji reads स्थलेश्वर.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X. The script is described as the so-called western variety of the Gupta alphabet. The eastern variety is characterised by the letters

- 2 नुध्यातस्य चतुष्टु(रु)दधि-सल्लिखास्वादित-य[सलो] [महाराजा*]-
- 3 धिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य विजयराज्य- संवत्स[र]-शते सप्तदशोत्त[रे*]
- 4 कार्तिक-मास-दशम-दिवसे(ऽ*)स्यान्दिवस-पूर्वायां [च्छान्दोग्याचार्याश्च]वाजि-
- 5 सगोत्त्र-कुरम[र]र[व्य?]भट्टस्य पुत्रो विष्णुपालितभट्टस्तस्य पू(पु)त्रो मह[र]र[र]-
- 6 जधिजाजा¹-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य मन्त्री कुमारामात्यदिशखरस्वाम्यभूतस्य पुत्रः
- 7 पृथिवीषेणो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य मन्त्री कुमारामात्यो(ऽ*)न-
- 8 न्तरं च महाबलाधिकृतः² भगवतो महादेवस्य पृथिवीश्वर³ इत्येवं समाख्यातस्या-
- 9 स्यैव भगवतो यथाकृत् व्य-धार्मिक-कर्मणा पाद-शुश्रूषणाय भगवच्छै-
- 10 लेश्वरस्वामि-महादेव-पादमूले आयोध्यक-नानागोत्तचरण तपः-
- 11 स्वाध्याय-मन्त्र-सूक्त-भाष्य-प्रवचन-पारग-भारद्दिसमद-देवद्रोण्यां⁴
- 12

No. 18—Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the
time of Kumaragupta I
—Gupta Year 124 (= 444 A.D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dinājpur District, North Bengal, now in East Pakistan.
R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 130 f.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre : Verse 1 अनुष्टुभ् (श्लोक).

न (without a crescent-like curve in the left side), स (with a loop instead of the left curve) and ण (with the horizontal base absent and the lower part curved to left) I have not adopted the nomenclature as the forms are actually pre-Gupta and as they are sometimes used indiscriminately with the alternative forms.

¹ Read °जाधिराज.

² See *supra*, p. 268, note 1; p. 272 note 9 Cf. अन्वय-प्राप्त-साक्ष्य in *supra* No. 11, line 3.

³ The Liṅga was apparently named after Prithivīṣeṇi. For the use of only the first part of the devotee's name in coining the name of the god installed, cf. Śiva installed under the name Mibireśvara by a lady named Mibiralakshmi in the Nirmand inscription (*C. I. I*, III, p. 289). Fleet's suggestion that the name refers to a combination of solar and Saiva worship is apparently wrong.

⁴ The lower portion of the aksharas of line 11 are broken away, and भारद्दिसमद is doubtful. Konow thinks that there is reference to the village Bhāraḍi (Bhāraḍida)?

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 सम्ब^२ १०० (+ *) २० (+ *) ४ फागुण-दि^३ ७ परमदैवत-परमभट्टारक-महाराज[!*-]
- 2 धिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्ते पृथिवी-पतौ तत्पाद-परिगृहीते पुण्ड्रवर्द्ध[न*]-
- 3 भुक्ताडुपरिक^४-चिरातदतेनानुवल्लवानक^५-कोटिवर्ष-विषये च त-
- 4 न्नियुक्त^६-कुमारासात्य-वेत्तवर्मन्व(भ्य, धिष्ठाणाधिकरणञ्च नगरश्रेष्ठि-
- 5 दृतिपाल-सात्यवाहवन्धुमित^७-प्रथमकुलिकदृतिमित-प्रथमका[य*]-
- 6 स्थशाश्वपाल-पुरोगे संव्यवहरति^८ यतः ब्राह्मण कर्णटिकेन(न)

and that समद् may be समुद्र, an epithet of Siva, But Samudra may be the *nām-aka-deśa* of a deity called Samudreśvara. One may suggest the correction पारगो भारडिद-समुद्र°. In that case, Bhāraḍida may possibly be identified with Bharāḍhi. देवद्रोणी = a procession with idols. But the passage श्रीसोमनाथ-देवद्रोणी-प्रतिबद्ध-महायणान्तःपाति° of the Veraval inscription, line 12, may suggest that the word sometimes meant the property of a temple. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 143-44; also No. 46, note, below.

¹ From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

² Read संव which is a construction of संवत्सर; or संवत्सरे.

³ Read फाल्गुन. दि stands for दिवस; or दिवसे.

⁴ Read भुक्ताडुप०. The city of Puṇḍravardhana has been identified with Mahāsthān in the Bogra District. The *bhukti* or province of this name comprised the Bogrā-Rājshāhi-Dinājpur region of North Bengal, though in a later period it also included parts of Eastern and Southern Bengal. The chief town of Koṭivarsha = Bāṇapura (= Bāṇanagara, mod. Bāṅgerh) = Devikoṭa was in the present Dinājpur District.

⁵ Read °दत्ते अनुवल्लवानक°. उपरिक is the title of a provincial governor. *Infra*, No. 12 has °दत्तस्य भोगेनानु° (ever prospering under the rule of . . .).

⁶ Note that the governor of the *vishaya* was appointed by that of the *bhukti*.

⁷ Read वन्धु.

⁸ अधिष्ठान = city; अधिकरण = office of administration. Note that the governor was helped in the administration by a Pañchāyat Board of 4 members, viz., the guild-president the merchant, the representative of the artisan class and the representative of the writer class who possibly acted as secretary of the Board. The Board seems to have worked like the West Indian Chauthiā (Chaturjātaka) of which the chairman is the Nagar-seṭh (Nagara-śreshṭhin) and the Paṭel (village headman) and Paṭwari (accountant-scribe = Kāyastha) are members. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 6, note 2; XXXIII, p. 193; XXXIV, p. 142ff; etc. Note also that Mitra is typically and Pāla, etc., are usually cognomene of the Kāyasthas of Bengal. The Kāyasthas appear to be a mixed caste with both Brāhmaṇa and non-Brāhmaṇa elements. So also are the Vaidyas. This is due to the fact that both are professional castes. The despised Vaidya born of Sūdra father and Vaisya mother (*Mahābhārata*, XIII, 9) is the outcast now called Vēdiyā and has little to do with the Bengal Vaidyas. For non-Brāhmaṇical family names among the Brāhmaṇas, cf. the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate below.

- 7 विज्ञापित(म्*) अरहं¹ ममाग्निहोत्रोपयोगाय² अप्रदाप्रहत-खि-
8 ल-क्षेत्र[*]³ तदीनारिक्य-कुल्यावापेण⁴ शश्वता(दा)चः।वर्क-तारक-भोज्ये[त*]-

Second Side

- 9 या⁵ नीवी-भर्मेण दातुमिति एवं दीयतामित्युत्पन्ने खिनी⁶ दीना[राण्यु*]-
10 पसंगृह्य यतः पुस्तपाल-रिशिदत्त⁷-जयनन्दि-विमुदत्तानामवधा-
11 रणया डोङ्गाया उत्तर-पञ्चिणद्देशे⁸ कुल्यवापमेकम् दत्तम्⁹ (॥*)
12 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा¹⁰ यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (॥*)
भूमि-[दान]-संवद्धा[*] श्लोका भवन्ति (॥*)¹¹
13 स विद्यायां क्रिमिभूत्वा¹² पितृभि सह पच्यतेति¹³ (॥*) 1

No. 19—Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of
the time of Kumaragupta I
—Gupta Year 128 (=447 A.D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dinājpur District, Bengal, now in East Pakistan.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 133 f.; K. N. DIKSHIT, *ibid.*, XVII, p. 193.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक),

¹ Read अरहं.

² I.e., utilisation in the maintenance of sacred fire

³ खिल and अप्रहत both mean 'untilled land'. अप्रहत may here mean 'unreclaimed land'. प्रदा=gift; so अप्रदा=non-transferable (or unsettled) property. See below, No. 39, note. For नीवी, see *supra*, p. 152, note 19

⁴ Read तदीनारिका-कुल्यावापेन. Dināra is the Gupta gold coin named after the Roman Denarius which was the name of both a gold and a silver coin, the gold coin being specifically called Aureus.

⁵ Read भोज्य०.

⁶ Read खिनी. दीयतामित्युत्पन्ने = तथैति प्रतिपाद्य.

⁷ Correctly पालविदत्त Pustalā'a = record-keeper. He determined whether the land could be and should be sold to the party.

⁸ Read पञ्चिमोद्देशे Dōngā was a locality.

⁹ Read वापः एकः दत्तः.

¹⁰ Read दत्तां वा.

¹¹ Properly भूमिदान-संवद्धः श्लोकी भवति and it should be read before स्वदत्तां.

¹² The usual spelling is कृमि.

¹³ Read पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ इति ॥

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 स['] १०० (+*) २० (+*)^२ वैशाख-दि १०(+*) ३ पर[मदैव]त-
परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-[श्री][कुमा*]-
2 रगुप्ते पृथिवी-पतौ [तत्पाद]-परिगृहीतस्य पु[ण्ड्र]व^३न-भुक्तायुष[रिक्-चि]रात-
दत्त[स्य]
3 भोगेना[नुव]ह[मानक]-कोटिव[र्ष]-विषये तन्नियुक्तक-कु[मा]रामात्य-वे[त्त]-
4 वर्म्मणि^४ अधिष्ठाना[धिक]र[णञ्च] नगर[श्रे]ष्ठिद्युतिपाल-सार्थवा[हव(ब)न्धुमि]त्र-प्र[थ]-
5 मकुलिकधृतिमित्त-प्रथमकायस्थ-शाम्ब[पाल-पुरो]गे सम्यव[हर]ति^५ [यतः*] स...^६
6 विज्ञापितं अ[हं]थ^७ मम प[ञ्च]-महायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनायानुवृत्ताप्रदाक्षयनि[वी*]-^८
7 मर्यादया दातुमिति (।*) एतद्विज्ञाप्यमुपलभ्य पुस्तपा[ल]-रिसिदत्त^९-जयन[न्दि-वि]-
[भुदत्तानामव*]-
8 धारण्या दीयतामित्यु[त्प]न्ने^{१०} एतस्माद्य[था]नुवृत्त-सैदीनारि[क्य-कु]ल्यवापे[न]

Second Side

- 9 [द्व]यमुप[संगृ]ह्य^{१०} [ऐरा]वता[गो]राज्ये पश्चिण^{११}-दिशि पञ्चद्वे[णा]-

¹ From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

² Basak : ६.

³ Here as well as in many other records सन्धि has not been observed. सन्धि however is optional in Sanskrit prose, though in poetry it is compulsory and its violation there is called विसन्धि-दोष by grammarians.

⁴ Read संव्य०.

⁵ Evidently this portion contained the name of the purchaser with the third case-ending.

⁶ Read ०पितमङ्ग०.

⁷ Read नौवी०. अनुवृत्त=customary, following the general rule. For the पञ्चमहायज्ञ, see मनु, III, 69.

⁸ The name is अविदत्त. Read ०पालविदत्त.

⁹ उत्पन्न=ascertained, decided. अवधारणा=ascertainment, determination, affirmation. Cf. तथेति प्रतिपाद्य in *supra*, No. 16, line 10. See also *infra*, No. 41, note.

¹⁰ दीनारहय० is to be understood. In that case 5 *droṇas* (=droṇavāpas) would be equal to 3 *kulyavāpas* and 7½ *droṇas* = 1 *kulyavāpa*. Actually, however, 8 *droṇas* = 1 *kulya*; 8 *droṇavāpas* = 1 *kulyavāpa*. The *droṇ* is a land measure in many parts of Bengal even today; but it varies greatly according to the length of the measuring rod which again is of different length in different parts of the country. In some parts of Bengal the *droṇ* is a little less than 7 acres. See *infra*, Nos. 37, 42 and 43, and notes.

¹¹ Read पश्चिम.

- 10 [म]काः¹ ह[ट्ट]-पानकैश्च² सहितेति³ दत्ताः (।*) तदुत्तर-कालं सम्भववहारिभिः⁴
[चर्ममवेक्ष्या]नु[म]-
- 11 न्तव्याः⁵ (।*) अपि च भूमि-दान सम्बद्धामिमौ⁶ श्लोकौ भवतः (।*)
पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजाति[भ्यो]
- 12 यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (।*)
महीं महीवतां⁷ श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोऽ*तुपा(ल*)नं⁸ (॥*) 1
बहुभिर्वसुधा⁹ दत्ता दी[य]ते च
- 13 पुनः पुनः (।*)
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति¹⁰ (॥*) 2

No. 20—Mankuwar Buddhist Stone Image Inscription
of the time of Kumaragupta I
—Gupta Year 129 (= 448 A.D.)

MANKUWAR, Allahābād District, U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 46 f.; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1273
(for other references).

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class¹¹

¹ Read ०त्तकाः (मूख्यः*).

² It is difficult to accept the suggestion of F. W. Thomas that we should read here *परहट्ट* and translate the passage, "with drinking places having Persian wheels." *हट्टपानकैः* = *हट्टापानकैः*, 'together with the market place (*haṭṭa*) and the sheds for watering cattle (*āpāna*)'.

³ Read सहिता इति.

⁴ Read संव्य० = by the administering agents.

⁵ अनुमन्तव्य = should be approved.

⁶ Read सम्बद्धावि०.

⁷ Read महीमतां.

⁸ Read ०नम्. Often in inscriptions we find the *anustāra* used in such cases.

⁹ Read बहुभि०.

¹⁰ Properly फलम् ॥ इति.

¹¹ The script is the so-called Eastern Gupta alphabet (cf. *supra*, p. 289, note 5).

TEXT¹

- 1 १ नमो बुधान² (।*) भगवतो³ सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य स्व-भताविरुद्धस्य⁴ इयं प्रतिमा
प्रतिष्ठापिता भिक्षु-बुद्धमित्येण⁵
2 सम्बत्⁶ १०० (+*) २० (+*) ८ महाराज⁷-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य राज्ये ज्येष्ठमास⁸-दि
१० (+*) ८ सर्व-दुःख-प्रहानार्थम्⁹ (॥*)

No. 21—Inscription on the Asvamedha type Gold Coins
of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.)

ALLAN'S *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 66 ff.

First Side¹⁰

Horse standing to right, wearing breast-band and saddle, before *yūpa* on altar, the pennons from which fly over the back of the horse; between the legs of the horse, inscription in the Sanskrit language and Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class:—

शमच (—अशमेचः or अशमेचाशः)¹¹

Second Side

Mahishī Anantadevī standing to left, nimbate, holding chowry over right shoulder and some object in left hand, wearing ear-rings, necklace,

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

² The word सिद्धम् is expressed by the symbol. Possibly Prakrit बुद्धान् is intended. Read बुद्धेभ्यः or बुद्धाय.

³ Read भगवतः.

⁴ I.e., 'one who was consistent with his own teachings,' 'who lived according to his own teachings.'

⁵ There is no reason to identify this Buddhāmītra with any particular monk of this name known from the history of Buddhism.

⁶ Read संवत् which is a contraction of संवत्सरे or संवत्सरः.

⁷ Mahārāja for Mahārājādhirāja in an unofficial record is of no historical importance.

⁸ ज्येष्ठ = ज्येष्ठ.

⁹ Read दुःख-प्रहानार्थम्.

¹⁰ From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate XII, No. 14; see also No. 13.

¹¹ On one specimen, we have जयत दत्त कुमार (= जयति दिवं कुमारगुप्तोऽयं ; Metre : छपगोति).

armlets and anklets; sacrificial spear bound with fillets on left; border of dots; inscription in Late Brāhmī characters:—

[श्री]-अश्व[मे]व-महेन्द्र[:*]¹

No. 22—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Kumārāgupta I—Gupta Year 124 (= 443-44 A.D.)

ALLAN'S *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 107 ff., Nos. 385 ff.

*First Side*²

Head of king to right as on the silver issues of Chandragupta II; on right:—[व १००*] (+*) २० (+*) ४ (=गुप्तवर्ष १२४)³

Second Side

Peacock⁴ standing, facing, with head to left and wings and tail outspread; border of dots; legend in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class:—

[विजितावनिरव*]नि-पति[:*] कुमारगुप्तो दिवं ज[यति*]⁵ (॥*)

¹ Properly, श्राद्धनिष०.

² From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate XVII, Nos. 11ff. This type is supposed to have been issued in the Ganges valley. The West Indian issues have a Garuḍa on the reverse. Kumārāgupta's viceroy in Mālwa was his brother, Mahārāja Govindagupta who is known from a Basārḥ clay seal and from a Mandasor record (of the Mālava year 524 = 467 A.D.) of Dattabhāṭa, son of Govindagupta's general Vāyurakṣita. See *infra*.

³ Other specimens of this variety have the dates 118, 119 and 122 of the Gupta era, corresponding respectively to 437-38, 438-39 and 441-42 A.D.

⁴ The peacock reminds us of the Peacock type of the gold coins of Kumārāgupta I, having, on obverse, king feeding peacock from bunch of fruit and, on reverse, god Kārttikeya riding on his peacock called Paravāṇi by some authorities. Kārttikeya and his emblem, the peacock, on these coins apparently refer to the king's name Kumāra which indicates that god.

⁵ Metre आर्या or उपगोति. The *anusvāra* and vowel-marks are not found on the Plate.

No. 23—Tumain Fragmentary Inscription of the time of
Kumaragupta I and Ghatotkachagupta—
Gupta Year 116 (= 435-36 A.D.)

TUMAIN, Guna District, old Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh.
M. B. Garde, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 117.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Owing to the fragmentary nature of the record the stanzas have not been numbered and metres have been indicated in the foot-notes.

TEXT¹

- 1
.....
.....[र]रिस्थि² लोकसयान्ते ।
चरणकमलमस्य³ वन्द्ये⁴ न्द्यते सिद्धसङ्गहैः⁵ (॥*)⁶
राजा श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तदनु जयति यो मेदिनीं सागरान्ताम्
- 2(॥*)
.....
.....(॥*)⁶
.. श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य महेन्द्रकल्पः
कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्स[मग्राम्] (॥*)
ररक्ष साध्वीमिव धर्मपत्नीम्⁷
वीर्याग्रहस्तैरुपगुह्य भूमिम् (॥*)⁸
- 3 ...
..... [गङ्गा(गङ्गा)]-गौरः (॥*)

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI.

² The *danḍa* is unnecessary. The first word may be मुरारि.

³ Read कमलमस्य.

⁴ Read सङ्घे.

⁵ Metre : मालिनी.

⁶ Metre : सङ्घरा.

⁷ Read पत्नी. Note the verb *raraksha* in the Perfect tense, even though Kumāragupta was the ruling monarch of the time (cf. line 4 below).

⁸ Metre : उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा).

क्षित्यम्बरे गुगसमूहमयूखजालो
नाम्नोदितस्स तु घटोत्कचगुप्तचन्द्रः (॥*)¹
स पूर्वजानां स्थिरसत्त्व(स्व)कीर्ति-
भुञ्जिर्जिता कीर्तिं मभिपपद्य ॥²

4 ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ — ॐ — — — (॥*)³...

[गुप्तान्वया*]नां वसुधेश्वराणा[म्]⁴
समा-शते षोडशवर्षयुक्ते ।
कुमारगुप्ते नृपतौ प्रथिव्याम्⁵
विराजामाने⁶ शरदीव सूर्ये ॥⁷
वटोदके साधुजनाधिवासे

5 ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ — ॐ — — — (॥*)
ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ — ॐ — — —
ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ — ॐ — — — (॥*)⁸...
ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ — ॐ — — —
ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ — ॐ — — — (॥*)
ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ — ॐ — — — त-

इश्रीदेव इत्युज्जित नामधेयः (॥*)⁹
तदग्रजो (॥*)भूद्धरिदेवसंज्ञ-
स्ततो (॥*)नुजो यस्तु स धन्यदेवः (॥*)
ततो (॥*)वरो यश्च स भद्रदेव-
स्ततः कनीयानपि सङ्गदेवः]¹⁰ (॥*)¹¹

¹ Metre: वसन्ततिलका. Ghaṭotkachagupta seems to have been Kumāragupta's son or brother and the viceroy of East Malwa.

² Only one *daṇḍa* is enough for proper punctuation.

³ Metre: उपेन्द्रवचा or उपजाति.

⁴ Read ०श्वराणा.

⁵ Read पृथिव्या.

⁶ Read विराज०.

⁷ Metre: उपजाति.

⁸ Metre: उपेन्द्रवचा or उपजाति. Vaṭolaka has been identified with the village of Badoh in the Bhilsa (Vidisa) District, old Gwalior State.

⁹ Metre: इन्द्रवचा or उपजाति.

¹⁰ Read सङ्ग०.

¹¹ Metre: उपेन्द्रवचा.

6 ... — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — न-सक्त-चित्ताः (१०)
 समानवृत्ताकृति-भावधीराः]
 [कृता]लयास्तुम्ववने व[भू]वुः ॥¹
 अकारयंस्ते गिरि[श्रि]ङ्ग-तुङ्ग²
 शशि-[प्रभं] देवनि[वास-हर्म्यम्*] (१०)
 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (१०)*³

No. 24—Mandasor Stone Inscription mentioning Kumaragupta I and Bandhuvarman—

Malava⁴ Years 493 and 529 (= 436 and 473 A.D.)

MANDASOR, old Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 81 ff. ; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 6
(for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-2 शादूँलविक्रीडित ; V. 3 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 4 आर्या ;
 Vv. 5-6 वसन्ततिलका ; Vv. 7-9 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 10 उपजाति (इन्द्र-
 वज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 11 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 12 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा +
 उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 13 आर्या ; V. 14 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 15 द्रुतविलम्बित ;
 V. 16 हरिणी ; V. 17 इन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 18 वसन्ततिलका ;

¹ Metre : उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति. Tumbavana is modern Tumain in the Guna District, old Gwalior State.

² Read शङ्ग.

³ Metre : उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति. The stanza records the construction of a Vishnu temple (cf. line 1).

⁴ See V. 35 below, and *supra*, p. 91, note 6. The era which became connected with the name of Vikramāditya about the 8th century A.D. was earlier known as the *Kṛita* era or the era of the Mālavas or of the Mālava kings. As regards *Kṛita*, it may be noticed that we have also the spelling *Kṛita* (= *Kṛita*?) in early records. According to Buddhist traditions, Maḍhyāntika who preached Buddhism in Gandhāra and Kashmīra, built 500 monasteries, and "he bought foreign slaves to serve the Brethren. Sometimes after his decease, these inferiors became rulers of the country, but neighbouring states despising them as a lowborn breed would not have intercourse with them and called them *Kṛita* or 'the

V. 19 मालिनी; V. 20 वसन्ततिलका; V. 21 आर्या; V. 22 वसन्त-
तिलका; V. 23 वंशस्थ; V. 24 उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 25 वसन्ततिलका;
V. 26 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 27 वसन्ततिलका; V. 28 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा +
उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 29 मन्दाक्रान्ता; Vv. 30-32 वसन्ततिलका; V. 33
आर्या (defective, with यतिभङ्गदोष); Vv. 34-37 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्);
Vv. 38-39 आर्या (with यतिभङ्गदोष in V. 39); V. 40 वसन्त-
तिलका; Vv. 41-42 आर्या; V. 43 मालिनी; V. 44 श्लोक
(अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT¹

1 [सिद्धम् ॥]

[यो] [वृत्त्य(त्त्य)र्थं] मुपास्यते सुर-गणै[स्सिद्धैश्च] सिद्धार्थिभि-
र्हृगानैकाग्र-परैर्विधेय-विषयेर्माक्षात्थिभिर्दर्योगिभिः ।

भक्त्या तीव्र-तपोधनेश्च मुनिभिश्चाप-प्रसाद-क्षमै-

र्हेतुदर्यो जगतः क्षयाभ्युदययोऽपायात्सर्वो भास्करः । (।*)¹²

तत्त्व³-ज्ञान-विदोऽपि यस्य न विदुर्ब्रह्मार्प-

2

योऽभ्युद्यता-

ऋत्स्नं यश्च गभस्तिभिः प्रवृत्सुतैः पुं ण]ति लोक त्वयम् ।

ग[न्ध]र्वाभिर-सिद्ध-किन्नर-नरैस्संस्तूयते(ऽ*)भ्युत्थितो

भक्तेभ्यश्च ददाति यो(ऽ*)भिलषितं तस्मै सवित्ते नमः । (।*)²

यः[प्र]त्यहं प्रतिविभात्युदयाचलेन्द्र-

विस्तीर्ण-तुङ्ग-शिखर-स्खलितांशुजालः । (।*)

क्षीबाङ्गना-

Bought' (Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels*, I, p. 265). If it may be believed that the back-ground of the above tradition is the Skytho-Parthian occupation of N.W. India (and that some of those foreign kings had originally been slaves like those of the Turkish Slave dynasty of a later period), the name *Krita* (= *Krita*; *Krita* may be a later emendation) may refer to the foreign origin of the era. That this era and the earlier Skytho-Parthian era are identical is suggested by the date (year 103) of the Takti-Bāhi inscription (*supra*, pp 125f) of the Parthian king Gondophares who was a contemporary of St. Thomas and lived in the first century A.D. according to Christian traditions. Cf. *Vikrama Volume*, ed. R. K. Mookerjee, Ujjain, 1918, pp. 557 ff.

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III; cf. *infra*, Nos. 51-52.

² Note the use of the चपञ्चानोय (old *visarga* before च and ञ) indicated by < and the निष्ठासूचोय (old *visarga* before ङ and ख) by x here and elsewhere in the record.

³ Read तत्त्व.

- 8 जन-कपोल-तळाभिताम्र-
 —पायात्स वस्सु[कि]रणाभ[रणो] विवस्वान् । (1*) 3
 कुसुमभरानततरुवर-देवकुल-सभा-विहार-रमणियात्¹ ।
 लाट-विषयान्नगावृत-शैलाजगति प्रथित-शिल्पाः । (1*) 4
 ते देश-पार्थिवगुणापहृताः प्रकाश-
 मद्धादिजान्यविरलान्यसुखा-
- 4 न्यपास्य ।
 जातादरा दशपुरं² प्रथमं मनोभि-
 रन्वागतास्ससुत-बन्धु-जनास्समेत्य ॥ 5
 मत्ते भ-गण्ड-तट-विच्युत-दान-विन्दु-
 सिक्तोपलाचल-सहस्र-विभूषणायाः³ (1*)
 पुष्पावनम्र-तरु-षण्ड⁴-वतंसकाया
 भूमे — परन्तिलक-भूतमिदं क्रमेण ॥ 6
 तटोत्थ-वृक्ष-च्युत-
- 5 नैक-पुष्प-
 विचित्र-तीरान्त-जलानि भान्ति ।
 प्रफुल्ल-पद्माभरणानि यत्न
 सरांसि कारण्डव⁵-संकुलानि ॥ 7
 विलोल-वीची-चलितारविन्द -
 पतद्रजः-पिञ्जरितैश्च हंसैः ।
 स्व-केसरोदार-भरावभुग्नेः
 क्वचित्सरांस्यम्बुरुहैश्च भान्ति । (1*) 8
 स्व-पुष्प-भारावनतैर्मृगैर्नन्द्रे-
 मन्द-
- 6 प्रगल्भालि-कुल-स्वनेश्च ।
 अजस्रगाभिश्च पुराङ्गनाभि-

¹ Read रमणीयात्. Lāṭa was the modern Nausari-Broach region. Navasārikā (mod. Nausāri) in the Surat District of Gujarat was one of its chief cities.

² Modern Man-Dasor (Mandasor).

³ Read विभूषणायाः.

⁴ Fleet: मण्ड; R. G. Bhandarkar suggested the emendation वृक्ष (Collected Works, III, p 400). For the reading वृक्ष, 'multitude,' see Proc. I. H. C., Lahore, 1940, p. 60.

⁵ Kāraṇḍava is a kind of duck.

र्वनानि यस्मिन्समलंकृतानि ॥ 9

चलत्पताकान्यबला-सनाथा-

न्यत्यर्थशुक्लान्यधिकोन्नतानि ।

तडिल्लता-चित्र-सिताब्ज-कूट-

तुल्योपमानानि गृहाणि यत् ॥ 10

कैलास-तुङ्ग-शिखर-प्रतिमानि चान्या-

न्याभान्ति दीर्घ-बलभी-

नि सवेदिकानि ।

गान्धर्व-शब्द-मुखरानि¹ निविष्ट-चित्त-

कर्मणि लोल-कदली-वन-शोभितानि ॥ 11

प्रासाद-मालाभिरलंकृतानि

धरां विदार्यैव समुत्थितानि ।

विमान-माला-सदृशानि यत्

गृहाणि पूर्णैन्दु-करामलानि ॥ 12

यद्भ्रात्यभिरम्य-सरिद्वयेन² चपलोर्मिणा समुपगृढ³ (1*)

8 रहसि कुच-शालिनीभ्यां प्रीति-रतिभ्यां स्मराङ्गमिव ॥ 13

सत्य-[क्षमा]-दम-शम-व्रत-शौच-धर्म-

[स्वाद्ध्या]य-वृत्त-विनय-स्थिति-बुद्धुपपत्तैः ।

विद्या-तपो-निधिभिरस्मयितैश्च विप्रै-

र्यद्भ्राजते ग्रहणैः खमिव प्रदीप्तैः ॥ 14

अथ समेत्य निरन्तर-सङ्गतै-

रहरहः-प्रविजृम्भित-

9 सौहृदाः (1*)

नृपतिभिस्तुतवत्प्रतिम[र]णिताः

प्रमुदिता न्यवसन्त सुखं पुरे ॥ 15

श्रवण-[सु]भग[र] ध[र]नुर्ध्व[र] दृढं परिनिष्ठिताः

सुचरित-शतासङ्गाः केचिद्विचित्त-कथाविदः ।

विनय-निभृतास्सम्यग्धर्म-प्रसङ्ग-परायणा-

प्रियमपहृषं पत्न्यं चान्ये क्षमा बहु भाषितुं तुम् ॥ 16

¹ Read मुखरानि.

² Read सरिद्वयेन.

³ Properly गृढम्; but in this record and in others the use of the *anusvāra* is found in many such cases.

- 10 केचित्स्व-कर्मण्यधिकास्तथान्यै-
 किञ्ज्ञायते ज्योतिममात्मवद्भिः¹ ।
 [भद्यापि] चान्ये समर-प्रगल्भा-
 [ऋकु]र्ध्वन्त्यरीणामहितं प्रसह्य ॥ (1*) 17
 प्राज्ञा मनोज्ञ-वधवः प्रथितोरुवंशा
 वंशानुरूप-चरिताभरणास्तथान्ये ।
 सत्यव्रताः प्रणयिनामुपकार-दक्षा
 विस्मय-
 11 [पूर्व]मपरे दृढ-सौहृदाश्च ॥ 18
 विजित-विषय-सङ्गैर्द्धर्म-शीलैस्तथान्यै-
 [मृ]द्भूमि-रधिक-स-त्वेर्लोकयात्रा-मरैश्च² ।
 स्व-कुल-तिलक-भूतैर्मुक्तरागैरुदारै-
 रधिकमभि-वि-भाति श्रेणिरेवंप्रकारैः ॥ 19³
 तारुण्य-कान्त्युपचितोऽपि सुवर्ण-हार-
 तांबूल-पुष्प-विधिना सम-
 12 [लंकृ]तोऽपि ।
 नारी-जनः श्रियमुपैति⁴ न तावदग्रं
 यावन्न पट्टमय-वस्त्र-यु-गानि धत्ते ॥ 20
 स्पर्श-वता⁵ वर्णा⁵न्तर-विभाग-चिह्नेण नेत्र-सुभगेन [1]
 यैस्सकलमिदं क्षितितलमलंकृतं पट्टवस्त्रेण ॥ 21
 विद्याधरी-रुचिर-पल्लव-कर्णपूर-
 चातेरिता[स्थि]रतरं प्रविचिन्त्य

¹ Read ज्योतिष०.

² Read सत्त्वे०

³ Note that sections of the people who were originally silk-weavers in the Lāṭa country (= Nausārī-Broach region), when they settled at Daśapūra (= Man-Dasor), adopted different professions, such as that of an archer, a story-teller, an exponent of religious problems, an astrologer, a warrior and an ascetic. This shows the looseness of the caste-restrictions at least in Western India about the time of this record.

⁴ Fleet reads प्रिय^० and corrects ०दद्या (his reading for ०दद्या) to ०दद्या. See Jagannath in *Proc. I. H. C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 60.

⁵ Jagannath reads स्पर्शजात (*Proc. I. H. C.*, loc. cit.). But that does not suit the metre and the sense. Of course स्पर्शजात would suit the metre.

13

[लो]कं(कम्) ।

मानुष्यमर्थ-निचयांश्च तथा विशालां
 [स्ते]षां शुभा [म]ति[रभूद] चला ततस्तु¹ [॥] 22
 चतु[स्समुद्रान्त]-विलोल-मेखलां
 सुमेरु-कैलास-बृहत्पथोधराम् ।
 वनान्त-वान्त-स्फुट-पुष्प-हासिनीं
 कुमारगुप्ते प्रिथिवीं² प्रशासति ॥ 23
 समान-धीशुक-बृहस्पतिभ्यां
 ललामभूतो भुवि

14

पार्थिवानां(नाम्) ।

रणेषु यः पार्थ-समानकम्मा
 बभूव गोसा नृप-विश्ववर्मा ॥ 24
 दीनानुकंपन-परः कृपणात्तं-वर्ग-
 सन्ध[1]प्रदो(ऽ*)धिकदयालुरनाथ-नाथः ।
 [क]ल्पद्रुमः प्रणयिनामभयं प्रदश्च³
 भीतस्य यो जनपदस्य च बन्धुरासीत् ॥ 25
 तस्यात्मजः स्वैर्य-नयोपपन्नो
 ब[न्धु]-प्रियो

15

बन्धुरिव प्रजानां(नाम्) ।

बन्धवर्त्ति-हर्त्ता नृप-बन्धुवर्मा
 द्विदृष्ट-पक्ष-क्षपणैक[द]क्षः ॥ 26
 कान्तो युवा रण-पटुर्विनयान्वितश्च
 राजापि सन्नुपसृतो न मदैः स्मयाद्यैः ।
 शृङ्गार-मूर्त्तिरभिभात्यनलंकृतो(ऽ*)पि
 रूपेण यः कुसुम-चाप⁴ इव द्वितीयः ॥ 27
 वैधव्य-तीव्र-व्यसन-क्षतानां

¹ The word ततस्तु = 'and then' is connected with the sentence with कारितं (line 16).
 The intervening verses are by way of a parenthesis.

² Read प्रिथिवी.

³ Better read °भय-प्रदय.

⁴ Fleet's transcript has या^xकु°.

16 स्त्रि(स्त्रु)त्वा यमद्याप्यरि-सुन्दरीणां(णाम्)¹ ।

भयाद्भवत्यायत-लोचनानां

घन-स्तनायासकरः प्रकम्पः ॥ 28

तस्मिन्नेव क्षितिपति-मि वृ पे बंधुवर्षाभ्युदारे

सम्यक्स्फीतं दशपुरमिदं पाळयत्युन्नतांसे ।²

[शि]व्यावासैर्जन-समुदयैः पट्टवा[यैरु]दारं

श्रे[णीभूतै]र्भवघनमतुलं कारितं

17 दीसरश्मेः ॥ 29

विस्तीर्ण-तुङ्ग-शिखरं शिखरि-प्रकाश-

मभ्युद्गतेन्द्रमल-रश्मि-कलाप-[गौ]रं(रम्) ।

यज्जाति पश्चिम-पुरस्य निविष्ट-कान्त-

चूडामणि-प्रतिसमन्नयनाभिरामं³ ॥ 30

रामा-सनाथ-[र]चने दर-भास्करांशु-

वह्नि-प्रताप-सुभगे जल-लीन-मीने ।

चन्द्रांशु-हृष्यतल-

18 चन्दन-तालवृन्त

हारोपभोष'-रहिते हिम-दग्ध-पद्मे ॥ 31

रोद्ध-प्रियंगुतरु-कुन्दलता-विकोश-

पुष्पा[सव]-प्रमु[दि]ताळि-कलाभिरामे ।

काले तुषार-कण-कर्कश-शीत-वात

वेग-प्रनुत्त-लवली-नगणैकशास्त्रे ॥ 32

सर-वशाग-तरुणजन-वल्लभाङ्गना-विपुल-कान्त-पीनोर-

19 स्तन-जघन-घनालिङ्गन-निर्भस्मित-तुहिन-हिम-पाते ॥ 33⁵

[मा]लवानां गण-स्थित्या या[ति] शत-चतुष्टये ।

¹ A स् was originally engraved after शां.

² This suggests that Daśapura was the capital of Bāṇḍhuvarmān.

³ Read रामम्. Fleet's transcript has रमं. Daśapura is called Paśchimapura, 'city of the west', apparently because it was then one of the greatest cities of Western India.

⁴ Read भीग.

⁵ This verse composed of only one compound and several other defective features of the poem show that the author was only a second or third rate poet. The composition which shows more labour than poetic skill belongs to what is called the Gauḍī-rīti by rhetoricians.

विनवत्यधिके(५*)ब्दानाम्नि(५)ती सेष्य-घनस्तने^१ ॥ ३४

सहस्रमास-शुक्लस्य^१ प्रशस्ते(५*)हि त्रयोदशे ।

मङ्गलाचार-विप्रिना प्रामादो(५*)यं निवेशितः ॥ ३५

बहुना समतीतेन

20 कालेनान्यैश्च पार्थिवैः ।

व्यशोर्च्यतेकदेशो ५* स्य भवनस्य ततो(५*)धुना ॥ ३६^२

स्वयशो-[वि वृद्धये सर्वमत्युदा रमुदारया ।

संस्कारितमिदं भूयः [श्रेयसा] भानुमतो गृहं हम् ॥ ३७

अत्युन्नतमवदातं नभ स्पृशन्निव मनोहरैरिशावरैः ।

शशि-भान्वोरपुदयेष्वमल-मयूखायतन-

21 भूतं तम् ॥ ३८

वत्सर-शतेषु पंचसु विशत्यधिकेषु^३ नवसु चाब्देषु ।

यातेष्वभिरम्य-[तप]स्यमास^४-शुक्ल-द्वितीयायां याम् ॥ ३९

स्पष्टैरशोकतरु-केतक-सिंदुवार-

लोलातिमुक्तकलता-मदयंतिकानां नाम्^५ ।

पुष्पोद्गमैरभिनवैरधिगम्य नून-

मैक्यं विजृंभित-शरे हर-पूत-देहे^६ ॥ ४०

22 मधुपान-मुदित-मधुकर-कुलोपगीत-नगनैक^६-पृथु-शाखे ।

काले नव-कुसुमोद्गम-दंतुर-कांत-प्रचुर-रोद्धे ॥ ४१

^१ Fleet ०स्ते. स्थित्या=according to the established custom, i.e., the custom of calculation established by the Republic of the Mālavās; cf. ब्रह्मदेय-स्थित्या in *infra*, No. 58, line 6. सहस्र=षोडश and युक्त=युक्तपक्ष.

^२ Here the period of about 36 years has been mentioned as 'a long time'. Fleet translates, 'under other kings, part of the temple fell into disrepair'. The language, however, seems to support D. Sharma who wants to translate, 'a part of this building was destroyed (damaged?) by other kings'. He thinks of the occupation of Central India by the Hūṇas (*Ind Cult.*, III, pp. 379ff.; IV, pp. 262f.). Bandhavarman must have died long before 478 A.D. But the passage may refer to an attack on Daśapura by hostile kings and not to the occupation of the kingdom by the Hūṇas, which probably took place later. Cf. the Mandasor inscriptions of the time of Prabhākara and others below.

^३ Alternatively नभः. स्पृशन् (masc.) does not suit गृहं (fem.). Fleet suggests the correction नभः स्पृशतीति which, however, does not suit the text quite well. Read स्पृशस्विव. Fleet : मनोहरैः शि०.

^४ Read विशत्य०. तपस्य=फाल्गुन.

^५ Fleet suggests the correction धूत; the expression means Madana. Fleet : मदयंतिकानां.

^६ Read नगनैक.

शशिनेव नभो विमलं कौ[स्तु]भ-मणिनेव शार्ङ्गिणो वक्षः ।

भवन-वरेण तथेदं पुरमखिलमलंकृतमुदारं(रम्) ॥ 42

अमलिन-शशि-

23

लेखा-दंतुरं पिङ्गकानां

परिवहति समूहं यावदीशो जटानां(नाम्) ।

वि[कच'-क'मल-मालामंस-सक्तां च शार्ङ्गी

भवनमिदमुदारं शाश्वतन्तावदस्तु ॥ 43

श्रेण्यादेशेन भक्त्या च कारितं भवनं रवेः ।

पूर्वा¹ चेयं प्रयत्नेन रचिता वत्सभ-दृष्टना ॥ 44

24

स्वस्ति कर्तृ-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्यः ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

No. 25—Junagarh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta—Gupta Years 136, 137 and 138 (=455, 456 and 457-58 A.D.)

JUNĀGARH, former Junāgarh State, Kāthiāwār, now Junāgarh District,
Gujarat State.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 58ff.; BRANDARKAR'S List, No. 1276
(for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-3 मालिनी; V. 4 आर्या; V. 5 उपजाति
(इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); Vv. 6-12 इन्द्रवज्रा; Vv. 13-15
उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 16 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी

¹ Fleet : विकट.

² The word प्रयत्नि is understood here पूर्वा = the above (cf. line 7 of the Deogarh rock inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 127; etc.). It has been recently suggested that the word has been used here and in other cases as a synonym of *prastā* (B. C. Chhabra in *Śrūpabhārati*, pp. 14-24); but note the use of the word also in relation to *tithi* understood. The word really means 'the *prastā* or *tithi* quoted or referred to above'. It has also to be noted that, although *pūrvā* is often found in such contexts in epigraphic literature, it is not recognised in the lexicons in the sense of a *prastā* or *tithi*.

or वैतालीय-औपच्छन्दसिक; Vv. 17-20 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); Vv. 21-25 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 26 वंशस्थ; V. 27 इन्द्रवज्रा; Vv. 28-31 वंशस्थ; Vv. 32-37 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); Vv. 38-39 मालिनी; V. 40 उपजाति (वंशस्थ + इन्द्रवंश); Fleet wrongly takes it to be वंशस्थ defective in the first syllable of the first and third *pādas*); Vv. 41-42 इन्द्रवज्रा; Vv. 43-44 वसन्ततिलका; V. 45 आर्या (१); Vv. 46-47 वसन्ततिलका.

TEXT¹

Part I

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥
श्रियमभिमतभोग्यां नैककालापनीतां
त्रिदशपति-सुखार्थं यो बलेराजहार ।
कमल-निलयनायाः शाश्वतं धाम लक्ष्म्याः
- 2 स जयति विजितार्तिद्विष्णुरत्यन्त-जिष्णुः ॥ 1
तदनु जयति शश्वत् श्री'-परिक्षित-वक्षाः
स्वभुज-जनित-वीर्यो राजराजाधिराजः ।
नरपति-
- 3 भुजगानां मानदर्पोत्फणानां
प्रतिकृति-गरुडा[ज्ञां] निर्विषी['] चावकर्त्ता ॥ 2'
नृपति-गुण-निकेतः स्वान्दगुप्तः पृथु-श्रीः⁴
चतुर्दधि-जलान्तां स्फीत-पर्यन्त-देशाम् ।

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. For the early history of the Sudarśana lake, see *supra*, Bk. II, No. 67. The lake was made exclusively to help cultivation in the Junāgarh region. Its history speaks eloquently of the beneficent activities of ancient Indian kings.

² Read शश्वच्छ्रीः.

³ Fleet translates, "who plucked [and utilised] the authority of [his local] representatives who were so many Garuḍas, and used it as antidote against the [hostile] kings who were so many serpents." But प्रतिकृतिगरुडाज्ञा may mean 'command conveyed through the Garuḍa in its representation,' i.e., a command under the Garuḍa seal of the Gupta king. निर्विषी is a kind of grass used as an antidote against all sorts of poison.

⁴ Read श्रीशश्वत्.

- 4 अवनिमवनतारियः चकारात्म-संस्थां
 पितरि सुरसखित्वं प्राप्तवत्यात्म-शक्त्या ॥ 3¹
 आप² च जित[मे]व तेन³ प्रथयन्ति यशांसि यस्य रिपवो[ऽ*]पि [1*]
 आमूल-भग्न-दर्पा नि[र्वचना]³ [म्लेच्छ-देशेषु]³ ॥ 4
- 5 क्रमेण बुद्ध्या निपुणं प्रधार्य
 ध्यात्वा च कृत्स्नान्गुण-दोष-हेतून् ।
 व्यपेत्य सर्वान्मनुजेन्द्र-पुत्रां(सौं)-
 छद्मीः स्वयं यं वरयांचकार ॥ 5⁴
 तस्मिन्नुपे शासति नैव कश्चि-
 द्दम्मादपेतो मनुजः प्रजासु ।
- 6 भाक्तो दरिद्रो व्यसनी कदर्यो
 दण्डेन⁵ वा यो भृश-पीडितः स्यात् ॥ 6
 एवं स जित्वा पृथिवीं समग्रां
 भग्नान्न-दर्पा[न्] द्विषत्श्च कृत्वा ।
 सर्वेषु देशेषु विधाय गोप्तृन्⁶
 संचिन्तया[मा]स बहु-प्रकारम् ॥ 7
 स्यात्को[ऽ*]नुरूपो
- 7 मतिमान्विनितो'
 मेधा-स्मृतिभ्यामनपेत-भावः ।
 सत्यार्जवौदार्य-नयोपपन्नो
 माधुर्य-दाक्षिण्य-यशोन्वितश्च ॥ 8

¹ Cf. Vv. 4 and 6 of *infra*, No. 28.

² Fleet's transcript has आपि. Practically, "जितमेव तेन" इति.

³ This is Fleet's conjectural reading. Mlecchha may indicate the Hūṇas who may have advanced against Central India about the end of Kumāragupta's reign.

⁴ मनुजेन्द्र-पुत्र may simply indicate 'princes'; but it may also refer to other Gupta princes who might have struggled with Skandagupta for the imperial throne after Kumāragupta's death. See *supra*, No. 23 and note, and *infra*, No. 31 and note.

⁵ Fleet reads दण्ड and suggests the emendation दण्डो. See Jalannath, *Proc. I.H.C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 59.

⁶ Read गोप्तृन्. गोप्ता = governor. Skandagupta's deliberation over the appointment of a governor of the westernmost Gupta province may have been due to the Hūṇa menace in Central India. Cf. *infra* Vv. 12-13.

⁷ Read अन्विनीतो. Note the accomplishments of an ideal ruling officer in verses 8-11; cf. also verses 17-18 and above, p. 180, text line 19.

- भक्तोऽनुरक्तो नृ-विशेष-युक्तः
 सर्वोपधाभिश्च विशुद्ध-बुद्धिः ।
 आनुष्य-भावोपगतान्तरात्माः¹
 सर्वस्य लोकस्य हिते प्रवृत्तः ॥ 9
- 8 न्यायार्जनेऽर्थस्य च कः समर्थः
 स्वादर्जितस्याप्यथ रक्षणे च ।
 गोपायितस्यापि [च] वृद्धि-हेतौ
 वृद्धस्य पात्र-प्रतिपादनाय ॥ 10
 सर्वेषु भृत्येष्वपि संहतेषु
 यो मे प्रशिष्यान्निखिलान्सुराष्ट्रान् ।
 आं ज्ञातमेकः खलु पर्णदत्तो
 भारस्य तस्योद्ग्रहणे समर्थः ॥ 11
- 9 एवं विनिश्चित्य नृपाधिपेन
 नैकानहो-रात्र-गगान्स्व-मत्या ।
 यः संनियुक्तोऽर्थनया कथंचित्
 सम्यक्सुराष्ट्रावनि-पालनाय ॥ 12
 नियुज्य देवा वरुणं प्रतीच्यां
 स्वस्था यथा नोन्मनसो बभूवुः² (1*)
 पूर्वैतरस्यां दिशि पर्णदत्तं
 नियुज्य राजा धृतिमांस्तथाभूत् (1*) 13
- 10 तस्यात्मजो ह्यात्मज-भाव-युक्तो
 द्विधेव चात्मात्म-वशेन नोतः ।
 सर्व्वात्मनास्मेव च रक्षणीयो
 नित्यात्मवानात्मज-कान्त-रूपः (1*) 14²
 रूपानुरूपैर्ललितैर्विचित्रैः³
 नित्य-प्रमोदान्वित-सर्वभावः ।

¹ Read ०रात्मा. वृविशेषयुक्त=endowed with many characteristics; having relations only with the best men.

² "His son, possessed of a filial disposition, as if his own self reduplicated; trained by self control; worthy to be protected like his own self by the all-pervading spirit; always self-possessed; endowed with a naturally beautiful form."

³ Read ०चिन्नेनित्य.

प्रभुद्ध-पद्माकर-पद्मवक्त्रो

मृणां¹ शरभ्यः शरणागतानाम् ।(1*) 15

11 अभवद्भुवि चक्रपालितो(ऽ*)साविति नाम्ना प्रथितः प्रियो जनस्य ।

स्वगुणैरनुपस्कृतैरुदा[त्तैः]² पितरं यश्च विशेषयांचकार ।(1*) 16

क्षमा प्रभुत्वं विनयो नयश्च

शौर्यं³ विना शौर्य-मह[त्]र्चनं च ।

दाक्ष्यं³ दमो दानमदीनता च

दाक्षिण्यमानुष्यम[श्नु]भ्यता च ।(1*) 17

सौंदर्यमार्येतर-निग्रहश्च⁴

अविस्मयो धैर्यमुदीर्णता च ।

12 इत्येवमेते(ऽ*)तिशयेन यस्मि-

न्नविप्रवासेन गुणा वसन्ति ।(1*) 18

न विद्यते(ऽ*)सौ सकले(ऽ*)पि लोके

यतोपमा तस्य गुणैः क्रियेत ।

स एव कात्स्न्येन गुणान्वितानां

बभूव नृणामुपमान'-भूतः ।(1*) 19

इत्येवमेतानधिकानतो(ऽ*)न्या-

न्गुणान्प[री]क्ष्य स्वयमेव पित्वा ।

यः संनियुक्तो नगरस्य रक्षां

विशिष्य पूर्वान्प्रचकार सम्यक् ।(1*) 20

13 आश्रित्य विर्यं⁵ [स्वभु]ज-द्वयस्य

स्वस्यैव नान्यस्य नरस्य दर्पं⁶ पम् ।

नोद्वेजयामास च कंचिदेव-

मस्मिन्पुरे चैव शशास दुष्टाः⁶ ।(1*) 21

¹ Both मृणां and नृणां are correct.

² उपस्कृत = blamed.

³ Fleet : दाक्ष्यं(?).

⁴ Properly नियग्रहविषयो; read *हो ह्यविष्य* to suit the metre. Note that this record sometimes disregards the rules of sandhi at the junction between the first and second and the third and fourth pādas of a stanza.

⁵ Read दीर्य, 'prowess'; 'process' in Fleet's translation seems to be a misprint.

⁶ Read दुष्टान्.

विश्वं भमस्ये न शशाम योऽ० स्मिन्
 काले न लोकेषु स-मागरेषु ।
 यो लाहयामास च पौरवर्गान्
 [स्वस्येव०] पुत्तान् सुपरीक्ष्य दोषान् ।।१०) 22
 संरंजयां च प्रकृतीर्बभूव
 पूर्व-स्मिताभाषग-मान-दानैः ।

- 14 निर्यन्तगान्योन्य-गृह-प्रवेशैः०)
 संवर्द्धित-प्रीति-गृहोपचारैः ।।१०) 23
 ब्रह्मण्य-भावेन परेण युक्तः
 [श]क्तः² शुचिर्दानपरो यथावत् ।
 प्राप्यान्स काले विषयान्तिषेवे
 धर्मार्थयोश्चाप्य० विरोधनेन ।।१०) 24
 [यो — — — — पर्यदत्ता]—³
 त्स न्यायवानस किमस्ति चित्तंक्षम् ।
 मुक्ता-कलापाम्बुज-पद्म-शीता-
 चन्द्रात्किमुष्णं भविता कदाचित् ।।१०) 25
 15 अथ⁴ क्रमेणाशुद-काल आगते]
 [नि]दाय-कालं प्रविदायं तोयदैः ।
 ववर्षं तोयं बहु संततं चिरं
 सुदर्शनं येन विभेद चात्परात्⁵ ।।१०) 26
 संवत्सराणामधिके श्रते तु
 त्रिंशद्विरन्धेरपि षड्विरेव ।
 राक्षौ दिने प्रौष्ठपदस्य षष्ठे
 गुप्त-प्रकाले गणनां विधाय ।।१०) 27⁶

1 "Even in this age which is a mean one he did not fail to maintain confidence in the people together with those of the city i.e. those who have contracted the vices of city life)"

2 शक्त = प्रियंवद.

3 May we restore योऽ०) जायताकात् सन् पर्यदत्तम् ?

4 Fleet's transcript has अथ

5 चात्परात् = suddenly.

6 Bbau Day reads गुप्तस्य कालाद्गणनां विधाय which appears to be wrong.

- 16 इमाश्च या रेवतकाद्रिनिगताः¹।
 पलाशिनीयं सिकता-विलासिनी ।
 समुद्र-कान्ताः² चिर-बन्धनोषिताः
 पुनः पतिं शास्त्र-यथोचितं ययुः । (1*) 28
 अवेक्ष्य वर्षागमजं महोज्ज्वलं
 महोदधेरूर्जयता प्रियेष्मुना ।
 अनेक-तीरान्तज-पुष्प-शोभिनो
- 17 नदीमयो हस्त इव प्रसारितः । (1*) 29
 विषाद्यमानाः³ श्वत्⁴ सर्वतो⁵ जिनाः ।
 कथं-कथं कार्यमिति प्रवादिनः ।
 मिथो हि पूर्वापर-रात्रमुत्थिता
 त्रिविन्तयां चापि बभूवुस्तमुक्ताः । (1*) 30
 अपीह लोके सकले स्मृर्शनं
 पुत्रां⁶ हि बुद्धर्शनतां गन् अगात् ।
- 18 अवेन्तु यो ऽभ्योनिधि-तुल्य-दर्शनं
 स्मृर्शनं — — — — — (11*) 31
 — — — — — दगे स भूत्वा
 पितुः परां भक्तिमपि प्रदर्श्य ।
 धर्मं पुरो-धाय शुभानुबन्धं
 राज्ञो हितार्थं नगरस्य चैव । (1*) 32⁷
 संवत्सराणामधिके शते तु
- 19 त्रिंशद्विरन्यैरपि समभिद्य ।
 [गुप्त-प्रकाले*] [नय*]-शास्त्र-वेत्ता⁸
 [विश्वे] ऽप्यनुज्ञात-महाप्रभावः । (1*) 33

1 Read कान्ताश्चिर The Ravataka is the hill opposite the Orjayat or Girnar. Note that the rainy season is supposed to be the proper time to meet one's lover. *Suvarṇasikātā* = mod. Soganliā.

2 Read पमान. Else साभ्योनिधिः पद्मसूक्त = anxious.

3 Note that Chakrapāṇi was made governor of Gūṇanagara by his father Parnadatta who was Skandagupta's viceroy in Surāṣṭra. Both father and son appear to have had their headquarters at Girnar.

4 Else: प्र and केना

- आज्य-प्रणामैः¹ विबुधानयेष्टा
 धनैर्द्विजातीनपि तर्पयित्वा ।
 पौरास्तथाभ्यर्च्य यथार्हमानैः¹
 भृत्यांश्च पूज्यन्सुहृदश्च दानैः । (1*) 34
- 20 ग्रैष्यस्य² मासस्य तु पूर्व-प[त्ति]
 — — — — प्र[थमे] (S*) हिसम्यक् ।
 मास-द्वयेनादरवान्त्य भूत्वा
 धनस्य कृत्वा व्ययमप्रमेयम् । (1*) 35
 आयामतो हस्त-गतं समग्रं
 विस्तारतः षष्टिरथापि चाष्टौ ।
- 21 उत्सेधतो (S*) न्यून पुरुषाणि [सप्त]
 — — — — [ह]स्त-शत-द्वयस्य । (1*) 36³
 बबन्ध यत्नान्महता नृदेवा-
 न[भ्यर्च्य?] सभ्यगघटितोपलेन ।
 अ-जाति-दुष्टप्रथितं तटाकं
 सुदर्शनं शाश्वत-कल्प-कालम् । (1*) 37
- 22 अपि च सुदृढ-सेतु-प्रान्त(?) -विन्यस्त-शोभ-
 रथचरणसमाह्व-क्रौंचहंसास-धृतम् ।
 विमल-सलिल — — — — —
 भुवि त — — — — — द[ाने] (S*) कः शशी च । (1*) 38
- 23 नगरमपि च भूयाद्वृद्धिमत्पौर-जुष्टं
 द्विजबहुशतगीत-ब्रह्म-निर्नष्ट-पापं (पम्) ।
 शतमपि च समानामीति-दुर्भिक्ष-[मुक्तं*]
 — — — — — [11*] 39
 [इति] [सुद] र्शन-तटाक-संस्कार-ग्रन्थ-रचना [स]माप्ता ॥

¹ Read ०मेर्विबु० and ०मानैर्ध०.

² ग्रैष्य=belonging to ग्रीष्म (=ज्यैष्ठ and आषाढ). The first of Jyā'shṭa appears to be intended.

³ Fleet believes that the embankment made was 100 cubits in length, 68 cubits in breadth and seven men's height in elevation. But *supra*, Bk. II, No 67 line 7 would suggest that the dam near the foot of the hill was actually much larger. The reference is possibly to the breach caused by the flood.

Part II

- 24 हसारि-दर्प-प्रणुदः पृथु-श्रियः
 स्व-वङ्ग¹-केतोः सकलावनी-पतेः ।
 राजाधिराज्याद्भुत-पुण्य-²[कर्मणः]
 — — — — — (11*) 40
 — — — — —
 — — — — — (1*)
 द्वीपस्य गोप्ता महतां च नेता
 दण्ड-स्थिता³नां
 25 द्विषतां दमाय । (1*) 41
 तस्यात्मजेनात्मगुणान्वितेन
 गोविन्द-पादार्पित-जीवितेन ।
 — — — — —
 — — — — — (11*) 42
 — — — — — र्धं
 विष्णोश्च पादकमले समवाप्य तत् ।
 अर्थव्ययेन
 26 महतामहता³ च काले-
 नात्म-प्रभाव-नत-पौरजनेन तेन । (1*) 43
 चक्रं विभर्ति रिपु — — — — —
 — — — — — (1*)
 — — — — —
 तस्य स्व-तन्त्र-विधि-कारण-मानुषस्य । (1*) 44
 27 कारितमवक्र-मतिना चक्रभृतः⁴ चक्रपालितेन गृहं हम् ।
 वर्षशते(ऽ*)ष्टात्रिंशे गुप्तानां काल-⁵[क्रम-गणिते*] (11*) 45
 — — — — —

¹ Read वङ्ग.

² Better read राजाधिराजा०.

³ I. e. महता + अमहता.

⁴ Read ०भृतश्चक्र०.

— — — — — (1*)
 —[स•]थमुत्थितमिवोर्जयतो(ऽ•)चलस्य¹
 28 कुर्वन्प्रभुत्वमिव भाति पुरस्य मूर्ध्नि ॥ 46
 अन्यच्च मूर्ध्नि सु — — — — —
 — — — — — (1*)
 — — — — — स्तद्विहंगमार्गं
 विभ्राजते — — — — — (11*) 47

No. 26—Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta—Gupta Year 141 (=460 A.D.)

KAHĀUM or KAHAWAM, Gorakhpur District, U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 67; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1278
(for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-3 अग्नधरा

TEXT²

सिद्ध(म्*) [1]³

- 1 यस्योपस्थानभूमिर्नृपति-शत-शिरः-पात-वातावधूता
- 2 गुप्तानां वन्शजस्य⁴ प्रविस्त-यशसस्तस्य सर्वोत्तमर्द्धेः (1*)
- 3 राज्ये शक्रोपमस्य क्षितिप-शत-पतेः स्कन्दगुप्तस्य शान्ते⁶
- 4 वर्षे त्रिगुह्यशैकोत्तरक-शततमे ज्येष्ठ-मासि⁷ प्रपन्ने । (1*) 1

1 The temple was possibly called here the *chūḍā-ratna* of the hill.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

3 This word stands in the left margin, सि on the level of line 2, and ण् a little above that of line 3.

4 There is a sign resembling a punctuation mark, which might have been an accidental slip on the part of the engraver.

5 Read वंश०.

6 The word may refer to the fact that Skandagupta's reign became peaceful after the early years of struggle. शान्त = undisturbed by enemies, calamities, etc. Of course the *śānti* may have been temporary or local. पते; looks like पति; in the original.

7 Read त्रिगुह्यशै०, ज्येष्ठ = ज्येष्ठ.

- 5 ह्याते(ऽ*)सिन्ध्याम-रत्ने ककुभ¹ इति जनैस्साधु-संसर्ग-पूते ।²
- 6 पुत्तो यस्यसोमिलस्य प्रचुर-गुण-निधेभट्टिसोमो महा[त्मा] (।*)
- 7 तत्सूनु रुद्रसोम(ः*) पृथुल-मति-यशा व्याघ्र इत्यन्य-संज्ञो ।²
- 8 मद्रस्तस्यात्मजो(ऽ*)भूद्भिज-गुरु-यतिषु प्रायशः प्रीतिमान्यः ।(।*) 2
- 9 पुण्य-स्कन्धं स चक्रं जगदिदमखिलं संसरद्रीक्ष्य भीतो
- 10 श्रोयोर्थं भूत-भूत्य पथि नियमवतामर्हतामादिकर्तृन्³ (।*)
- 11 पञ्चेन्द्रां³ स्थापयित्वा धरणिधरमयान्सन्निखातस्ततो ऽ*)यम् यं³
- 12 शैल-स्तम्भः सुचारुगिरिवर-शिखराग्रोपमः कीर्त्ति-कर्त्ता (॥*) 3

No. 26A—Supia Stone Pillar Inscription of the time
of Skandagupta—Gupta Year 141 (=460 A.D.)

Supia, old Rewah State, now in Madhya Pradesh.
D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 306ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

TEXT⁴

- 1 [श्री]व[टो]त्कच(ः*) तद्वन्शे⁵ प्रवर्त्तमा*]-
- 2 [ने*] महार[।*]ज-[श्रीसमुद्रगु]प्तः*) त[स्य]-
- 3 [स]-श्रीविक्रमा[दित्य](ः*) त[स्युक्त]-महारा[ज]-
- 4 [श्री]महेन्द्रादित्य](ः*) तस्य [पु*]त्र(ः*) चक्र[व]-

¹ Kakubha is the old name of modern Kahānp.

² The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

³ Read पञ्चेन्द्रान्. The expression is usually translated 'five excellent [images]' referring to the five naked Jaina Tirthaṅkaras sculptured on the column. *Indra* (Lord) may however indicate *Jinendra* (Lord of the Jinas) and refer to the five favourite Tirthaṅkaras, viz. Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvira. धरणिधरमय = शिलाभय; अर्हतां पथि आदि-कर्तृन् (= आदि-पथ-कर्तृन्) = those who lead the way in the path of the Arhats; नियम looks like वियम.

⁴ See the facsimile of the inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII. The use of the title *Mahārāja* instead of *Mahārājādhirāja* in the inscription, which is a private document is of no importance (see p 205, note 7). Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I have been mentioned here by their titles respectively as Vikramāditya and Mahendrāditya.

⁵ Read तद्वन्शे.

- 5 [त्ति]तु[ल्यो] [महा]बलविक्रमेण र[ाम]-
 6 [तु]ल्यो ध[र्म]प[र]तया युधिष्ठिर¹ स[त्ये]-
 7 नचरवि[नय]² महाराज-श्रीस्क[न्द]-
 8 गुप्तस्य³ राज्य[सम्ब]⁴त्तरशते एक-
 9 चत्वारि[ंशोत्तर]के⁵ (I*) [अस्यां] दिवसपू-
 10 र्वायां याम् ।) अवलर-वास्तव्य-कुटुम्ब[क*]-
 11 कैवर्त्तिश्रेष्ठि-नमृ(सा) हरिश्रेष्ठि-पु[त्र] : * श्रीद-
 12 [त्त]:(I*) तज्ज्ञातृ(ता) वर्गः(I*) त[ज्ञा]त(ता) छ[न्दक]श्चेति* । I*)
 13 स्वपुण्याप्यायनार्थं यशः-की-
 14 [त्ति]-प्रवर्धय* मान-गोच-शैलिका बल-य-
 15 छि(ष्टिः)⁶ प्रतिष्ठापिता वर्गग्रामिकेण
 16 जे(ज्ये)ष्ठमास-शुक्लपक्षस्य द्विती-
 17 [यायां] ति[थौ] (II*)

No. 27—Indor Copper-plate Inscription of Skandagupta—Gupta Year 146 (= 466 A.D.)

INDOR, near Dibhāi, Bulandshahr District, U.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 70 f. ; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 219; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1279 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metres: Verse 1 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 2 इन्द्रवज्रा

¹ Read युधिष्ठिर; or better युधिष्ठिरतुल्यः

² Read सत्येनाचारविनयैः or सत्याचारविनयैः

³ Read ०गुप्तः तस्य.

⁴ Read संव०.

⁵ Read ०रिंशो०. Lines 16-17 should have been engraved here.

⁶ For *yashṭi* meaning 'a pillar raised in memory of one's dead relatives', see JRASS, Letters. Vol. XV, p. 6 ; above, Bk. II, Nos. 41, 63-66. *Bala ya-hṭi* means 'a strong (or stout) pillar'. It is called a *gotra-śaikhā* or 'family pillar' because it was raised by Varga, who was a *grāmika* (headman) of the village of Avāḍara (apparently identical with or in the vicinity of Supia), in the memory of several deceased members of his family. For *ra(ba)la-yashṭi* in the Bhunara inscription, wrongly interpreted by Fleet (*C.I.I.*, III, pp. 110ff.), see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, pp. 167ff.

TEXT¹

1 सिद्धम् (॥*)

यं विप्रा विधिवत्प्रबुद्ध-मनसो ध्यानैकताना स्तुवः²यस्यान्तं विंशसुरा न विविदुर्बोधं³ न तिर्य-2 गति[म्]⁴ (॥*)

यं लोको बहु-रोग-वेग-विवशः संश्रित्य चतोलभः

पायाद्वा स जगत्पि[धा]न-पुट-भिद्रश्म्या-

3 करो भास्करः ॥ 1

परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तस्याभिवर्द्धमान-विजय-राज्य-संवत्सर⁵-
शते षष्ठ्या⁶4 [रि*]ङ्गदुत्तरतमे⁷ फाल्गुन-मासे तत्प(॥*)द-परिगृहीतस्य विषयपति-शर्व्वेनाग-
स्यान्तर्व्वेद्यां⁸ भोगाभिवृद्धये वर्त्त-5 माने चेन्द्रापुरक⁹-पद्मा-चातुर्व्विध-सामान्य-ब्राह्मण-देवविष्णुहैव-पुत्रो¹⁰ हरिश्वात-
पौत्तः डुडिक-प्रपौत्तः सतताग्निहो-6 त-छन्दोगो¹¹ रागायगीयो¹² वर्षगण-सगोत्त, इन्द्रापुरक-वगिभ्यां¹² क्षत्त्रियाचल-
वर्म-भृकुण्डसिङ्हाभ्यामधिष्ठा-¹³1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 Read ०तानस्तवाः ; or स्तुमः, ॥० [यं] विधिवत्प्रबुद्धमनसः विप्राः यं ध्यानैकतानाः [मन्तः] स्तुमः.

3 First ०गतिः.

4 Read सप्तसर or संवत्सर. See *infra* No. 41, note.

5 Read षट्चत्वारः.

6 Read ०रिंश०.

7 The traditional Antardvī is the country lying between the Ganges and the Jumna and between Prayāga and Haridwar. The Bahadshahr District lies actually in this Antardvī. Cf. कालिन्दी-नर्मदयोर्मध्यं (*infra*, No. 35, line 3).8 Fleet चन्द्रापुरक Cf. Jagannath in *Proc. I.H.C.*, Lahore, 1910, p. 59. Indrāpura is Indor, the findspot of the record. The same spelling of the name is found in line 6, though lines 7 and 8 have Indrapura.

9 "The Brāhmana Devavishnu who is the son of Deva and belongs to the community of the Chaturvedins of [the locality called] Podunā in [the town called] Indrāpura."

10 Read ०छन्दोगो.

11 Read ०नयो.

12 Note that the Ka'atriyas adopted the conventional profession of the Vaisyas.

13 Read भृकुण्डसिंहो. Fleet : ०धिष्ठा.

- 7 नस्य प्राच्यां दिशीन्द्रपुराधिष्ठान-माडास्यात¹-लग्नमेव प्रतिष्ठापितक-भगवते सविते दीपोपयोज्यमात्म-यशो-
- 8 भिवृद्धये मूल्यं प्रयच्छति:² (॥*) इन्द्रपुर-निवासिन्यास्तैलिक-श्रेण्या जीवन्त-प्रवराया³ इतो ऽ*धिष्ठानादपक्क-म-
- 9 ण-संप्रवेश-यथास्थिरायाः आजसिकं ग्रहपतेर्द्विज-मूल्य-दत्तमनया⁴ तु श्रेण्या यदभग्न-योगम् •
- 10 प्रथमाहर्हःयव*लिङ्ग-संस्थं⁵ देयं तैलस्य तुल्येन⁶ पलद्वयं तु २⁷ चन्द्रार्क-सम-कालीयं(यम्) (॥*)
- 11 यो व्यक्क्रमेहायमिमं निवद्धम्⁸
गोप्नो गुरुप्नो द्विज-घातकः सः (॥*)
तैः पातकैः(•)
- 12 पञ्चभिरन्वितो(ऽ*)श्व-
गच्छेत्तरः¹⁰ सोपनिपातकैश्चेति¹¹ ॥ 2

¹ Fleet could not find out the meaning of माडास्यात which however appears to be the name of a locality in the town of Indrapura. मूल्य=endowment, of which the interest or income was to be utilised [for the maintenance of a lamp for the Sun-god]. लग्न=touching. The deity was installed on the boundary of Mādāsyāta.

² Read प्रयच्छति. The *visarga* may have also been meant for a mark of punctuation.

³ Jivanta was the *Pravara* or President of the oilmen's guild.

⁴ आजसिक = अजस = perpetual. दत्त = gift. Better, दत्तम् । अनया.

⁵ Read प्रथमा०. •माहो-व्यच्छि० ?

⁶ तुल्य seems to signify the same thing as तौल्य (weight).

⁷ This is evidently an abbreviation of तुल्येन पलद्वयम्. "This gift of a Brāhmana's endowment for [the temple of] the Sun is the perpetual property of the guild of oilmen of which Jivanta is the head, residing at the town of Indrapura, as long as it continues in complete unity, even in moving away from this settlement and returning to it. But there should be given [daily] by this guild for the same time as the moon and the sun endure two *palas* of oil by weight [or in figures] *tu* 2, uninterrupted in use and continuing without any diminution from the original value."

⁸ Better read योऽतिक्रमे०

⁹ Read निवद्धं.

¹⁰ Read •घो गच्छे०.

¹¹ Better •श्च ॥ इति.

No. 28—Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (455-67 A.D.)

BHITARĪ, near Sayyidpur, Ghāzipur District, U.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 53f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1549
(for other references) ; Sewell's List, p. 349.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre : Verse 1 पुथिताय ; Vv. 2-6 मालिनी ; Vv. 7-8 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ;
Vv. 9-12 श्लोक (अगुष्टम्)

TEXT¹

[सिद्धम् ॥*]²

- 1 [सर्व]-रा[जो]च्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुर्दधिसलिङ्ग[र]स्वादित-यशसो धनद-
वरुणेन्द्र[र]न्तक-स[मस्य]
- 2 कृतान्त-परशोः न्यायागत[र]नेक-गो-हिरण्य-[को]टि-प्रदस्य चिरो[त्स]न्नाश्वमेधाहस्तु-
र्महाराज-श्रीगुप्त-प्रपौत्र[स्य]
- 3 महाराज-श्रीव्रटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छिवि-³
दौहित्यस्य महादेव्यां कुम[र]र[दे]व्या-
- 4 मुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीममुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यान्दत्त-
देव्यामुत्पन्नः स्वयं चाप्रतिरथः⁴
- 5 परम-भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धातो महादेव्यां
ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परम-
- 6 भागवतो महाराजाधिर[र]ज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य
प्रथित-पृथुमति-स्वभाव-शक्तेः
पृथु-यशसः पृथिवी-पतेः पृथु-श्रीः (॥*)
- 7 पि[तृ]-प[रि]गत-पादपद्म-वर्त्ति
प्रथित-यशः पृथिवी-पतिः सुतो(॥*)यम् (॥*) 1

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

² Faint traces of apparently this word are found above the beginning of line 1.

³ Usually लिच्छवि.

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 225, note 3; also line 3 of the Bhitari seal of Kumāragupta II (*infra*, No. 32).

जगति भु[ज]-बलाढ्यो¹ गुप्त-वड्डे क-धीरः²
श

प्रथित-विपुल-

8

धामा नामतः स्कन्दगुप्तः (1*)

सुचरित-चरितानां येन वृत्तेन वृत्तं

न विहतममलात्मा तान-धीदा³]-विनीतः⁴ (1*) 2

विनय-

9

बल-सुनीतैर्विवक्रमेण क्रक्रमेण

प्रतिदिनमभियोगादीन्पितं येन ल[ब्ध] (1*)

स्वभिमत्-विजिगीषा-प्रोद्यतानां परेषां

प्रणि-

10

हित इव ले[भे] [स] विधानोपदेशः (1*) 3

विचलित-कुल-लक्ष्मी-स्तम्भनायोद्यतेन

क्षितितल-शयनीये येन नीता लियामा (1*)⁶

समु-

11

दित-ब[ल]-कोशा[पुष्यमित्रांश्च] [जित्वा]

क्षितिप-चरणपीठे स्थापितो वाम-पादः (1*) 4

प्रसभमनुप[मै]र्विबधस्त-शस्त्र-प्रतापै-

र्विन[य-स]मु-

12

[चितैश्च*] क्षान्ति-शौ[ये]न्निरुद्धम् (1*)

चरितममलकीर्त्तर्गीयते यस्य शुभ्रं

दिशि दिशि परितुष्टैराकुमारं मनुष्यैः (1*) 5

पितरि दिवमुपे[ते]

¹ Read बलाढ्यो.

² Read ०वशैक०

³ वृत्त=observance of law; virtuous conduct. विहृत=obstructed.

⁴ Fleet: 'disciplined in the understanding of musical keys(?).' Possibly, 'modest owing to his knowledge of the objects of senses.'

⁵ परेषां प्रणिहिते=in the application against enemies. संविधानोपदेश=instruction in execution.

⁶ This shows that before the actual seizure of power, Skandagupta passed sometime in utter distress probably owing to defeat and the success of a rival for the throne. See verses 6-7 below and above, No. 25, line 4.

⁷ According to some ०पुष्यमित्रांश्च. It is however not possible to be definite about the reading of the aksharas as they are not distinct. A people called Pushyamitra is known from the Purāṇas. Cf. Pargiter, *Dyn. Kāli Age*, Section LI.

13

विष्णुतां वङ्ग'-लक्ष्मीं

भुज-बल-विजितारिभ्यः प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूयः (।*)

जितमिति परितोषान्मातरं सास्र-नेत्वां

हतरिपुरिव कृष्णो देवकीमभ्युपे-

14

[त]:² (।*) 6[स्वै]र्ह[वैः] — — — — अचलितं वङ्ग'³ प्रतिष्ठाप्य यो

बाहुभ्यामवनिं विजित्य हि जितेष्वात्तेषु कृत्वा दयाम् (।*)

नोत्सिक्तो [न] च विस्मितः प्रतिदिनं

15

संवर्द्धमान-द्युति-

गीतैश्च स्तुतिभिश्च वन्दक-जनो ?। यं [प्रा]पयत्यार्च्यता[म्] (।*) 7

हृणैर्यस्य⁴ समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धरा कपिता

भीमावर्त्त-करस्य

¹ Read वंश. For Skandagupta's difficulties immediately after Kumāragupta's death, see also *supra*, No. 25, line 4 : पितरि सुर-सखित्वं प्राप्तवति, etc., and verses 4 above and 7 below.

² Sewell suggests that the name of Skandagupta's mother was Devakī. The simile may further suggest that some maternal uncle (cf. No 29, V. 3) of Skandagupta actually fought against him in support of his rival and that his mother, possibly not the chief queen of his father, had to experience difficulties for some time.

³ Read वंश. Cf. V. 4 above. उत्सिक्त=haughty; disturbed in mind; विस्मित=proud.

⁴ The Hūṇas (Ephthalites or White Huns) were possibly related to the Central Asian tribe known to the Chinese as Hiung-nu. They showed great migrative activity in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., when their leader Attila (c. 406-53 A.D.) tried to destroy the Roman empire. Kālidāsa, a contemporary of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, refers for the first time to the Hūṇas in relation to Indian politics; but he places the Hūṇa-land on the Oxus. They were apparently knocking at the western gates of the Gupta empire at the time of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta and ultimately succeeded in establishing an empire extending from Central Asia to Central India. But the success of the Hūṇas in Central India was short-lived. It ended with Mihirakula who was defeated by Yaśodharman, king of Mālwā, and king Bālāditya of the Gupta family. But the Hūṇas as a political power in India are referred to in inscriptions, e.g., Unā grant (Vikrama 956) of the Pratihāras; Ajmer *Harakelināṭaka* inscription (Vikrama 1210) of the Chāhamānas; etc. Gubila Allāṭa (Atpur inscription of Vikrama 1031) and Kalachuri Karṇa (Khairā ins. of Kalachuri 823) married Hūṇa princesses. The Hūṇas were thus assimilated into Hindu society, and Hūṇa is known to be one of the 36 Rājput clans. Tod (*Annals*, Calcutta ed., I, p. 87) spells the name as Hun, Hoon and Hool. The *Harshacharita* places the Hūṇa kingdom in the Punjab region.

- 16 शलुषु शरा — — — — — (1*)
 — — — — — विरचितं(?) प्रख्यापितो [दीप्तिदा?]
 न यो(?)ति न — — लक्ष्यत इव श्रोत्रेषु शार्ङ्ग¹-ध्वनिः (॥*) 8
- 17 [स्व]-पितुः कीर्त्ति — * * * * * — — * (1*)
 * * * * * — * * * * * — — * (॥*) 9
 [कर्त्तव्या?] प्रतिमा काचित्प्रतिमां तस्य शार्ङ्गिणः (1*)
- 18 [सु]प्रतीतश्चकारेमां य[वदाचन्द्र-तारकम् (॥*) 10
 इह चैनं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुप्रतिष्ठित-ज्ञासनः (॥*)
 ग्राममेनं स विद²धे² पितुः पुण्याभिवृद्धये (॥*) 11
- 19 अतो भगवतो मूर्त्तिरियं यश्चात्र संस्थितः (?) (1*)
 उभयं निर्दिदेशासौ पितुः पुण्याय पुण्य-धीरिति ॥³ 12

No. 29—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Skandagupta (455-67 A.D.)

ALLAN'S *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 122ff. Nos. 451ff.

*First Side*⁴

Bust of king to right ; traces of Greek legend.⁵

Second Side

Burning altar in centre ; legend in Late Brāhmī characters of the Northern Class—

परमभागवत-श्रीविक्रमादित्य-स्कन्दगुप्त[:*]⁶

¹ Fleet : शार्ङ्ग. See Jagannath in *Proc. I.H.C.*, Lahore, 1940, p. 60. Fleet : नभोषु ल०

² Some writers may regard this part as metrically defective.

³ Properly ०धीः ॥ इति ॥, संस्थित (settled) may refer to the gift village. Skandagupta may have installed the image of Vishnu and granted the village for the latter's worship for the merit of Kumāragupta I on the occasion of an annual *śrāddha* of the dead king.

⁴ From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, No. 454, Plate XX, Nos. 13ff.

⁵ On some specimens of the Garuḍa type, we have the word वर्षे and date behind king's head. The definite dates on Skandagupta's silver issues are Gupta years 146 and 148 (465-66 and 467-68 A.D.). The date on the coin No. 527 in Allan's *Cat.* has been doubtfully read as 145 or 148. A comparison of the figures for 8 on the coins of the Sakas of Western India however shows that the date is 148=167-68 A.D.

⁶ The full legend can be reconstructed from a study of several coins, as the legend is often imperfect. On some silver specimens, we see Śiva's bull in place of altar and क्रमादित्य instead of विक्रमादित्य in the legend, while, in others, the legend is विजितावनिरवनिपतिर्जयति दिवं स्कन्दगुप्तोयं ०पतिः श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तो दिवं जयति (Metre : लपगोति).

No. 30—Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription¹ of Purugupta (?)

BIHĀR (Bihārsharif), Pāṭṇā District, Bihār.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 49f. ; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1548 (for other references) ; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Ind. Cult.*, X, pp. 170 ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verse 1 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 2 इन्द्रवज्रा (defective in the 7th syllable of the 3rd foot) ; Vv. 3-4 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 5 वंशस्थ ; Vv. 6-7 a metre the जाति type ; Vv. 8-10 इन्द्रवज्रा.

TEXT²

Part I³

1⁴ — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — : (I*)
 नृ-चन्द्र इन्द्रानुज-तुल्य-वीर्यो
 गुणैरतुल्यः — — — — — (II*) 1

2 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (I*)
 तस्यापि सुबुधुर्वि स्वामि-नेयः
 क्यातः स्व-कीर्त्या — — — — — (II*) 2

3 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (I*)
 [स्व]सैव यस्यातुल-विक्रमेण⁵
 कुमारगु[प्तिन] — — — — — (II*) 3

¹ Fleet assigns the inscription to Skandagupta.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Lines 26-33 from Fleet's transcript with emendations.

³ In Part I, the writing appears to have extended over four faces of the column ; but, in Part II, over three faces of it.

⁴ The first and second *pādas* entirely and parts of the fourth *pāda* of these verses have peeled off. Thus about 22 *aksharas* at the beginning and about 6 at the end are lost in each line of Part I. Lines 1-10 contained a verse of about 44 *aksharas* each. A line in Part II contained about 27 *aksharas*, of which about 18 from the beginning are lost.

⁵ Cf. p. 322, note 2. The reference is probably to Kumāragupta's marriage with someone's sister.

- 4 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (1*)
 [पि]तिंश्च¹ देवांश्च हि हव्य-कव्यैः
 सदा नृशंस्यादि — — — — — (11*) 4
- 5 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (1*)
 [अ]चीकरदेव-निकेत-मण्डलं
 क्षितावनौपम्य — — — — — (11*) 5
- 6 [बटे?] किल (1*)
 स्तम्भ-वरोच्छ्रिय²-प्रभासे तु मण्ड 11*) 6
- 7 भिवृक्षाणां(णाम्) (1*)
 कुसुम-भरानताप्र-[शुंग?] -व्यालम्ब-स्तवक.....(11*) 7
- 8 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (1*)
 भद्रार्थ्या भाति गृहं नवाभ्र-
 निम्नोक्त-निर्मु[क्त] — — — — — (11*) 8
- 9 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (1*)
 स्कन्द-प्रधानैर्भुवि मातृभिश्च³
 लोकान्स सुख्य(?) — — — — — (11*) 9
- 10 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — युपोच्छ्रयमेव चक्रं (11*) 10
 भद्रार्थ्यादी.....

¹ Read पितृ'श्च.

² Read •रोच्छ्रय.

³ The divine mothers were originally seven and then eight in number ; cf. ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चैव कौमारी वैष्णवी तथा । माहिन्दी चैव वाराही चासुगुडा सप्तमातरः ॥ or ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चण्डी वाराही वैष्णवी तथा । कौमारी चैव चासुगुडा चर्चिकेत्यष्टमातरः ॥ Afterwards the number was further raised to nine, sixteen, etc. The Mothers are mentioned with Svāmi-Mahāsena (Skanda) in the records of some early dynasties, e.g., the Kadambas and the Chālukyas. There may have been a reference to Skandagupta in this section of the record.

- 11 न्द्रगुप्त-वटे अन्शानि¹ ३० (+ *) ५ ता(?)न्नकटा-
कु(?) कळ
12पितुः स्वमातुर्व्यस्यस्ति हि दुष्कृतं भजतु तने
13काग्रहारे अन्शानि¹ ३ अनन्तसेनेनोप

Part II²

- 14[सर्व-राजोच्छे*]त्तुः मिथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य³
15 [चतुरुदधि-सलिखास्वादित-यशसो धनद-वरुणे*]न्द्रान्तकमण्य कृतान्त-
16 [परशोः न्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-कोटि-प्रदस्य चिरो*]त्सन्नाशमेधाहत्तुः
17 [महाराज-श्रीगुप्त-प्रपौत्स्य महाराज-श्रीघटो*]त्सव-पौत्स्य महाराजा-
18 [धिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छवि-दोहितस्य म*]हादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य
19 [महाराजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्र*]स्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यां
20 [दत्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः स्वयं चाप्रतिरथः पर*]मभागवतो महाराजा-
21 [धिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धरा*]तो महादेव्यां भ्रुवदेव्या-
22 [मुत्पन्नः परम-भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य*] पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धरातः
23 [परम-भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीपू*][रु]गुप्तः (॥*)⁴
24परमभागवतो
25 [महाराजाधिराज-श्री पूरुगुप्तः*] . . . [वै*]षयिकाजपुरक-सामै[ग्रा][म*]-
26ग्रा . क . [अ*]क्षय-नीवी ग्रामक्षेत्रं
27 कृ...उपरिक कुमारामात्य-
28 ... कुलः(?) वणिज*)क-पादितारिक-
29 ... [आ*]ग्रहारिक-शौलिकक गौलिमकास(न)न्यांश(अ)-
30 ... वा[सि]कादीनस्मत्प्रसादोपजीविनः
31 [समाज्ञापयामि*]... वस्मैणा विज्ञापितो ऽ*)स्मि मम पितामहेन

¹ Read अंशः. In line 11, Fleet reads स्त(?)न्द्रगुप्तवटे.

² There are two demarcating lines between the two parts of the record. The second part looks like the copy of a charter of which lines 14-23 represent the seal.

³ Read पृथिव्याः. The lost words in lines 14-23 are supplied with the help of other inscriptions and seals.

⁴ In lines 23 and 25, Fleet suggests स्तन्द्रगुप्त.

32 नमे भद्र-गुहिलस्वामिना भद्रा[र्या]का¹

33 [प्र]ति[ष्ठापिता*] आग्रोकय ... नाकय²

No. 31—Sarnath Buddhist Stone Image Inscription of Kumāragupta II³—Gupta Year 154 (= 473 A.D.)

SĀRNĀTH, Benares District, U. P.

GUPTA, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1914-15, p. 124.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: V. 1 उद्गीति ; V. 2 आर्या ; V. 3 गीति (?).

¹ Bhadrāryakā is probably the same as Bhadrāryā of lines 8 and 11. It appears to be the name of a goddess, possibly Pārvatī (=Āryā) since. Bhadra is a name of Śiva. V. S. Agrawala (*J. N. S. I*, III, p. 82) suggests that Bhadrā is the wife of Kubera (Vaiśravaṇa).

² The rest of the record is lost.

³ Some scholars identify this Kumāragupta with the Kumāragupta of *infra*, No. 32; others however point out that, in that case, the reigns of Pūrugupta, Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta (who are placed after Skandagupta's death about 467 A.D. and before Budhagupta whose earliest known date is 476 A.D.) would be abnormally short, and take this Kumāragupta as a different king, the successor of Skanda and predecessor of Budha. But abnormally short reigns are sometimes found in history. We have moreover to consider the troubled period (cf verses 4-6 of *supra*, No. 28) that followed Kumāragupta's death (455 A.D.). Some scholars suggest that Pūrugupta, Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta represent a rival line ruling (or merely claiming to rule) side by side with the line represented by Skandagupta and Budhagupta. It is also suggested that the Dāmodarpur grant of Gupta Year 224(=543 A.D.) belongs to Kumāragupta [III of the seal] and that his grandfather Pūrugupta succeeded Budhagupta as supreme ruler after 495 A.D., although Pūrugupta then must have been very young at the time of his father's death. But we have now the Nālandā seal of Budhagupta represented as the son of Pūrugupta (*I. H. Q.*, XIX, p. 273). A damaged seal discovered at Nālandā in the Patna District, Bihar (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVI pp 335ff. and *infra*) proves that Kumāragupta of No. 32 had a son named Viṣṇugupta. The inscription found at Mangraon (Shāhābād Dist., Bihār), dated in the 17th year [सम्ब(संव)सरे सप्तदशे सम्ब(संव)त् १०(+*)७; see *ibid.*, p. 246] does not belong to this Viṣṇugupta, but to Viṣṇugupta, grandson of Ādityasena of the 'Later Gupta' dynasty. If Pūru's son Narasimha succeeded Budha, Kumāra of No. 31 was another son or brother of Pūru.

TEXT¹

- 1 वर्षशते गुप्तानां सचतुःपञ्चाशदुत्तरे (।*)²
भूमिं रक्षन्ति कुमारगुप्ते मासि ज्येष्ठे³ द्वितीयायाम् ॥ 1
- 2 भक्तगवर्जित-मनसा यतिना पूजार्थमभयमिदमेण (।*)
प्रतिमाप्रतिमस्य गुणै[र]प[रै]यं [का]रिता शास्तुः⁴ ॥ 2
- 3 माता-पितृ-गुरु-पू[र्वै]ः⁴ पुण्येनानेन सत्त्व[त्त्व]-कायोऽ[*]यं(यम्) (।*)
लभतामभिमतमुपशम-[*] * * * म् ॥ 3

No. 32—Bhitari Seal of Kumārāgupta II⁶

BHITARĪ, Ghāzipur District, U.P.

HOERNLE, J. A. S. B., LVIII, Part i, p. 89; J. F. FLEET, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX (1890), p. 225.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the 5th-6th century A.D.

TEXT⁷

- 1 [सर्व्व]-राजोच्छेत्तु-पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराज-श्री[गुप्त]-प्रपौ[त्त्व]स्य महाराज-
श्रीघटोत्कच-पौत्त्वस्य म[हा]-
- 2 [राजा]धिर[।]ज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्त्वस्य लिच्छु[वि-द्रोहितस्य] म[हादे]व्य[।]t[
[कुमा]रदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-

¹ From the facsimile in *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A R., 1914-15. Plate. LXIX—N. The Nālandā seals of the same king offer an identical text (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 66, p. 66; Plate VIII, d-e).

² Read सचतुः to rectify the metre.

³ ज्येष्ठ = ज्येष्ठ; शास्ता = बुद्ध.

⁴ Gupte : पूर्वैः; D.R. Sahni: पूर्वैः, पूर्व = ancestors.

⁵ May we suggest उपशमं हितसुखं तदेव भवतु सत्त्वानाम्? सत्त्वकाय = a person who is an abode of virtue.

⁶ See p. 328, note 3. For the gold coins of Kumārāgupta surnamed Śrī-Kramāditya, see Allan, *Cat.* (Gupta), pp. 140f.

⁷ From the facsimile in *J.A.S.B.*, LVIII, Part i. The upper part of the seal of the Guptas is occupied by emblems, the chief of them being Garuḍa in relief on a counter-sunk surface.

- 3 [श्री]समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परि[गृही]तो म[हादेव्या][न्दत्तदेव्या]मुत्पन्नस्त्वयं
च[र]प्रतिरथ—परमभाग-¹
- 4 [वतो] [महाराजा]धिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य [पुत्र]स्तत्पाद[र]नुद्धग[तो] महा-
देव्य[र] [ध्रु]वदेव्यामुत्पन्नो म[हारा]-
- 5 [जाधि]राज-श्रीकुमार[गुप्त]स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धग[तो] महादेव्यामनन्त-
देव्य[र]मुत्पन्नो महा[रा]-
- 6 [जाधिरा]ज-श्री[पुरु]गुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धग[तो] महादेव्यां श्रीचन्द्र-²
देव्यामुत्पन्नो म[हा]-
- 7 'राजाधिरा'ज-श्रीनरसिंहगुप्त [पु]त्रस्तत्पादानुद्धग[तो] मह[ादेव्यां]
श्रीम[न्मित्र]-³
- 8 [देव्या]मुत्पन्न—परमभ[ग]गवतो मह[ाराजाधिरा]ज-श्रीकुम[र]र[गुप्तः ॥]

¹ Hoernle : च प्रति०.

² Cf. *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, Lahore, 1940, 1. Allan (*Cat. [Gupta]*, p. 134, Pl. XXI, No. 23) describes a gold coin of Pūruguṇḍa with the legend पुर on the obverse beneath the king's left arm and श्रीविक्रमः (or श्रीविक्रमादित्यः) on the reverse. S. K. Saraswati thinks that the *akshara* read as प looks like ब and is inclined to suggest that the name is बुध (*Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 691f.). It is difficult to be sure on the point. Pūruguṇḍa has been identified with king Vikramāditya of Śrāvastī or Ayodhyā, who was the father of Bālāditya and a patron of Vasubandhu and is known from Buddhist traditions (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, I, pp. 210f.). पुरुगुप्त was originally read as पुरगुप्त.

³ Fleet reads श्रीवत्स०. On the Nālandā seal, the name has been read as वैष्णुदेवी by H. Shastri and चन्द्रदेवी by N. P. Chakravarti (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 77 ; *A.S.I.*, A.R., 1924-35, p. 63).

⁴ For some gold coins with the obverse legend नर beneath the king's left arm and the incomplete verse [जयति ?] नरसिङ्ग(सिंह)गुप्तः, and the reverse legend वा(बा)जादित्यः, see Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. 137f. According to Buddhist traditions, Bālāditya, a Buddhist king of Magadha, was a contemporary of king Mihirakula who invaded Bālāditya's territory and was taken prisoner, but was afterwards set free. See Watters, *op. cit.*, pp. 288f. If Pūruguṇḍa ascended the Imperial Gupta throne after Budhagupta (494 A.D.), the contemporaneity of this Narasimhagupta with the Hūṇa king Mihirakula (*circa* 515-35 A.D.) is apparent. But Raychaudhuri (*Political History*, 4th ed., p. 503) relies on the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* which suggests that Budha(Bulha)gupta was succeeded by Tathāgatagupta, after whom Bālāditya II [contemporary of Mihirakula], succeeded to the empire. A Nālandā seal represents Budha as the son of Pūru (*I.H.Q.*, XIX, p. 273 and *infra*).

⁵ Fleet reads महा[लक्ष्मी]देव्या०. But cf. the Nālandā seals referred to above.

No. 33—Sarnath Buddhist Image Inscription of Budhagupta¹—Gupta Year 157 (=476 A.D.)

SĀRNĀTH, Vārāṇasī District, U.P.

Gupte, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1914-15. pp. 124-25; Jagannath, *Proc. I.H.C.*, Lahore, 1940. p. 60.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-4 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT²

- 1 गुप्तानां समतिक्रान्ते सप्तपंचाशदुत्तरे (1*)
 शते समानां³ पृथिवीं बधगुप्ते प्रशासति ॥ 1
 [वैशाख-मास-सप्तम्यां मूले श्याम-गते*]⁴
- 2 मया (1*)
 कारिताभयमिक्षेण प्रतिमा शाक्य-भिक्षुणा⁵ ॥ 2
 इमामुद्दण्ड⁶-सच्छत्र-पद्मास[न-विभूषितां ताम् 1*]
 [देवपुत्रवतो दिव्या*]
- 3 चित्राव[न्या]स-चित्रितां⁷ ॥ 3
 यदस्ति⁸ पुण्यं प्रतिमां³ कारयित्वा ममास्तु तत्⁹ (1*)
 माता-[पितृगो]¹⁰[रूणां च लोकस्य च समाप्तये ॥*] 4

¹ Buddhist tradition refers to a Buddhagupta, son of Śākṛāditya who was king of the territory including Nālandā (Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 164). Buddha was formerly taken to be a mistake for Budha and Śākṛāditya to be the same as Mahendrāditya (Kumāragupta I) and thus Buddhagupta was supposed to have been a son of Kumāragupta I. But there is evidence now to show that Buddhagupta was the son of Pārugupta and grandson of Kumāragupta I. See No. 36A below.

² From the facsimile in Plate LXIX—P in *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1914-15. The restorations are made with the help of a similar record in Plate LXIX—O.

³ The metre is generally believed to require a short fifth and long sixth syllable.

⁴ मूले श्यामगते = at the time of the asterism Mūla belonging to the dark fortnight.

⁵ Śākya was the name of the clan to which the Buddha belonged. Later, it was also used to indicate a follower of the Śākyamuni Buddha. Note that the Bhikshus and Arhats are often called *Buddha-putra*.

⁶ Gupte: ०मुद्दण्ड०. देवपुत्रवत् = आदि-बुद्ध, the origin of the Dhyāni-Buddhas ?

⁷ Read चित्रिताम्. Gupte: चित्रविद्यासचित्रितां.

⁸ Gupte: यदनु.

⁹ Gupte: मया भूतम्.

No. 33A—Varanasi Pillar Inscription of the time of
Budhagupta—Gupta Year 159 (=479 A. D.)

RĀJGHĀṬ at Vārāṇasī, Vārāṇasī District, U.P.

D. C. Sircar, *J.R.A.S.B.*, XV, 1949, pp. 5ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

TEXT¹

- 1 स[स्व]² १०० (+*) ५० (+*) ९ मार्ग-दि³ [२०] (+*) ८ महाराजाधिरा[ज]-
- 2 बुध[गु*]प्त-राज्ये पार्वरिक-वास्तव्य-मार-
- 3 [विष १]-दुहिता[त्ता] साभाटि (१)-दुहि(ता*) च दामस्वा-
- 4 मि[न्या] शिलास्तम्भ⁴ स्था[पि]तः (॥*)

No. 34—Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of
the time of Budhagupta—Gupta Year 163
(=482 A. D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dinājpur District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 135f.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT⁵

First Side

- 1 [सं १००*] (+*) [६०] (+*) ३ आषाढ-दि १० (+*) ३ परमदैवत-परम-
- भट्ट[र]क-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीबुधगुप्ते [पृथि]वी-पत्तौ तत्पाद-[परि]गृहीते पुण्ड्र[व]-

¹ From impressions.

² Read *saṁva* = *saṁvat* = *saṁvatsare*.

³ I.e. *Mārgaśīrṣha-ditose*.

⁴ The *visarga* is elided according to the option allowed by Sanskrit grammar. The pillar was probably raised by Dāmasvāminī in memory of her dead parents, Māraviṣa and Sābhāṭi.

⁵ From the facsimile (not quite satisfactory) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

- 2 [ईन]मुक्तावुपरिक-महाराज-ब्रह्मदत्ते संव्यवहरति (।*) स्व[स्ति] (।*) पलाश-
वृन्दकात्सविश्वासं महत्तराद्यष्टकुलाधि[क]-
- 3 [र]ण(णं) ग्रामिक-कुटुम्बिनश्च¹ चण्डग्रामके ब्राह्मणाद्यान्क्षुद्र-प्रकृति-कुटुम्बिनः कुशल-
मुक्तानुदर्शयन्ति [यथैवं ?]
- 4 [वि]ज्ञापयती नो² ग्रामिक-नाभकोऽ* हमिच्छे³ मातापितोस्वपुत्र्याप्यायनाय
कदि[ति]चिद्ब्राह्मणार्थं यान्प्रतिवासयितुं
- 5 [तद्]हं ग्रामानुकम-विक्रय-मर्यादया मत्तो हिरण्यमुपसंगृह्य समुदयबाह्याप्रद-खिल-
क्षेत्राणा[.]
- 6 [प्र]सादं कर्तुमिति⁴ (।*) यतः पुस्तपाल-पत्तदासेनावधारितं युक्तमनेन विज्ञापित-
मस्त्ययं विक्रय-
- 7 मर्यादा-प्रसङ्गस्तदीयतामस्य परमभट्टारक-महाराज-पा[दे]न पुण्योपचयायेति⁵ (।*)
पुनरस्यैव
- 8 [पत्तदा]सत्यावधारणयावष्टस्य नाभक--हस्तादीनार-[द्वय]मुपसंगृह्य⁶ स्थायपाल-
कपिल श्रीभद्राभ्यायायकृत्य⁷ च समुदय-

¹ Read कुटुम्बि० ani ०नक्षुद्र०. महत्तर=elders: the head of the village jury. The passage means "the village jury consisting of eight members and headed by the *mahattara* (elder), and the agriculturist householders who are village headmen." The word कुटुम्बिन् is the origin of *Kumi* or *Kulmbi*, a prominent agriculturist caste of Northern India. ग्रामिक=headman of a village; Manu (VII, 115-19) seems to suggest that he was the king's representative in the village. Palāśāṇḍaka was the centre of local administration of a group of villages, one of which was Chāṇḍagrāma. Two villages called Palāśātārī and another called Palāśdāngā lie not far off from Dāmodarpur. स्वस्ति (may it be well) introduces the record proper, the preceding part being considered as the date portion. सविश्वासं अनुदर्शयन्ति=tell (or, inform as follows) with confidence [in the addressees].

² Basak suggests the correction विज्ञापयतीती. Read ०पयति. नः=अभ्यान्.

³ Read इच्छेये or इच्छामि.

⁴ Read ०मिति. ग्रामानुकमविक्रयमर्यादया (cf. सत्यमर्यादया in line 9)=according to the custom of sale prevalent in the villages. समुदयवाञ्छ=yielding no income (See pp. 345, 360). अप्रदा=non-transferable property (cf. pp. 292, 349).

⁵ Cf. *infra*, p. 348, note 6. Better महाराजपादानां.

⁶ इय had at first been omitted and was then engraved in the lower margin of the plate. Note that two *dināras* instead of three are accepted in this case. Waste land of the State, available for sale for the purpose of reclamation, was thus of different types and prices.

⁷ Possibly स्थानपाल=watchman, policeman.

⁸ Read ०भ्यामायीकृत्य (*infra*, No. 41, line 14). Apparently the money was received through the two persons.

Second Side

- 9 [बाह्याप्रद*]-[खि]ल-क्षेत्रस्य कुल्यवापमेकमस्य वायियामकोत्तर-पार्श्वस्यैव च सत्य-
मभ्यादाया दक्षिण-पश्चिम-पूर्व्वण
- 10 महत्त]राद्यधिकरण-कुटुम्बि(म्बि)भिः प्रत्यवेक्ष्याष्टक-नवक-नवक-नलाभ्यामपविच्छ²
चतुस्सीमोल्लिङ्ग³ च नागदेवस्य
- 11 [दत्तं,त्तम्]] (1*) [तदु]त्तर-कालं संन्यवहारिभिर्द्धम्ममवेक्ष्य प्रतिपालनीयमुक्त⁴
महर्षिभिः (1*)
स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां राम् ।
- 12 [स विष्ठा]यां कृमिम्त्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते (॥*) 1
बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (1*)
यस्य वस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
- 13 तदा फलं(लम्) (॥*) 2
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः (1*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥⁵ 3

No. 35—Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of
Budhagupta—Gupta Year 165 (= 484 A.D.)

ERAN, Sāgar (Saugor) District, Madhya Pradesh.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 89; *ibid.*, p. 88 for other references.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmi of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-3 आर्या.

¹ Read सय्यांदाया.

² Read °ष्टक-नवक-नला° as in other records. It may be suggested that the unit of the measurement was 8×9 reeds (measuring rods). But the *dvivachana* may also indicate that two rods were used in measuring a plot of land. In that case, the custom may have been to measure the length with a rod 9 cubits long and the breadth by one 8 cubits long. It is also possible that *ashṭaka*, *navaka* and *navaka* here are related respectively to *dakṣiṇa*, *pāścima* and *pūrva* of line 9. अपविच्छ=having severed, i.e. having measured out.

³ Basak च तुष्टिमो. Read °सीमा उ°. उल्लिङ्ग=making clear by marks (*infra*, No. 41, line 19). °देवस्य=देवाय Bāyigrāma=Baigrām near Hili, Bogra District.

⁴ Better read °नीयम् । उक्तच.

⁵ Better वसेत् ॥ इति ॥

TEXT¹

- 1 जयति विभुश्चतुर्भुजश्चतुरर्णव-त्रिपुल-सलिल-पर्यङ्कः [1]
जगतः स्थित्युत्पत्ति-न्य[यादि*]-²
- 2 हेतुर्गर्गुड-केतुः (॥*) 1
शते पञ्चषष्ठ्याधिके वर्षाणां भूपतौ च बुधगुप्ते ।
आषाढ-मास-[शुक्ल]-
- 3 [द्वा]दश्यां³ सुरगुरोर्दिवसे ॥(1*) 2
सं १०० (+*) ६० (+*) ५ (॥*)
कालिन्दो-नर्मदयोर्मध्यं पालयति लोकपाल-गुणे-⁴
ज्जगति महा[राज]-
- 4 श्रियमनुभवति सुरप्रिमचन्द्रे च । (1*) 3
अस्यां संवत्सर-मास-दिवस-पूर्व्यां⁵ स्वकर्मभिमतस्य क्रतु-याजि[नः]
- 5 अवीत-स्वाव्यायस्य विप्रर्षेर्मैत्रायणीय-वृषभस्येन्द्रविष्णोः प्रपौत्स्वेण पितुर्गुणानुकारिणो
वरुण[विष्णोः]
- 6 पौत्स्वेण पितरमनुजातस्य⁶ स्व-वंश-वृद्धि-हेतोर्हरिविष्णोः पुत्स्वेणात्यन्त-भगवद्भक्तेन
विधातुरिच्छया स्वयंवरयेव र[ा]ज-
- 7 लक्ष्म्याधिगतेन चतुःसमुद्र-पर्यन्त-प्रथित-यशसा अक्षीण-मानधनेनानेक-शत्रु-समर-
जिष्णुना महाराज-मातृविष्णुन[ा]

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

² The restoration is due to Hall. न्य = न्यय = प्रत्यय

³ Prinsep : त्रयो०. The date is Thursday, the 21st June, 481 A.D. This is the earliest use of the name of the weekdays, which the Indians learnt probably from works of the Greek astronomers of Alexandria. Greek influence on Varāhamihira (sixth century A.D.) is well known. His *Paurāṣasiddhānta* is based on the works of Paul of Alexandria (c. 378 A.D.); cf. also his *Romakasiddhānta* in which *Romaka* = Graeco-Roman.

⁴ Read गुणैः । जगति. With the province called कालीन्दी-नर्मदा-मध्य, compare अन्तर्वदी of *supra*, No. 27, line 4. Rivers were apparently taken to be the natural boundaries of some of the Gupta *vishayas*.

⁵ पूर्व्यां (=during the above) is an idiomatic use for पूर्व्यां त्रिद्यौ. See above, p. 137, note 3.

⁶ पितरम् अनुजातः = one who takes after or resembles his father [in merits].

⁷ The Eran inscription of Toranāga and Dhanyavishṇu (*infra*) proves that the eastern part of Central India passed to the Hūpas almost immediately after Budhagupta (possibly during the reign of Bhānugupta; cf. *infra*, No. 38), and it is not impossible that the western part of Central India had been gradually conquered by them during the later years or

- 8 तस्यैवानुजेन तदनुविधायिन[१] तत्प्रसाद-परिगृ[ही]तेन धन्यविष्णुना च ।^१ मातृ-
प्रित्तोः^२ पुण्याप्यायनार्थमेष भगवतः ।^३
- 9 पुण्यजनाईनस्य^४ जनाईनस्य ध्वजस्तम्भो(५*)भ्युच्छितः (॥*) स्वस्यस्तु गो-ब्राह्मण-
[पु]रोगाभ्यः सर्व-प्रजाभ्य इति ।(॥*)

No. 36—Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Budhagupta (c. 476-94 A.D.)

DAMODARPUR, Dināpur District, Bengal ; now in East Pakistan.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV. pp. 138f. ; D. C. SIRCAR, *Ind. Cult.*, V, pp. 432f.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनु०, ३).

TEXT^१

First Side

- 1 फाल्गुन-दि १० (+*) [५] परमदैवत-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-
श्रीवृधगु[प्ते]^२ [पृथिवी*]-
- 2 [पत्नी*] [त*]त्पाद-परिगृहीतस्य पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन-भुक्तावुपरिक-महाराज-जयदत्तस्य^३
भोगेनानु[वहमा]-

after the death of Skandagupta. But the evidence of the *Harshacharita* suggests that the 'Later' Guptas ruled Mālava (East Mālwa) after the short rule of the Hūṇas, while the local line represented by Yaśodharman (cf. *infra*, Nos. 53ff.) regained power in West Malwa.

1 The sign of punctuation is unnecessary.

2 Read मातापित्रीः.

3 पुण्यजनाईन = troubler of the demons (पुण्यजन).

4 From the facsimile (not quite satisfactory) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

5 Read वृष°. The year of the Gupta era is lost at the beginning of the record.

6 Jayadatta appears to have belonged to the family of Chitrātadatta and Brahmadatta of *supra*, No. 34 (cf. names of the *śreshṭhins* Dhṛitipāla and Rībhupāla; the *sārthavāhas* Bandhumitra and Vasumitra; the *Kulikas* Varadatta and Matidatta; the *Kāyasthas* Sāmbapāla, Viprapāla and Skandapāla). The cognomens like Gupta show that the second member of the father's name was usually continued in the son's, and thus gave rise to a family-name. The successors of Chandragupta I and Gopāla had names ending in *gupta* and *pāla*, and thus the lines came to be known as the Gupta and Pāla families. In the

- 3 नके [को]टि[वर्ष]-विषये च तच्चिद्युक्तेहायुक्तक-ग्रहके¹ अधिष्ठानाधिकरण[*]²
नगरश्रेष्ठिरिभु-
- 4 पाल]-सार्थबाहवसुमित्त-प्रथमकुलिकवरदत्त-प्रथमकायस्थविप्रपाल-पुरोगे च स[म्प]-
वहरति³
- 5 जनेन श्रेष्ठि-रिभुपालेन विज्ञापितं हिमवच्छिखरे⁴ कोकामुखस्वामिनः⁵
चत्वारः कुल्यवापाः [श्वे]तव-
- 6 राहस्वामिनो(ऽ*)पि⁶ सप्त कुल्यवापाः अस्मत्फलाशन्तिनो⁷ पुन्याभिवृद्धये⁸
लोङ्गाम्रापे⁹ पूर्वं मया
- 7 अग्रदा अतिसृष्टकास्तदहन्तक्षेत्र-सामीप्य-भूमौ⁹ तयोराद्य-कोकामुखस्वामि-
क्षेतवराह-

fifth century A. D., such cognomens appear to have been prevalent in Bengal as also in some other parts of India. Most of the modern Bengali family-names are of this type, though some (e.g. Niyogi) are derived from official titles (some of them being of Muhammadan times) and from *mūlagrāmas* or *gāṇis*, i.e. villages where the families claimed to have originally lived (e.g. Vandyopādhyāya from a village called Vandyā or Vandyaghāṭa).

¹ This may also be read as गण्डके.

² Read संव्य०. The correct form of the Śreṣṭhībin's name is चम्पुपाल.

³ हिमवच्छिखर literally means "the peak of the Himalayas". The reference is to Barābhachhatra (Varābhakṣhetra) in Nepal; cf. my *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 217 ff. The situation of the land granted to the gods (cf. *infra*, p. 338, note 1 and line 14; No. 39, line 17) suggests that it was not far from Dāmodarpur. It has been wrongly supposed that the Koṭivarsha district included the hilly region bordering on the northern fringe of Bengal. Actually a pilgrim of these parts visited Barābhachhatra and dedicated in favour of the deities worshipped there some land lying in his home district. Better हिमवच्छिखरस्थ.

⁴ A *tīrtha* called कोकामुख is mentioned in *Mbh.*, III, 84, 158; XIII, 26, 52, and the *Purāṇas*, and this is the present Barābhachhatra at the confluence of the Kokā and Kaudāki in Nepal. The word *ādya*, 'original', refers to the deities at Barābhachhatra as distinguished from the two gods of the same names installed in a temple near the gift land at a later date. Kokāmukha was a form of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. See my *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 217 ff.

⁵ The name of the deity clearly shows that he represented the Boar form of the god Viṣṇu.

⁶ Read शंसिना.

⁷ Read पुण्या०.

⁸ Read ग्रामि. The village has also been mentioned in *supra*, No. 18.

⁹ Better सृष्टकाः (= दत्ताः)। तद०.

- 8 स्वामिनोनी[म]लिङ्गमेकं¹ देवकुल-द्वयमेतत्कोष्ठिका-द्वयञ्च कारयितुमिच्छाम्यहं² वास्तुना
- 9 सह [कुल्य]वापान्यथाक्रय-मर्यादया दातुमिति (॥*) यतः पुस्तपाल-विष्णुदत्त-विजय-
[नन्दि]-स्थानु-²
- 10 नन्दिनामवधारणयावष्टतमस्यनेन हिमवच्छिखरे तयोः कोकामुखस्वामि-
श्चेतवराह-स्वामि नोः]
- 11 अप्रदा-क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापा³ एकादश दत्तकान्तदर्थञ्चेह देवकुल-कोष्ठिका-करणे⁴
युक्तमेतद्विज्ञा-]
- 12 [पितं][क्र]मेग तक्षेत्र सामीप्य-भूमौ वास्तु दातुमित्यनुवृत्त-विदीनारिक्कुकुल्यवा[प-
निक्रय[मर्याद-]

Second Side

- 13 [या*]... ..
- 14 पु[ष्करि]णी पू [र्वण] रिभु[पा]ल-पु[ष्करि]णी ? [दक्षिणेन]
- 15 दत्ताः (॥*) [त]दुत्तरकाळं [सं]व्यवहारिमिहैवम[क्त्या]नु-
मन्तव्या⁵ [उक्तं] व्यासेन (॥*)
स्व-दत्तां परदत्ता-
- 16 [म्वा⁷ यो हरेत] वसुन्धराम् (॥*)
स विष्टा[यां] क्रिमिभूर्त्वा⁸ पि[तृ]भिस्स[ह पचयते] (॥*) 1
पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो

¹ Read नाम-लिङ्गमेतद्*, नामलिङ्ग=marked by the names [of Kokāmukhasvāmin and vetavarāhasvāmin]; देवकुल=temple; कोष्ठिका=store-room. These were meant for two new deities named after the original gods of Barābhachhatra. The new temples were built in the forest area near the gift land (cf. *atr=āraṇye* in No. 39 below). It appears that the gift land was transferred to the local imitations of the gods of Barābhachhatra because it was difficult for the donor to send the income of the land to the original gods in distant Nepal.

² Read स्थाणुः, वास्तु=building ground.

³ Or अप्रदा(:*).

⁴ करणे=करणाय or करणविषये, क्रमेण=in proper order; in due course of time.

⁵ क्रयमर्यादा (line 9) from the purchasers' viewpoint is the same as विक्रयमर्यादा from the sellers' viewpoint. Lines 13-15 contained a description of the boundaries of the land.

⁶ Better मन्तव्याः । उक्तं.

⁷ Read मत्तां वा,

⁸ The usual spelling is क्रमि, विष्टा=विष्टा, Read मूर्त्वा

- 17 [यत्नाक्ष युधिष्ठिर (।*)
 महीं [महीमतां] श्रेष्ठ दा[नाच्छेयो(ऽ*)नुपादनं]¹ (।*) 2
 [बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता
 18 [राजमिश्र] पुनः पुनः (।*)
 [य]स्य [य]स्य यदा भूमि[स्तस्य तस्य] त[दा] फलमिति² (।*) 3

No. 36A—Nalanda Seal of Budhagupta (c. 476-94 A.D.)

Nālandā, Pāṭnā District, Bihar.

H. SASTRI, *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 66, p. 64; A. GHOSH, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIX, 1943, pp. 119 ff.; D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.*, pp. 273 ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

TEXT³

- 1 [सर्वराजोच्छेतुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराज*]-श्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराजश्रीघटोत्क-
- 2 [चपौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छवि*]-दौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां कुमार-
- देव्यामुत्पन्न-
- 3 [स्य महाराजाधिराज श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परि*]-गृहीतो महादेव्यां दत्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः
- 4 [स्वयञ्चाप्रतिरथः परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री*]-चन्द्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
- नुध्यातो
- 5 [महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराज*]-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
- 6 [नुध्यातो महादेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नो म*]-हाराजाधिराज-श्री-[पुत्र]गुप्तस्य पुत्र-
- 7 [स्तत्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्यां श्री*]-[महा ?]देव्यामुत्पन्नः
- 8 [परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री*]-बुधगुप्तः (।*)

¹ Read ०नम्.

² Better फलम् ॥ इति ॥

³ From the photograph in *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 66. The record is fragmentary; but it establishes beyond doubt that Budhagupta was the son of Pūrugupta and grandson of Kumāragupta I. The concluding part of this record may be compared to the corresponding section of the fragmentary Nālandā seal of Budhagupta's stepbrother Narasiṃhagupta—

6 [दानुध्यातो म*]-इन्द्रदेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः महाराजाधिराज-श्रीपूरुगुप्तस्य पु

7 [वस्तत्पादानुध्यातो*] महादेव्यां श्रीचन्द्रदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभाग-

8 [वतो महाराजाधिराज*]-ज-श्रीनरसिंहगुप्तः (।*)

See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIX, p. 273. The spelling of the name of Narasiṃhagupta's father is here clearly Pūrugupta.

No. 36B—Nālandā Seal of Vishnugupta¹

Nālandā, Pāṭnā District, Bihār.

KRISHNA DEVA, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 239.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Northern Brāhmī of the 5th or 6th century A.D.

TEXT²

... ..

- 1 [म*]हाराजाधिराज-श्र[ी*]-[पू*]गुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो

- 2 [म*]ह[ी*]र[ी]ज[ी]धिराज-श्रीनरसिंह[गुप्त]स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो
- 3 [महा*]राजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो म[हा]-
- 4 [देव्यां*]... .. देव्यास्तु*]॥ (परमममवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीविष्णुगु[प्त*])(॥*)

No. 37—Gunaighar Copper-plate Inscription of Vainyagupta—Gupta Year 188 (= 507 A.D.)

GUNAIGHAR, 18 miles to the north-west of Comilla, Tippera District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VI, pp. 53ff.; M. GHOSH, *ibid.*, p. 561.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

¹ It is not known whether he ruled before or after Budhagupta (476-94 A.D.).

² From the photograph in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI. The upper part and the left side of the seal are broken away and lost.

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 स्वस्ति (॥*) महानौ²-हस्त्यश्व-जयस्कन्धावारात्क्रीपुराज्जगवन्महादेव-पादानुद्धातो³
महाराज-श्रीवैन्यगुप्तः⁴
- 2 कुशली * * * * * ⁵ स्वपादोपजीविनश्च कुशलमाशंस्य समाज्ञापयति (॥*)
विदितं भवतामस्तु यथा
- 3 मया मातापित्तोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिपुत्र्यैऽस्वत्पाददास-महाराज-रुद्रदत्त-
विज्ञाप्यादनेनैव माहायानिक-शाक्यभिक्षु-
- 4 चार्य्य-शान्तिदेवमुद्दिश्य गोप(?) ... [दिग्भागे ?] कार्य्यमाणकार्याव-
लोकितेश्वराश्रम-विहारे⁶ अनेनै-
- 5 वाचार्य्यण प्रतिपादित[क?]-माहायानिक-वैवर्त्तिक-भिक्षु-संघनाम्परिग्रहे⁷ भगवतो
बुद्धस्य सततं त्रिष्कालं⁸
- 6 गन्ध-पुष्प-दीप-धूपादि-प्रवर्त्तनाय* [त*]स्य भिक्षुसंघस्य च चीवर-पिण्डपात-
शयनासन-ग्लानप्रत्ययभेषज्यादि-

¹ Prepared with the help of Bhattacharya's transcript. The plates published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VI, are not quite satisfactory. The seal has the figure of a recumbent bull to right and the legend : महाराज-श्रीवैन्यगुप्तः. See note for below.

² महानौ = ship. Note that the navy gradually became an important factor in the army of Indian kings, though the conventional units are said to have been हस्त्यश्व-रथ-पादात् सिनाङ्गं स्याच्चतुष्टयम्. Note also the omission of the chariot. Cf. above, Nos. 4-5.

³ The king was a devotee of Śiva; but the way in which the idea is expressed is rare in inscriptions; cf., however, वामदेव-पादानुध्यात in the Kalachuri and नागदेव-पादानुध्यात in the Chalukya records. For अनुध्यात, see *supra*, p. 279, note 5.

⁴ In literature, the name is often written वैश्यः. It is interesting that his पाददास and उपरिक्त are also styled महाराज (lines 3 and 16). His title महाराज therefore cannot prove that Vainyagupta was an insignificant prince. One of the Nālandā seals represents him as महाराजविराजः. His dominions possibly comprised large parts of Bengal and Bihār.

⁵ Some 8 aksharas are lost and may be restored as ब्राह्मणादीकुटुम्बिनः or समवेतान्कुटुम्बिनः.

⁶ Mahāyāna is a developed school of Buddhism; the early orthodox school being called Hinayāna. The Mahāyānists worshipped many gods and goddesses, such as the five Dhyāni Buddhas derived from the Ādi-Buddha and Ādi-Prajñā, the numerous Bodhisattvas, etc. Avalokiteśvara was a Bodhisattva. See *supra*, p. 133, note 5.

⁷ Read सङ्घानां. The Vaivartikas (following the doctrine of Vicarita or Māyā?), otherwise unknown, were apparently a sect of the Mahāyānikas. An emendation that has been suggested is माहायानिकावैवर्त्तिक⁸.

⁸ Possibly त्रिकालं (= त्रिसन्धा) is intended.

- 7 परिभोगाय¹ विहारे [च] खण्ड फुट-प्रतिसंस्कार-करणाय² उत्तरमाण्डलिक-कान्ते-
उदकग्रामे³ सर्वतो भो-
- 8 गेनाग्रहारत्वेनैकादश-खिल-पाटकाः पञ्चभिः खण्डैस्तान्न-पट्टेनातिसृष्टाः ॥*) अपि
च खलु श्रुति-स्मृती-
- 9 [ति*]हा[स]-विहिता⁴ पुण्य-भूमिदान-श्रुतिमैहिकामुस्तिक-फल-विशेषे स्मृतो⁵
भावतः समुपगम्य स्वतस्तु पी-
- 10 डामप्युरीकृत्य पात्वेभ्यो भूमिं * * * * *⁶ (1*) * * * द्विष[?] शिरस-
द्रचन-गौरवास्व-यशो-धर्मावासये चैते
- 11 पाटका अस्मिन्वि⁷ हारे शश्वत्कालमभ्यनुपालयितव्याः ॥*)⁸ अनुपालनमप्रति च
भगवता पराशरात्मजेन वेदव्या-
- 12 सेन व्यासेन गीताः श्लोका भवन्ति (1*)
षष्टिं वर्ष-स[हस्रा]णि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः (1-)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च ता-
- 13 म्येव न र* के वसेत् ॥*) 1

1 चौवर=cloth; पिण्डपात=giving alms; here possibly, getting food शयनासन=bed and seat; स्नानप्रत्यय-भेषज्य = पोडाहितुक = medicine or medical treatment for diseases.

2 फुट is Prakrit for Sanskrit स्फुटित.

3 I.e., in the village of Kāntēḍadaka in the division called Uttara-maṇḍala.

4 पाटक is the name of a land measure. According to Hemchandra, it means half of a village (cf. Beng. *pāḍā*). By a calculation of the area of the five plots, we see that $8\frac{1}{2}$ *pāṭakas* + 90 *droṇavāpas* = 11 *pāṭakas*; or $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pāṭakas* = 90 *droṇavāpas*. *Pāṭaka* was therefore = 40 *droṇavāpas*. For the *droṇ* of the Chittagong District as noticed by Hunter (*Stat. Ac. Beng.*, VI, p. 164), see *supra*, p. 293, note 10. Hunter (p. 301) says that in the Noākhālī District, the *droṇ* in Shāistānagar = about 48 acres, in Sandvīp = about 34 acres, and in Government estates = about 25 acres. 1 acre = $3\frac{1}{10}$ *bighās*. The scheme is 4 *kaḍā* = *gaṇḍā*, 20 *gaṇḍās* = *kānī*, 16 *kānīs* = *droṇ*; but measuring rod = 14, 16 or 22 cubits, and cubit = 18 or 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches (sometimes, reference is to the hand of a particular person, i.e. a cubit of uncertain length). See p. 361, note 7.

5 Bhattacharya : ज्ञापविहिता.

6 Read ०षेण स्मृतौ Some suggest स्मृता.

7 Restore नापहरत्, वाधाच न कुर्यात्. पोडामप्युरीकृत्य = even courting [pecuniary] troubles.

8 Bhattacharya suggests ०भ्यनुमन्तव्याः.

- स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा¹ यो हरेत [वसु]न्धरां(राम्) (I*)
 [स] विद्यायां कृमिभुत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते (II*) 2
- 14 पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (I*)
 महर्हि महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानात्श्रयो²(ऽ०)नुपाळनं(नम्) (II*) 3
 वर्त्तमानाष्टाशोच्यु-
- 15 तत्र-शत-संवत्सरे पौष-मासस्य चतुर्विंशतितम-दिवसे³ दूतकेन महाप्रतीहार-
 महापीलुपति-पञ्चाधि-
- 16 करणोपरिक-पाट्युपरिक-[पुर⁴?]पुरपालोपरिक⁴-महाराज-श्रीमहासामन्त-विजयसेने-
 नैतदेकादश-पाटक-दा-
- 17 नायाज्ञामनुभाविताः कुमारामात्य-रेवज्जस्वामी भामह-वत्स-भोगिकाः⁵ (II*) लिखितं
 सन्धिविग्रहारिकरण-काय-⁷
- 18 स्थ-नरदत्तेन (II*) यत्नैकक्षेत्रखण्डे नव-द्रोणवापाधिक-सप्त-पाटक-परिमाणे सीमा-
 लिङ्गानि (I*) पूर्वैर्ग गुणैका-
- 19 ग्रहारग्राम-सीमा विष्णुवर्धकि-क्षेत्रश्च⁸ (I*) दक्षिणेन मिदुविलाळ(?)-क्षेत्रं राज-
 विहार-क्षेत्रश्च⁸ (I*) पश्चिमेन सूरी-नाशी-रम्पूवर्णक-

¹ Read दत्तां वा.

² Read दानाच्छ्रयो०.

³ Read ०र्विंशति०.

⁴ पुर seems to have been engraved twice owing to mistake.

⁵ This Vijayasena has been identified with the prince of the same name mentioned in the Mallasārū inscription (*infra*). महाप्रतीहार=the chief officer superintending the defence of the gates of the royal palace and also of the capital city. पञ्चाधिकरणोपरिक=chief superintendent of five administering offices. पाट्युपरिक=chief officer of the accounts department (cf. पाटो=arithmetic). पुरपालोपरिक=the chief police officer of the royal city. उपरिक=superior officer पौलु (Arabic fil)=elephant (according to Medinikara of the 14th century). See *supra*, p. 272, note 9. पौलुपति=leader of the elephant force, or keeper of the elephants (cf. *Mahāvīyutpatti*, p. 30, mentioning *pīlupati* and *gajapati* side by side), or both. Words like पौलु and दिबिर were introduced into Indian administration by foreign invaders like the Scytho-Parthians. The word गजवर (originally Persian) is used in Book II, No. 26 सामन्त=feudatory chief.

⁶ Read ०गिकौ च. It appears that the *dūtaka* (executor) Vijayasena entrusted the business to *Kumārāmātya* Revajjasvāmin and to two other officers called *Bhogikas*. *Bhogika* indicates a *jāgirdār* or an official enjoying an *inām* in lieu of salary.

⁷ Read विश्वधि०. Naradatta was a scribe belonging to the office of the minister for peace and war.

⁸ Read चैवच. वर्धकि=a carpenter in profession or caste. राजविहार=royal monastery.

- 20 क्षेत्रं(त्सम्) (।*) उत्तरेण दोषी-भोग-पुष्करिण[१]^१
[ए*]वम्पियाकादित्य-व'ब'न्धु-क्षेत्राणाञ्च सीमा (॥*)
- 21 द्वितीय-खण्डस्याष्टाविन्दाति^२-द्रोणवाप-परिमाणस्य सीमा (।*) पूर्व्वेण गुणिका-^३
ग्रहारग्राम-सीमा (।*) दक्षिणेन पक्क-
- 22 विलाह(१)-क्षेत्रं(त्सम्) (।*) पश्चिमेन राजविहार-क्षेत्रं(त्सम्) (।*) उत्तरेण वैद्य(१)-
क्षेत्रं(त्सम्) (॥*) तृतीय-खण्डस्य त्रयोविन्दाति^२-द्रोणवाप-
- 23 परिमाणस्य सीमा (।*) पूर्व्वेण क्षेत्रं(त्सम्) (।*) दक्षिणेन मल्लहा-
र्चरिक्(१)-क्षेत्र-सीमा (।*) पश्चिमेन

Second Side

- 24 ज(जो१)लारी-क्षेत्रं(त्सम्) (।*) उत्तरेण नागी-जोडाक-क्षेत्रं(त्सम्) (॥*) चतुर्यस्य
क्षेत्रं(त्सम्) (।*) दक्षिणेन राजविहार-क्षेत्रं(त्सम्) (।*) पश्चिमेन [सू]र्य्य-क्षेत्र-
सीमा (।*) उत्तरेण महीपाल-क्षेत्रं(त्सम्) (॥*) [प]ञ्चमस्य
- 25 बुद्धाक-क्षेत्र-सीमा (।*) दक्षिणेन कालाक-क्षेत्रं(त्सम्) (।*) पश्चिमेन [सू]र्य्य-क्षेत्र-
सीमा (।*) उत्तरेण महीपाल-क्षेत्रं(त्सम्) (॥*) [प]ञ्चमस्य
- 26 पादोन-पाटक-द्वय-परिमाण-क्षेत्र-खण्डस्य सीमा (।*) पूर्व्वेण खण्ड-वि[डु]गुरिक्-
क्षेत्रं(त्सम्) (।*) दक्षिणेन मणिभट्ट-
- 27 क्षेत्रं(त्सम्) (।*) पश्चिमेन यज्ञरात-क्षेत्र-सीमा (।*) उत्तरेण नादडदकग्राम-सीमेति
(॥*) विहार-तलभूमेरपि सीमा-लिङ्गानि (।*)
- 28 पूर्व्वेण चूडामणिनगरस्थो नौयोगयोर्मन्त्रे जोला^४ (।*) दक्षिणेन गणेश्वर-
विलाह-पुष्करिण्या नौ-खातः (।*)
- 29 पश्चिमेन प्रद्युम्नेश्वर-देवकुल-क्षेत्र-प्रान्तः (।*) उत्तरेण प्रडामार-नौयोग-खातः (॥*)
एतद्विहारप्रावेस्य-शून्यप्रतिकर-

१ भोग may be a personal name and दोषी may stand for Sanskrit ज्योतिषी. भोग may also indicate Doshi's temporary possession of the tank.

२ Read विंशति.

३ Guṇekāgrahāra of lines 18-19 and Guṇikāgrahāra of line 21 are apparently identical and the same as modern Guṇaighar.

४ Beng जोला (= खात) means a ditch. Between Cl ūḍāmaṇinagara and Śrīnaṇyoga; or, between the naṇyogas (places for parking boats) of Chūḍāmaṇi and Nagaśāśrī?

५ For another temple of Prajyumnēśvara Śiva, see the Deopāḍā inscription (Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, III, pp. 42 ff.).

- 30 हज्जिक'-खिळ-भूमेरपि सीमा-लिङ्गानि (।*) पूर्व्वेण प्रद्युम्नेश्वर-देवकुळ-क्षेत्त-
सीमा (।*) दक्षिणेन शाक्यभिक्खाचार्य-जित-
31 सेन-वैहारिक-क्षेत्त्वावसा(१ नःनम्) (।*) पश्चिमेन ह(१)चात-गंग उत्तरेण दण्ड-पुष्किणी^२
चेति ॥ सं १० (+*) ८० (+*) ८ पोष्य^३-दि २० (+*) ४ (॥*)

No. 38—Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of
Bhānugupta—Gupta Year 191 (= 510 A.D.)

ERAN, Sāgar (Saugor) District, Madhya Pradesh.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 92f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1 2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्); Vv. 3-1 इन्द्रवज्रा.

TEXT⁴

- 1 १^५ संवत्सर शते एकनवत्युत्तरे श्रावण-बहुलपक्ष-स[स]म्य[१]म्याम् (।*)
2 संवत् १०० (+*) ८० (+*) १ श्रावण-व-दि^६ ७ ॥
* * कृ^७-वङ्गादुत्पन्नो^८ * *^९
श

¹ Cf. Beng. *हाजा* in the expression *हाजा-शुका*, flood and drought, loss caused by them. Here *हज्जिक* may mean 'marshy land'. *विहारप्रविश्य* = land regarded as a part of the site of the monastery (*प्रविश्य* derived from *प्रवेश*, income, revenue) for the purpose of assessment (*J.A.S.*, Letters, 1952, p. 78 note). *यून्यप्रतिकर* = not yielding any revenue. *तलभूमि* = land granted to a religious establishment for its maintenance at the time of consecration (pp. 357, 360). *विलास* = possibly, a mechanic caste like *वर्धकि*. *गंग* (Beng. *गाङ्*), rivulet.

² Read *पुष्करिणी*.

³ Read *पौष*.

⁴ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

⁵ *सिद्धम्* expressed by a symbol.

⁶ *व* is an abbreviated form of *बहुल-पक्ष* and *दि* of *दिवस*. Sometimes we have *व* (= *वद्य*) instead of *व* (= *बहुल*).

⁷ Fleet suggested that, of the three letters, the third is *च* and the second may be *ल*.

⁸ Read *वंशा*.

⁹ The two letters containing the name cannot be read. There are possibly traces of a subscript *r* sign which may suggest that the name was something like *ध्रुवराज*. Or, *गोपराज* ?

- 3 राजेति विश्रुतः (।*)
तस्य पुत्रोऽ(।*)तिविक्कान्तो नाम्ना राजाय माधवः ॥ 1
गोपराज[ः]
- 4 सुतस्तस्य श्रीमान्विख्यात-पौरुषः (।*)
शरभराज-दौहित्वः स्व-वङ्ग¹-तिलकोऽ(।*)धुना(?) (॥*) 2
- 5 श्री-भानुगुप्तो² जगति प्रवीरो
राजा महा'न्(।*) पार्थ-समो ऽ(।*)ति-शूरः(।*)
तेनाथ सार्द्धन्विह गोपर[ाजो]
- 6 मित्वानु[गत्येन]³ किलानुयातः ॥ 3
कृत्वा (च*) [यु]द्धं सुमहत्प्रक[र]शं
स्वर्गं गतो दिव्य-न[रे] [न्द्र-कल्पः*] (।*)
- 7 भक्तानुरक्ता च⁴ प्रिया च कान्ता
भ[ार्याव]ल[म्ब]ानुगता[ग्नि]र[ा]शिम् ॥ 4⁵

No. 39—Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 224 (= 543 A.D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dinājpur District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind*, XV, pp. 142f.; K. N. DIKSHIT, *ibid.*, XVII, pp. 192f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

¹ Read वंश.

² It is not impossible that, when Vainyagupta was ruling the eastern part of the old Gupta empire, Bhānugupta was ruling the western part and another line of rules had control over the central part.

³ The *aksharas* are indistinct. Fleet conjecturally reads वयार; but the last *akshara* appears to be न.

⁴ Fleet thinks that the metre is faulty as this च has been lengthened by the influence of मि. But the conjuncts प्र and क्र as also व्र and क्र are said to be exceptions to the rule वर्णसंयोगपूर्वच and, before them, the vowels may be short by a sort of poetical licence; cf. *Kumārasambhava*, VII, 11; *Śiṣupālavadha*, X, 60, etc.

⁵ Here is an early reference to the Suttie. Cf. *JAHRS*, XIX pp. 203 ff. The battle referred to may represent a phase of the struggle between the Guptas and the Hūnas in Central India.

TEXT¹

Seal

कोटिवर्षाधिष्ठानाधि[करणस्य]² ।

First Side

- 1 स[स्व]³ २०० (+*) २०⁴ (+*) ४ भाद्र-दि ५ परमदेवत-परमभट्टारक-म[हा]-
राजाधिराज-श्री...⁵
- 2 गुप्ते पृथिवीपतौ तत्पाद-परिगृहीते⁶ पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन-भुक्तावुपरि[क-महाराज]स्य [महा*]-
- 3 राजपुत्र-देवभट्टारकस्य हस्त्यश्व-जन-भोगेनानुवहमा[न]के को[टिव]र्ष-विष-
[ये] च त-
- 4 त्रियुक्तकेह-विषय-पति-स्वयम्भुदेवे⁷ अधिष्ठानाधिकरण(अ*) आर्य[न]गर-
[श्रेष्ठिरिभु]पाठ-⁷

¹ From the facsimile (not quite satisfactory) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV

² "[The seal] of the administrative board of the city of Kṣṭivarṣa". See p. 231, note 8, above.

³ Read संव which is the contraction of संवत्सर; or ०रे.

⁴ Basak : १०.

⁵ Basak suggests बुधगुप्त, while Krishna Sastri wants to restore कुमारगुप्त, sometimes identified with the king mentioned in *supra*, No. 32, though Vishnugupta's name may also be thought of (cf. No. 36-B). It may be pointed out that, besides the controversy regarding the ascription of Narasimhagupta and his son Kumāra and grandson Vishṇu before or after Budha, the position is complicated due to the existence of other rulers of the family like Vainya and Bhānu. It may also be noted that the *आर्यमञ्जरीमूलकस्य* (ed. Sankrityayana, vv. 671-76) gives the list of later Imperial Gupta kings as बालाख्य (बालादित्य)-कुमार-उकाराख्य-देव. If this Deva[gupta?] may be identified with Deva-bhaṭṭāraka (who appears to have been the emperor's son made governor of the *bhukti* or province of Puṇḍravardhana) of the present inscription, the missing name may be conjecturally restored as उपगुप्त. The possibility of an Upagupta in the Gupta genealogy has been suggested by Raychaudhuri on the basis of the name of Upaguptā, mother of Maukhari Isānavarman (*Political History*, 4th ed., p. 500, note).

⁶ Read गृहीतस्य. The technical difference between अन्वयात् and परिगृहीत is not known. One of them possibly indicates appointment and the other acceptance of an appointment or position at least in some cases.

⁷ Basak's corrections इह० and स्वयम्भू० are unnecessary. Ribhu^० is written for Ribhu^०.

- 5 सात्थ्यवाहस्थाणुदत्त-प्रथमकुलिकमतिदत्त-प्रथमकायस्थस्कन्दपाल-पुरोगे [स] 'व्य[वह]रति
 6 आयोध्याक-कुलपुत्रक'-अमृतदेवेन विज्ञापितमिह-विषये समुदयबाह्याप्रहत-²
 खिल-[क्षे]त्ता-
 7 गां तिदीनारिक्य-कुल्यवाप-विक्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तः तदर्हथ मत्तो दीनारानुपसंगृह्य
 मन्मातुः [पु]ण्या-
 8 भिवृद्धये अवारण्ये³ भगवतः प्रवेतवराहस्वामिनी देवकुले खण्ड-फुट-प्रति-⁴
 [सं]स्का[र]-[क]-
 9 रणाय बलिचरुमत्तप्रवर्त्तन-गव्यधूपपुष्पप्रापण-मधुपर्क-दीपाद्युप[यो]गा[य] च
 10 अप्रदा-धर्मेण ताम्रपट्टीकृत्य क्षेत्त-स्तोकन्दातुमिति⁵ (।*) यतः प्रथमपुस्तपाल-
 नर[न]न्दि-
 11 गोपदत्त-भट(१)नन्दिनामवधारणया युक्त[त]या ध[र्माधि]कार-[बु]द्ध्या विज्ञापित('*)⁶
 ना[त्स*] [वि*]-

¹ Read ०पुत्रकास्त०. Ayodhyā, whence Amritadeva hailed, is the ancient city near modern Faizābād. कुलपुत्र=born of a noble family.

² *Supra*, p. 292, note 3. It may also be suggested that, of the two terms खिल and अप्रहत, one indicates land never tilled (or not tilled for a long time) and the other land whose cultivation has been stopped for some time (or for a short period). Some scholars translate खिल as 'fallow' and अप्रहत as 'untilled'.

³ Note that the original deity was worshipped on the Himavach-chhikhara (*supra*, No. 36) while his substitute was installed at a place which has been indicated here as a local forest. See above, p. 337, notes 3 and 4; p. 338, note 1.

⁴ Prakrit फुट is for Sanskrit स्फुटित. I.e., "for making repairs of whatever is broken or torn."

⁵ "For instituting बलि, चरु and सद्यः for supplying cow's milk, incense and flowers, and for applying मधुपर्क, lamp, etc." बलि=oblation, animal sacrificed to a deity चरु=oblation of rice or barley usually boiled in milk; सद्यः=oblation; here possibly, distribution of food (प्रसाद), or giving food and shelter to guests. मधुपर्क=usually दधि सर्पिर्जलं चौद्रं सिता दैतैश्च पंचभिः। प्रोच्यते मधुपर्कः... स्तोत्र=a small plot. गव्य=milk (sometimes चौरं दधि तथा चाज्यं मूत्रं गोमयमेव च).

⁶ Basak: विज्ञापितवा...; see No. 41, lines 12-13; No. 42, lines 15-17. Basak's translation has ".....a quarrel with the Vishayapati. However, through his Highness Paramabhattāraka, the victory of right is assured." There is however no doubt that श्रीपरमभट्टारकपादेन धर्मपरतावाप्तिः is the same as भट्टारकपादानां धर्मफल-वडभागावाप्तिः of *infra*, No. 41, line 13. परता=फल=result; धर्मपरतावाप्ति=धर्मरूपफलप्राप्ति. See also *infra*, No. 43, line 13 विरोध=अर्थविरोध (No. 41, lines 12-13)=opposition to one's interest. Or, विषयपतिनां विरोधः=objection from the District Magistrates.

- 12 षय-पतिना(१*) कश्चिद्विरोधः केवलं श्री-परमभट्टारकपादेन धर्मप[र]-
 13 [तावासि][ः*]¹

Second Side

- 14 इत्यनेनावधारणाक्रमेण एतस्मादमृतदेवात्पञ्चदश-दीनारानुपसंगृह्य एतन्मातु[ः*]
 15 अनुग्रहेण स्वच्छन्दपाटके(ऽ*)[र्द्ध]टी-प्रावेश्य-लवङ्गसिकायाञ्च² वास्तुभिस्सह
 कुल्यवाप-द्वयं
 16 साटवनाश्रमके(ऽ*)पि वास्तुना सह कुल्यवाप एकः परस्परतिकायां पञ्चकुल्य-
 वापकस्योत्त[रे]ण
 17 जम्बून[द्या]ः³ पूर्व्वेण कुल्यवाप एकः पूरणवृन्दिकहरी पाटक-पूर्व्वेण कुल्यवाप
 एकः इत्येवं खिल-क्षेत्र-
 18 स्य वास्तुना सह पञ्च कुल्यवापाः अप्रदा-धर्मेण⁴ भग(व*)ते श्वेतवराहस्वामिने
 शश्वत्कालभोग्या दत्ताः (1*)
 19 तदुत्तरकालं संव्यवहारिभिः⁵ देवभक्तगानुमन्तव्याः (1*) अपि च भूमि[दा]न-
 सम्बद्धाः⁶ श्लोका भवन्ति (1*)
 20 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा⁷ यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (1*)
 स विद्यायां क्रिमिभूत्वा⁸ पितृभिस्सह पश्यते (11*) 1
 व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता

¹ These aksharas are engraved below the closing words of the previous line. Better °वाप्तिरिति । अनेनाव०.

² मातुः अनुग्रहेण = out of consideration for his mother. अर्द्धटी-प्रावेश्य = included in Ardhatī to form a single unit for the assessment of revenue, प्रावेश्य being derived from प्रवेश (= revenue, income). See above, p. 345, note 1 and below, p. 351, note 5.

³ Read जम्बू. The areas of land referred to as पञ्चकुल्यवापक and पाटक possibly already belonged to the god. Pūraṇa-Vṛindikaharī may be modern Brindakoorē, 14 miles to the north of Dāmodarpur.

⁴ I.e., "according to the custom relating to अप्रदा" (see p. 292, note 3; p. 333, note 4). वास्तु = building land; खिल-क्षेत्र = fallow land.

⁵ संव्यवहारिन् = officers in charge of administration.

⁶ Read सम्ब०.

⁷ Read दत्तां वा,

⁸ Usually क्रिमि०. Read °दुर्भत्वा.

21

राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (।*)

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (ळम्) (।*) 2

षष्टिं वर्षं-सहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिद¹22 आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति² (।*) 3

¹ Properly, भूमिदः ।

² Better वसेत् ॥ इति ॥

CHAPTER II
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CONTEMPORARIES AND
SUBORDINATES OF THE IMPERIAL
GUPTAS IN NORTHERN INDIA

A—Inscriptions of Bengal

No. 40—Susuniyā Rock Inscription of
Chandravarman¹ (c. 340-60 A.D.)

SUSUNIYĀ HILL, near Bāṅkuṛā, Bāṅkuṛā District, West Bengal.

N. N. VASU, *Baṅgiyā Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, III, pp. 268f.;
H. P. SHASTRI, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 317ff.; XIII, p. 133; K. N. DIKSHIT,
Arch. Surv. Ind., A. R., 1927-28, pp. 188f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of about the 4th
century A. D.

TEXT²

Part I

- 1 पुष्करणाधिपतेर्महाराज³-श्रीसिद्धवर्माणः⁴ पुत्रस्य
2 महाराज-श्रीचन्द्रवर्माणः कृतिः (।*)

¹ This king is usually identified with the Āryāvartta ruler Chandravarman mentioned in *supra* No. 2. Some scholars wrongly identify Pushkaraṇā with Pushkara near Amer and suggest that the king was a brother of Naravarman of Malwa (*infra*, No. 51) and was the same as king Chandra of *supra*, No. 14. Pushkaraṇā is however modern Pokharṇā, a place on the Dāmodar river in the Bāṅkuṛā District and Chandravarman was apparently a local ruler of South-East Bengal.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII. The inscription is found on the back wall of a ruined cave. ण in Part I is different in shape from the ण in Part II.

³ °पते° looks like पुते; but the subscript does not appear to be due to engraving. Shastri : °रज.

⁴ Read °सिंह°.

⁵ This line begins from below °णाधि of पुष्करणाधि° of the previous line.

Part II

1 चक्रस्वामिनः दोसग्रणतिसृष्टः¹ (॥*)

No. 40A—Kalaikuri-Sultanpur Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 120 (= 439 A.D.)

Sultānpur near Naogāon, Rājshāhi District, East Pakistan.
The inscription may have been lying originally at Kalaikuri in the same neighbourhood.

D. C. SIRCAR *I.H.Q.*, XIX, pp. 12ff. ; N. B. SANJAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 57ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class

Metre: Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT²

First Side

- 1 स्वस्ति (॥*) शृङ्गवेरवैथेय-पूस्³ [कौ]शिकायाः³ आयुक्त[काच्युतदासो(ऽ*)धिक]-
रणञ्च हस्तिश्रीर्षे [विभीतक्या गुह्यगन्धि]-
- 2 [कायां] धान्यपाटलिकायां संगोहालिष् ब्राह्मणादीन्ग्रामकुटुम्बिनः [कुश]-
लमनुवर्ण्य बोधयन्ति (॥*) विदितम्बो⁴
- 3 भविष्यति यथा⁵ इह-वीथी-कुलिक-भीम-कायस्थ-प्रभुचन्द्र-रुद्रदास-देवदत्त-रक्षमण-
का[न्ति]देव-शम्भुदत्त-कृष्ण-

¹ Shastri : ०दास. The vowel mark of the first consonant is o, and the consonant itself looks like फ. But we have to accept Shastri's correction दासायेणतिसृष्टः (better ०रुष्टा). Chakrasvāmin is Viṣṇu to whom possibly the cave, Chandravarman's *kr̥ti* (work), was dedicated. According to K. N. Dikshit, the village Dhosagrāma was made over to Chakrasvāmin by king Chandravarman (*A S.I.*, A.R., 1927, p. 188).

² From impressions.

³ The *Śrīṅgavera vīthi* seems to be the modern Singra Police Station in the Rājshāhi District of East Pakistan..

⁴ Read बोधयतः । विदितं वो. The plural number in बोधयन्ति suggested itself to the author of the record apparently because the अधिकरण consisted of a number of members. See below, No. 41 (p. 356, note 6).

Read भवतु.

4. दास-पुस्तपाल सिङ्ग¹ सिंह² नन्दि-यशोदामभिः वीथी-महत्तर-कुमारदेव-गण्ड-प्रजापति-¹
उमयश(शो)-रामशर्म-ज्येष्ठ-
5. दो दा)म-स्वामिचन्द्र-हरिसिङ्ग सिंह²-कुटुम्बि-यशोविष्णु-कुमारविष्णु-कुमारभव-कुमार-
भूति-कुमार-य[शोगु]स-वैलिनक-
6. शिवकुण्ड-वसुशिवापरशिव-दामरुद्र-प्रभमित-कृष्णमित-मघशर्म³-ईश्वरचन्द्र-रुद्र-भव-
स्वामि[देव]-
7. श्रीनाथ-हरिशर्म-गुप्तशर्म-सुशर्म-हरि⁴-अलातस्वामि-ब्रह्मस्वामि-महासेनभट्ट-षष्टि(ष्टी)
रा-[त]- गु * * श-
8. शर्म⁵-उष्टशर्म-कृष्णदत्त-नन्ददाम-भवदत्त¹-अहिशर्म-सोमविष्णु-लक्ष्मणशर्म-कान्ति-
धोव्वोक-क्षेमशर्म-शु-
9. क⁶शर्म-सर्पपालित कङ्कुटि-विश्व-शङ्कर-जयस्वामि-वैवर्तशर्म²-हिमशर्म-पुरन्दर-जय-
विष्णु¹-उम * * *
10. सिङ्ग(सिंहदत्त)-बोन्द-नारायण(ण) दास-वीरनाग-राज्यनाग-गुह-महि-भवनाथ-गुह-
विष्णु-शर्व-यशोविष्णु-टक्क-कुलदाम - * * व-
11. श्री-गुहविष्णु-रामस्वामि-कामनकुण्ड-रतिभद्र¹-अच्युतभद्र-लोढक-प्रभकीर्ति-जयदत्त-
कालुक¹-अच्युत-नरदेव-भव-
12. भवरक्षित-पिच्चकुण्ड-प्रवरकुण्ड-शर्वदास-गोपाल-पुरोगाः वयं च विज्ञापिताः (।*)
इह-वीथ्यामप्रतिकर-खिलक्षेत्र-
13. स्य शत्रुत्कालोपभोगायाक्षयनीया द्विदीनारिक्य-खिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यवा(वा)प-विक्रय-मर्या-
दया इच्छेमहि³ प्रति
14. प्रति मातापितोः पुण्याभिवृद्धये पौण्डवर्द्धनक⁴-चातुर्विद्य-वाजि(ज)सनेय-चरणाभ्यन्तर-
ब्राह्मण-देव-
15. भट्ट¹-अमरदत्त-महासेनदत्तानां⁵ पञ्च-महायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनाय नवकुल्यवा(वा)पान्क्रीत्वा दातुं⁶-
(तुम्) एभिरेवोप⁶

1 The rules of *sandhi* have not been observed here.

2 The name does not prove that this agriculturist Brāhmaṇa had anything to do with the Kaivarta community.

3 Read इच्छामः.

4 Puṇḍravardhana, headquarters of the province of that name, is modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District, East Pakistan. चातुर्विद्य=community of the Chaturvedins.

5 Note that Datta is no longer a Brāhmaṇa cognomen in Bengal. Some Brāhmaṇa families thus appear to have been merged in non-Brāhmaṇa communities.

6 Read एवैवोप⁶.

- 16 रि-निर्दिष्टक-ग्रामेषु खिल-क्षेत्राणि विद्यन्ते (।*) तदर्हंथास्ततः अष्टादशदीनारान्गृहीत्वा एतान्नव-कुल्यवा(वा)[पा*]-

Second Side

- 17 न्यनु[पा]दयितुं(तुम् ।)¹ यतः एषां कुलिक-भीमादीनां विज्ञाप्यमुपलभ्य पुस्तपाळ-सिङ्ग(सिंह, नन्दि-यशोदा[मनोश्वा*])-
 18 वधारणयावृत्ता(त)(म*)स्त्ययमिह-वीथ्यामप्रतिकर-खिल-क्षेत्रस्य शङ्खत्कालोपभोगा-याक्षय-नीच्या द्विदोना-
 19 रिक्य-कुल्यवा(वा)प-विक्रयोऽ(नुवृत्तस्तदीयतां नास्ति विरोधः कश्चिदित्यवस्थाप्य कुलिक-भीमादिभ्यो(भ्यः) अष्टादश-
 20 दीनारानुपसङ्गरितका'नायाकृत्य हस्तिशीर्ष-विभीतक्यां(को)-धान्यपाटलिका-
 [गुल्मगन्धिका]-ग्रामेषु* * * * -
 21 थां दक्षिणोद्देशेषु अष्टौ कुल्यवा(वा)पाः धान्यपाटलिका-ग्रामस्य पश्चिमोत्तरोद्देशे[आय-
 खात]-परिखा-वेष्टित-
 22 मुत्तरेण वाटानदी* पश्चिमेन गुल्मगन्धिका-ग्राम-सीमानमि(ञ्चे)ति कुल्यवा(वा)-
 प[मे]को⁴ गुल्मगन्धिकायां पूर्व-
 23 णाद्यपयः पश्चिमप्रदेशे द्रोणवा(वा)प-द्वयं हस्तिशीर्ष-प्रावेश्य⁵-ताप[सपोत्तके]
 दयितापोत्तके च वि-
 24 भौतक-प्रावेश्य-चित्रवातङ्गरे [च] कुल्यवा(वा)पाः सप्त द्रोणवा(वा)पाः षट् (।*)
 एषु यथोपरि निर्दिष्टक-ग्राम-प्र-
 25 देशेष्वेषां कुलिक-भीम-कायस्थ-प्रभुचन्द्र-रुद्रदासादीनां मातापित्तोः पुण्याभिषुद्धये
 ब्राह्मण-

¹ Better read °वापान् प्रतिपाद°.

² Read दीनारानुपसङ्घतका°.

³ The Vāṭā-nadī appears to be the modern Bārā-nai, Singrā lying about 10 miles to the north-east of its junction with the Atrai. Better read वेष्टित उत्तरेण.

⁴ Read कुल्यवाप एको.

⁵ *Prāveśya* appears to be the same as *praveśa* of other inscriptions (cf. *J. A. S.*, Letters, XVIII, p. 78). *Sivāṇi-praveśa-Kandalivāḍa-grāma* has been explained by us as meaning that Sivāṇi and Kandalivāḍa were adjoining localities, the latter having its rent assessed along with the former. In the present record, Tāpasapottaka was similarly attached to Hastiśirṣa and Chitravātāṅga to Vibhītaka or Vibhītaki. See pp. 345, 349.

- 26 देवभट्टस्य कुल्यबा(वा)पाः पञ्च [कु¹ ५] अमरदत्तस्य² कुल्यबा(वा)प-द्वयं महासेनदत्तस्य
कुल्यबा(वा) [प-द्वयं]
- 27 कु¹ २ (१*) एषां त्रयाणां पञ्च-महायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनाय नव-कुल्यबा(वा)पानि प्रदत्तानि³ (॥*)
तद्युष्माकं * * * [निवेद्य]-
- 28 ति(ते) लिख्यते च (१*) समुत्थित-का[लं] [ये(ऽ*)प्यन्ये] विषयपतयः आयुक्तकाः
कुटुम्बिनो(ऽ*)धिकरणिका वा [सम्भ्य.संन्य]व-
- 29 हारिणो भविष्यन्ति तैरपि [भूमिदानफल]मवेक्ष्य अक्षयनीन्यनुपालनीया (॥*) उक्तञ्च
महाभारते भगव-
- 30 ता व्यसेन (१*)
स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्बा(त्तां वा) यो [हरेत्] वसुन्धरां(राम्) ।
[स] विद्यायां क्रिमिभूत्वा पि[तृभिः सह पच्यते] (॥*) 1
[षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि]
- 31 स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः (१*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता [च] तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥*) 2
कृषाय कृष[वृत्ताय] वृत्ति-क्षीणाय सीदते
- 32 [भूमिं] वृत्तिकरीन्दत्वा(त्त्वा) [सुखी] भवति कामदः (॥*) 3
[बहुभिर्व्वसुधा] भुक्ता भुज्यते च पुनः पुनः (१*)
यस्य [यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य] तस्य
- 33 तदा फलं(लम् ॥) ४
पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष्य(क्ष) युधिष्ठिर (१*)
महीम्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो³ (ऽ*)नु[पालनं(नम् ॥) 5]
- 34 संवत्³ १०० (+*) २० वैशाख-दि १ (॥*)

No. 41—Baigram Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 128 (= 448 A.D.)

BAIGRĀM, Bogra (Bagura) District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.
R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 81f.

¹ Ku is a contraction of *Kulyavāpa*.

² Better read कुल्यवापाः प्रदत्ताः.

³ I.e., संवत् There is an era sure between सं and व्य. The year does not appear to be 121.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmi of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 स्वस्ति (॥*) पञ्चनगर्याः भट्टारक¹-पादानुध्यातः कुमारामात्य-कुलवृद्धिरेत-
द्विषयाधिकरणञ्च
- 2 वायिग्रामिक-त्रिवृत(१*)-श्रीगोहाख्योः⁴ ब्राह्मगोत्तरान्सम्यवहारि⁵-प्रमुखान्ग्राम-
कुटुम्बिनः कुशळमनु-
- 3 वष्यं बोधयन्ति⁶ (१*) विज्ञापयतोरखैव⁷ वास्तव्य-कुटुम्बि-भोजिल-भास्करावाचयोः
पित्वा शिवनन्दि-
- 4 ना कारित]क(१*) भगवतो गोविन्दस्वामिनः देवकुलस्तदसावरूपवृत्तिकः⁸ (१*) इह-
विषये समुदय-
- 5 बाह्याद्यस्तम्ब-खिल-क्षेत्राणामकिञ्चित्प्रतिकराणां शङ्खदाचन्द्रार्क-तारक-भोज्यानां⁹
मक्षय-नीत्या

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. Cf. the text with that of the Nandapur copper-plate inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 54f.

2 Pañchanagarī was apparently the chief town of the district, where Kulavṛddhi's court was situated. It may be the same as Ptolemy's Pentapolis and modern Pāñchbibi in the Bogra District. Pāñchbibi may have come through Prakrit Pañchanaarī modified to Pañchanārī.

3 The word evidently refers to the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.), as the date of the record (Gupta 123=448 A.D.) falls in his reign.

4 Trivṛtā and Śrīgohālī were localities connected with Vāyigrāma which is also mentioned in *supra*, No. 34, line 9, and is the same as modern Baigrām.

5 Read 'संख्य०. संख्यवहारिन्=officers in charge of administration; apparently the members of the अष्टकुलधिकरण, i.e. the village jury consisting of 8 [or more] members.

6 Read 'बोधयतः since the order was issued by Kulavṛddhi and the administrative board of the viśhaya. Cf. No. 40-A p. 352, note 4.

7 Read 'पयतोऽखैव.

8 Read देवकुलम् । तददीऽल्पवृत्तिकम्.

9 Read भोज्यानामसंख्य०. समुदयबाह्य=not yielding income in crops. आद्य-स्तम्ब=covered with original shrub, i.e. fallow. अकिञ्चित्प्रतिकर=अप्रतिकर (line 12); cf. शून्यप्रतिकर (*infra*, No. 37, line 39, etc.). प्रतिकर=कर, taxes. अप्रतिकर=for which no tax is realised by the State. कुटुम्बिन्=agriculturist householder. See pp. 333, 345, 360

- 6 द्विदीनारिक्य-कुल्यवाप-विक्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तस्तदर्थथावयोस्सकाशात्पद्दीनारानष्ट च रूप-
कानायी-¹
- 7 [क]ल्य भगवतो गोविन्दस्वामिनो देवकुले [ख]ण्ड-फुट्ट-प्रतिसंस्क(।*)र-करणाय²
गन्ध-धूप दीप
- 8 सुमनसा(।*) प्रवर्त्तनाय च त्रिवृतायां भोगिलस्य³ खिलभेत्त-कुल्यवाप-स्यं
श्रीगोहात्याश्चापि⁴
- 9 तल-वाटकार्यं(।*)⁵ स्थल-वास्तुनो द्रोणवापमेकं भास्करस्यापि स्थलवास्तुनो द्रोण-
वापञ्च दातु-
- 10 मि[ति] (।*) यतो युष्मान्बोधयामः(।*) पुस्तपाल-पुग्गंदत्ताकर्कंदासयोरवभारणया⁶
अवधृत-
- 11 मस्तीह-विषये समुदय-बाह्याद्यस्तम्ब-खिल-क्षेत्राणां(।*) शश्वदाचन्द्रार्क-तारक-
भोज्यानां द्विदी-
- 12 नारिक्य-कुल्यवाप-विक्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तः (।*) एवंविधाप्रतिकर-खिलभेत्त-विक्रये च
न कश्चिद्राजार्थ-

¹ I.e., Six *dināras* (gold coins) and eight *rūpakas* (silver coins). These apparently indicate the Gupta gold and silver issues. The price of 3 *kulyavāpas* and 2 *droṇavāpas* (= $\frac{1}{2}$ *kulyavāpa* of the value of $\frac{1}{2}$ *dināra*) was 6 *dināras* and 8 *rūpakas* (= $\frac{1}{2}$ *dināra*); see line 17. One gold coin was therefore equal to 16 silver coins. The rate of 2 *dināras* per *kulyavāpa*, as against 3 *dināras* elsewhere in the area, may indicate inferior quality of the land. See above, No. 34, line 8.

² फुट्ट is Prakrit for Sanskrit स्फुटित.

³ Same as भोगिलस्य. भोगिल may be another form of the name, or a mistake for भोगिल.

⁴ Read °ल्ल्याच्चा°.

⁵ तलवाटक is the same as तलभूमि, तलवृत्ति, etc., which was the land granted in favour of a religious establishment at the time of its consecration; स्थलवास्तु = homestead land. In some cases तलवाटक has been explained as a class of persons serving in temples; see C. I. I., III, pp. 216-17. Cf. pp. 355, 360.

⁶ Basak : दुर्गा°. Note the nature of the work the *pustapālas* (record-keepers) did. They tried to determine whether, near about the donee's place, there was unproductive waste land belonging to the State, which could be sold rent-free without any loss to the State. In such cases, there was no loss of revenue; the king, as the lord of the land, was supposed to gain $\frac{1}{2}$ of the religious merit arising from the pious dead, for which the land was being purchased by the donee. But the reclamation of the waste land was a gain to the State since it led to the expansion of habitation, increase in the population, establishment of markets, etc., in the area.

- 13 विरोध उपचय एव भट्टारक-पादानां धर्मफल-पङ्कागावासिश्च तद्दीयतामिति (10) एतयोः
 14 भोयिल-भास्करयोस्मका(शा*)त्पङ्कीनारानष्ट च रूपकानायीकृत्य भगवतो गोविन्द-
 स्वामिनो
 15 देवकुलस्यार्थं भोयिलस्य विवृतायां खिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप-त्रयं तलवाटकाक्षयम्¹

Second Side

- 16 श्रीगोहात्या(*) स्थल-वास्तुनो द्रोणवापं भास्करास्याप्यसैव स्थले-वस्तुनो²
 द्रोणवाप-
 17 मेव(*) कुल्यवाप-स्यं स्थल-द्रोणवाप-द्वयञ्च अक्षयनीव्यास्ताम्र-पट्टेन³ दत्तम् (1*)
 निबन्ध-⁴
 18 कु ३ स्थल-द्रो २ (10) ते⁵ यूयं स्वकर्षणाविरोधि-स्थाने⁶ दर्वीकर्म-हस्तेनाष्टक-
 नवक-नलाभ्या-
 19 अपविच्छ्रित् चिरकाल-स्थ(1*)यि-तुषाङ्गारादिना⁷ चिह्नैश्चातुर्दिशो नियम्य दास्यथाक्षय-
 20 नीवी-धर्मेन⁸ च शश्वत्कालमनुपालयिष्यथ (1*) वर्त्तमान-भविष्यैश्च संव्यवहार्यादि-
 भिरेत-

¹ Read ०४०°.

² Read भास्कर० and स्थल-वास्तु०.

³ Read ०नीव्या ताव०.

⁴ निबन्ध is the ordinary Prakrit form for Sanskrit निबन्ध. Thus we have निबन्ध (= निबन्धमूनि)-
 कुल्यवापाः २, स्थल-द्रोणवापौ २। कुल्यवाप and द्रोणवाप are used in masculine and neuter.

⁵ The Pāhārpur plate has तद् which is better. यूयं refers to the villagers.

⁶ स्वकर्षणाविरोधिस्थाने = in places which have no conflict with your own agricultural work, i.e., in places which do not belong to any of the villagers दर्वीकर्म (cf. also the Nandapur inscription, line 14) may have been the technical designation of the person who measured the area; cf. दूतकर्म = दूतक. Or, दर्वीकर्महस्त indicates a cubit of special length. *Infra*, Nos. 43-45 have a proper name in this place. हस्त thus may not indicate the fact that the measuring was done by the person. Even in records of the 19th century, reference is found to the hand of a person as a cubit of unspecified length अपविच्छ्रित् = having measured out.

⁷ Better ०रादीनां. Cf. Yājñavalkya : सीमां विवादे चैवस्य सामन्ताः स्थविरादयः। गोपाः सीमा-
 कृषाणश्च सर्वे च वनगीचराः ॥ नयेयुरेते सीमानं स्थलाङ्गारतुषदुमैः। सेतुवन्नीकनिम्बास्थिचैत्यादिरूपलक्षिताम् ॥
 (व्यवहाराध्यायः, १५०-५१); also Manu : अश्वनीस्थीनि गोबालांस्तुषान् भक्षकपालिकाः। करीषमिष्ट-
 काङ्गाराञ्चकैरा बालुकास्तथा ॥ यानि चैवमकाराणि कालाङ्गुलिर्न भक्षयेत्। तानि सन्निधु सीमायाम-
 प्रकाशानि कारयेत् ॥ (VIII, 250-51). According to Brihaspati. प्रक्षिप्य कुम्भेष्वेतानि सीमानेषु
 निषायेत्। Nārada speaks of the ध्वजिनी (trees), मत्स्यिनी (waters), नैषादी (interred coal, etc.),
 भयवर्जिता (settled by the parties) and राजशसनीता (fixed by the government) kinds of सीमा.
 See Kullūka and Viṣṇūśeṣvara on Manu and yājñavalkya respectively.

⁸ Read धर्मैश्च.

- 21 द्दर्मापेक्षया नुपालयितव्यमिति (॥*) उक्तञ्च भगवता*)¹ वेदव्यास-महात्मना (।*)
स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्तां
- 22 द्वा² यो हरेत वसुन्धरां 'राम्' ।
स विद्यायां किमिभूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते (॥*) 1
षष्टिं वर्ष-सह-
- 23 स्त्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः (।*)
आश्रेष्ठा चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥*) 2
पूर्व-
- 24 दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (।*)
मही(*) महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपाल-
- 25 नमिति* (॥*) 3
सं १००(+*)२०(+*)८ माघ-दि⁴ १०(+*)९ (॥*)

No. 42—Pāharpur Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 159 (= 479 A.D.)

PĀHĀRPUR, Rājshāhī District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

K. N. DIKSHIT, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 61ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT⁵

First Side

- 1 स्वस्ति (॥*) पुण्ड्र[वर्द्ध]नादायुक्तका⁶ आर्यनगरश्रेष्ठि-पुरोगञ्चाधिष्ठानाधिकरणम्⁷
दक्षिणांशकवीथेय-नागिरह-

¹ Basak: भगवद्दे०.

² Read वा. Note the sandhi rule वा पदान्तस्य; cf. संबत्सरः and सर्व्वत्सरः.

³ Better पालनम् ॥ इति ॥

⁴ सं = संबत्सरि; दि = दिवसे.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX.

⁶ Dikshit: 'युक्तक'. There were more Āyuktakas than one at Puṇḍravardhana, the headquarters of the province.

⁷ Read गण. The *adhikaraṇa* or administrative board of the city was headed by the *nagaraśreṣṭhīn* and others who are known from *supra*, Nos. 18, etc. See above, p. 291, note 8. The order was jointly issued in the present case by the Āyuktakas and this body.

- 2 माण्डलिक-पलाशाष्टपादिक - वटगोहाली-जम्बुदेवप्रावेश्यपृष्ठिमपोत्तक-गोषाट-
पुञ्जक मूलनागिरट्टप्रावेश्य-
- 3 नित्वगोहालीषु¹ ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्महत्तरादि-कुटुम्बिनः कुशलमनुवर्णयानुबोधयन्ति (10)
विज्ञापयत्यस्मान्ब्राह्मण-नाथ-
- 4 शम्भो एतद्भार्या रामी च (1*) युष्माकमिहाधिष्ठानाधिकरणे द्विदीनारिक्क्य-कुल्य-
वापेन शश्वत्कालोपभोग्याक्षयनीवी-समुदयवाह्या-²
- 5 प्रतिकर-खिलक्षेत्रवास्तु-विक्रयो (5*) नुवृत्तस्तदर्थथानेनैव कक्रमेणावयोस्सकाशादीनार-
त्रयमुपसङ्गह्यावयोः (3*) स्व-पुण्याप्या-
- 6 यनाय वटगोहाल्यामवास्याङ्गाशिक³-पञ्चस्तूपनिकायिक-निग्रन्थश्रमणाचार्य-गुह-⁴
नन्दि-शिष्यप्रशिष्याधिष्ठित-विहारे
- 7 भगवतामर्हतां गन्ध-धूप-सुमनो-दीपाद्यन्तलवाटक⁵-निमित्तञ्च अ(तः*) एव वट-
गोहालीतो वास्तु-द्रोणवापमध्यर्द्धञ्च-
- 8 म्बुदेवप्रावेश्य-पृष्ठिमपोत्तके त्क्षे(क्षे)वं द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं गोषाटपुञ्जाद्रोणवाप-

¹ I.e., in Vata-gohālī, in Nitva-gohālī attached to Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa, and in Prishthima-pottaka attached to Jambudevas and Goshāṭapūñjaka—all situated in the Palāśāṭṭa *pārśva* within the Nāgiraṭṭa *maṇḍala* in the Dakṣiṇāmpśaka *vithi*. The word *gohālī* (Sanskrit *gośālā*; Bengali *goāl*) suggests that either Vata-gohālī or Nitva-gohālī (possibly the former which was a more important place owing to the situation of the Jain Vihāra) is to be identified with the village of Goālbhīṭā near Pāhāpur. For *प्रवेश* and *प्रावेश्य*, see above, p. 345, note 1; p. 354, note 5. It seems that Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa was the headquarters of the Nāgiraṭṭa *maṇḍala*, and Jambudeva was named after a person. *Vithi*=district on the banks of a river, according to some.

² Read बाह्या°. अप्रतिकर=शून्यप्रतिकर=not yielding any revenue (above, p. 345, note 1); समुदयवाह्या=not yielding any income in crops, etc. The State's waste land requiring reclamation was sold in this case at the cheaper rate of 2 *dināras* per *kulyatāpa*.

³ Read °ल्यामिवा°. H. Sastri connects the name with Navyāvākāśikā and Dikṣhit with Kāśī. Guhanandin and the Pāñchastūpa sect appear to have belonged to Vārāṇasī.

⁴ नियय=निर्गय=Jain. नियय-श्रमण=a Jain monk. पञ्चस्तूप is suggested to have been the name of a locality. Cf. the modern name Pāñchthupī. पञ्चस्तूप-निकायिक=belonging to the sect called पञ्चस्तूपनिकाय or पञ्चस्तूपकुलनिकाय.

⁵ तलवाटक=attached to or land granted for the maintenance of a religious establishment usually at the time of its consecration. See p. 345, note 1; p. 357, note 5.

चतुष्टयम् मूलनागिरट्-

- 9 प्रावेश्य-नित्वगोहालीतः अर्द्धत्रिक-द्रोणवापानित्येवमध्यर्द्धं क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापमक्षय-¹
नीत्या दातुमि[ति] (1*) यतः प्रथम-
- 10 पुस्तपालदिवाकरनन्दि-पुस्तपालघृतिविष्णु-विरोचन-रामदास-हरिदास-शशिनन्दि-
[सु]प्रभ-मनुद[त्ताना]मवधारण-²
- 11 यावदृतम् अस्त्यस्मदधिष्ठानाधिकरणे द्विदीनारिक्वय-कुल्यवापेन शश्वत्कालोपभोग्या-
क्षयनीवी-समु[दय]वाह्याप्रतिकर-³
- 12 [खिल*]क्षेत्रवास्तु-विक्रयो(5*)नुवृत्तस्तद्युष्मान्वाहण⁴-नाथशर्मा एतद्भाय्यां रामी
च पलाशाट्पाश्विक-वटगोहाली-स्थ[गि]-

Second Side

- 13 [काशि*]क - पञ्चस्तूपकुलनिकायिक⁵ - आचार्य-निग्रन्थ-गुहनन्दि-शिष्यप्रशिष्याधि-
ष्ठित-सद्विहारे अरहतां⁶ गन्ध-[धूप]ाद्युपयोगाय
- 14 [तल-वा*]टक-निमित्तञ्च तस्यैव वटगोहाल्यां वास्तु-द्रोणवापमध्यर्द्धं क्षेत्रजम्बुदेव-
प्रावेश्य-पृष्ठिमपोत्तके द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं
- 15 गोषाटपुञ्जाद्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं मूलनागिरट्-प्रावेश्य-नित्वगोहालीतो द्रोणवाप-द्वय-
माढवा[प-द्व]याधिकमित्येवम-⁷

1 कुल्य was engraved upon द्रोण which had been originally incised. अर्ध्यर्द्ध=1½ and अर्द्धविक=2½. So the lands were : 1½ vāstu-droṇavāpas at Vāṭagohālī+4 droṇavāpas at Pṛishṭhimapottaka+4 droṇavāpas at Goshāṭapuñja[ka]+2½ droṇavāpas at Nitragohālī= in all 1½ kulyavāpas=12 droṇavāpas (1 kulyavāpa being=8 droṇavāpas). For 4 āḍhavāpas=1 droṇavāpa, see note 7 below. Dikshit : दातुमि[त्यव].

2 Or मनुदासा ? Dikshit : शशिनन्दिषु प्रथम-नु... नामव०.

3 Read °वाह्या°.

4 Read °भाग्नाहण.

5 Read °यिकाचार्य.

6 Read अर्हतां.

7 आढवाप here follows the formula चतुराढकी भवेद्द्रोणः. Āṛhā is even now a land measure in some parts of Bengal. The Āṛhā in the Mymensingh District is said to be 100×100 square yards (Journ. Dept. Let., XVI : E. Hist. Beng., p. 45), the scheme being 4 kākas=gaṇḍā; 20 gaṇḍās=kāṭhā; 20 kāṭhās=kānī; 4 kānīs=āṛhā; 16 āṛhās=droṇ. See p. 342, note 4. But, as regards Mymensingh, Hunter (op. cit., V, pp. 447f.) speaks of āṛhā (a little above 1½ acres) as 1/10 of purā (=25 acres 3 roods 12 poles) in some Parganās, or of droṇ which is equal to 5 acres 2 roods 12 poles in some Parganās but to 16 acres 3 roods 1 pole in others.

- 16 ध्यर्द्धं^१ क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापस्प्रार्थयते(ऽ*)^२ न कश्चिद्विरोधः गुणस्तु यत्परमभट्टारक-
पादानामर्थोपचयो^३ धर्म-षड्भागाप्याय-
- 17 नञ्च भवति (1*) तदेवद्विषयतामित्यनेनावधारणा-क्क्रेमेणास्माद्वाह्यणनाथशर्मत
पुतद्धार्यारामियाश्च^४ दीनार-त्र-
- 18 यमायीकृत्यैताभ्यां विज्ञापितक-क्रमोपयोगायोपरि-निर्दिष्ट-ग्राम-गोहालिकेषु तल-
वाटक(कं) वास्तुना सह^५ क्षेत्रं
- 19 कुल्यवापः(ः*) अध्यर्द्धो(ऽ*)क्षय-नीवी-धर्मेण दत्तः (1*) कु १ द्रो ४^६ (1*)
तद्युष्माभिः स्व-कर्पणाविरोधि-स्थाने^७ षट्-नडैरप-
- 20 विच्छ्र^८ दातव्यो(ऽ*)क्षय-नीवी-धर्मेण च शङ्खदाचन्द्राकं^९ तारक-कालमनुपाल-
यितव्य इति (11*) सम् १००(+*)५०(+*)८
- 21 माघ-दि^{१०} ७ (1*) उक्तञ्च भगवता व्यासेन (1*)
स्व-दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुन्धराम् (1*)
- 22 स विष्ठायां किमिभूत्वा^{११} पितृभिस्सह पच्यते (11*) 1
षष्टि-वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं वसति भूमिदः (1*)
- 23 आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् (11*) 2
राजभिर्वहुभिर्दत्ता^{१२} दीयते च पुनः पुनः (1*)
यस्य यस्य
- 24 यदा भूमि^{१३} तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् (11*) 3
पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (1*)
महीम्महीमतां श्रेष्ठ

1 Read प्रार्थयते.

2 The emperor referred to is no doubt Budhagupta (c. 476-94 A.D.).

3 Read राम्याश्च.

4 Or तलवाटक-वास्तुना सह=together with the homestead land which was to be the principal source of maintenance.

कु=कुल्यवाप; द्रो=द्रोणवाप.

6 Dikshit reads स्वकर्पणा; but see *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 82, note 4. षट्क-गल=measuring rod 6 cubits long, and not possibly a unit of land measuring 6×6 reeds. नड=नल.

7 N. P. Chakravarti connects the word with Bengali वाह्वा, to select, to choose.

8 सम्=संवत्सरे; दि=दिवसे.

9 Usually क्षमि०.

10 Read ०३३ ३०.

11 Read भूमिसस्य.

25 दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपालनं(नम्) (॥*) ४

विन्ध्याटवीष्वनम्भस्तु¹ शुष्क-कोटर-वासिनः(*) (।*)

कृष्णाहिनो² हि जायन्ते देव-दायं हरन्ति ये (॥*) 5

No. 43—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Dharmāditya³—Regnal Year 3

FARIDPUR District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

F. E. Pargiter, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, 1910, pp. 195f.; *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, pp. 710ff.; R. G. Basak, *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Vol.*, III, Part ii, pp. 475ff.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1722 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the middle of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: V. 1 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT⁴

Seal

वारकमण्डलविषयाधिकरणस्य (॥*)⁵

First Side

1 १⁶ स्वस्त्यस्यां पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथे(थ)-ययात्यम्बरिष⁷-सम-धृतौ(ति)-म-

¹ Dikshit reads ०स्वस्त्यु० and suggests the correction ०स्वस्त्यु०.

² Read कृष्णाहिनो. दाय=gift, donation; or, share.

³ It is difficult to determine whether Dharmāditya was a scion of the Gupta family or a local prince who assumed independence during the decline of the Imperial Guptas. His name ending in *āditya* seems to connect him with the Guptas. The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (ed. Sankrityayana, vv. 844-46) appears to refer to the rule of a king called व and of his successor (or, younger brother) called ष. It is tempting to suggest that व=वैश्यगुप्त and ष=षर्मादित्य. But the text of the work is corrupt and the statements are often confused; it is therefore not easy to rely on them.

⁴ From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX. R. D. Banerji at first believed that the record is spurious; but he was later convinced of its genuineness (*Bāṅgālār Itihās*, I, 2nd ed., p. 94).

⁵ वारक was originally the name of a मण्डल (subdivision); but वारक-मण्डल afterwards became the name of a विषय (district); cf. खेटक, खेटकाहार and खेटकाहार-विषय. Pargiter's translation 'a district in the province of Vāraka' is wrong. The seal apparently belonged to the board of administration of the *viśaya* called Vāraka-maṇḍala which seems to have included parts of the Goalundo Subdivision and the Koṭālipāṇā region in the Gopalganj Subdivision of the Faridpur District. See line 16, note (p. 366, note 7).

⁶ Symbol for सिद्धम्. Better खलि ॥ अस्यां.

⁷ Read ०स्वरीष.

- 2 हाराजाधिराज-श्रीधर्मादित्य-राज्ये तत्प्रसाद-लब्धास्पद-महाराज-स्था-
- 3 शुद्धतस्याध्यासन-काले स्तद्विनियुक्त-वारकमण्डले¹ विषयपति-ज-
- 4 जावस्यायोगो(ऽ*)धिकरणं विषयमहत्तरेदित-कुलचन्द्र-गरुड-बृहच्च-²
- 5 द्वालुकानाचार-भाशेत्य-शुभदेव-धोषचन्द्रानिमित्त³-गुणचन्द्र-कालस(सु?)-
- 6 ख-कुलस्वामि-दुर्लभ-सत्यचन्द्राज्जुन-वप्प⁴-कुण्डलिस-पुरोगा(ः*) प्रकृतयश्च
- 7 साधनिक-वातभौगेन⁵ विज्ञाप्ताः⁶(।*) इच्छाम्यहं भवतान्सकाशा(त्*)⁷ धेत्स्व-स्वण्डमुप-
- 8 क्रीय ब्राह्मणस्य प्रतिपादयितुं(तुम् ।) तदर्हथ मत्तो मूल्यं गृहीत्वा विषये विभ-⁸
- 9 ज्य दातुमिति (।*) यतः एतदभ्यर्थनमधिकृत्य(।*)स्माभिरकात्ये⁹ भूत्वा पुस्तपाल-
- वि[न]-¹⁰
- 10 यसेनावधारणया अवधृतमस्तीह-विषये प्राक्समुद्र-मर्यादा च(चा)तुहै-

¹ Read तद्वि* and *मण्डल-विषय*. Note that Jajāva was appointed governor of the Vārakamaṇḍala not by Dharmāditya, but by Sthāṇudatta (cf. तत् in तद्विनियुक्तक), apparently the viceroy of Navyāvakāsikā. आस्पद=authority, office. अध्यासन=occupation=government. आयोग=appointment. Read आयोगे.

² Read बृहच्च. As suggested by Pargiter, Chaṭṭa is apparently the same as modern Chaṭṭopādhyāya, a cognomen of the Kulīna Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. According to tradition, however, the ancestors of the Kulīnas were brought to Bengal from Kānyakubja or Kolāñcha by a king named Ādiśūra sometime after the seventh century A. D. For the unreliability of the tradition, see J. A. S., Letters, XVIII, pp. 176-78; Ep. Ind., XXXIX, pp. 52ff.

³ Pargiter suggested अनिमित्त.

⁴ Pargiter took अज्जुनवप्प (father of Arjuna) as one name. Evidently however there are two names अज्जुन and वप्प. वप्प is used as a personal name in many inscriptions; cf., e.g., the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman (Bhattacharya, Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī, p. 37, No 88).

⁵ साधनिक (derived from साधन, an army) was a commander of forces. दौःसाधिक, दौःसाधनिक or दौःसाधसाधनिक of later Bengal grants was a police officer dealing with dangerous criminals or difficult jobs, though, according to the *Trikaṇḍaśeṣha*, *dauṣṣādhika*=*dvārāpāla*, 'door-keeper'. *Sādhnika* (Hindī *Sāhni*, army comrade) is mentioned as an official in many records; cf. also Harisheṣa's *Bṛīhathathākosha* (931-32 A. D.); see J. U. P. H. S., XIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 78-79.

⁶ Read विज्ञापिताः.

⁷ Read भवती सका*.

⁸ I.e. 'making it a distinctly demarcated unit in the *Vishaya*'. Cf. वीथ्यां संविभज्य in No. 46, line 12.

⁹ Read *रैकात्ये. Pargiter : भूत्वा.

¹⁰ Or, वि[ज]० ?

- 11 नारिक्य-कुल्यवापेन क्षेत्राणि विक्रीयमाना^१कानि (।*)^१ तथा चाप-क्षेत्रखण्डल(।:*)
 12 कृत-कलना इस्ति-मात्त-प्रवन्धेन^२ ताम्रपट्ट-धम्मणा^३ विक्रीयमानका(।:*)^४ (।*) तच्च
 13 परमभट्टारक-पादानामत्त^५ धम्म-षड्भाग-लाभः^६ (।*) तदेतां प्रवृत्तिमधिगम्य न्यासा-

¹ Pargiter's view that the *kulyavāpa* was 8×9 reeds [of 16 cubits], in area, i. e., a little more than an acre, is apparently wrong (cf. the high rate of price). It is interesting that the Faridpur District is connected with the Eastern Sea. In the Sāhitya Parishat plate, line 47, a village in the Nāvya (literally, navigable) district is said to have had the sea to its east. This Nāvya may be connected with Nāvya (Nāvya?)-Avalāśikā mentioned in No. 44. Samudra in some cases may indicate a *biḥ* (lake) like the Dhol-samudra (near Faridpur). See *Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, p. 157. But Frāk-samudra no doubt refers to the Bay of Bengal which touches the Faridpur District through several estuaries and was probably nearer that District in the Gupta age. As the Madaripur region (Faridpur) is called South Vikrampur and apparently formed a part of the Vikramapura-bhāga (Dacca) in ancient times, the main course of the Padmā must then have reached the sea through a mouth many miles to the west of the present Goalundo-Chandpur course. प्राक्समुद्र-मर्यादा=custom in [the countries bordering] the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal).

² Read इष्टि and प्रवन्धेन. वाप-क्षेत्र=cultivated field (as opposed to अप्रवृत्त or खिल-क्षेत्र), खण्डल=खण्ड, a plot. कृतकलन=कृतचिह्नान्न=whose boundary marks are fixed. इष्टिमात्रप्रवन्धेन=by a plan that can be settled in a moment. Note the different rates for the cultivated land. The word कलन is used in the Sāhitya Parishat plate in the sense of a plantation or a betel-nut plantation (*J.A.S.*, XX, p. 205). Thus कृतकलना may also mean 'land bearing a plantation.'

³ Read धर्मोण. I.e., according to the custom of a ताम्रपट्ट meaning 'rent-free land granted by copper-plate charters.'

⁴ Read विक्रीयमाणः. Pargiter suggested °भानिका.

⁵ Pargiter: °संव.

⁶ Following Pargiter (*op. cit.*, p. 197), Basak suggests (*op. cit.*, pp. 483, 487) that the State was to receive only the sixth part of the price according to law in such transactions and that the remaining five-sixths of the price used to go to the funds of the village assemblies. The text (cf. also *supra*, No. 34, line 7; Nos. 39, 41, 42, etc.) however shows that the land was sold rent-free in view of the religious motive of the purchase. धर्मषड्भाग thus apparently refers to the king's share of $\frac{1}{6}$ part of the merit in lieu of the customary share of grain. As to the Brāhmaṇas' theoretical exemption from taxes, Vasishṭha quotes three Vedic texts to the effect that the king shares $\frac{1}{6}$ of the Brāhmaṇas' spiritual merit acquired by the performance of sacrifices and charitable works. The *Viṣṇu-saṃhitā* (III, 13-14) also says, ब्राह्मणेभ्यः करादानं न कुर्यात्; ते हि राज्ञी धर्मकरदाः। राजा प्रजाभ्यः सुकृत-दुष्कृत-षड्भाग-भाक्। See also Ghoshal, *Hindu Rev. Syst.*, p. 186.

- 14 धा¹ स्व-पुण्य-कीर्ति-संस्थापन-कृताभिलाषस्य यथा संकल्पाभि तथा² कृत्य[याष्ट]-³
 15 त्य साधनिक-वतभोगन⁴ द्वादश-दीनारानग्रतो दत्वा⁵(I*) शिवचन्द्र-ह[स्तेनाष्ट]-
 16 क-नवक-नलेनामपविच्छ⁶ वातभोग-सकाशे(S*)स्माभि ध्रु⁷विलाद्या⁸ श्वेत-कुल्य]-
 17 वाप-स्वयं ताम्रपट्ट धम्मणा⁹ विक्कीत(म्*) (I*) अनेन(I*)पि वातभोगेन
 18 चन्द्रताराकर्क-स्थितिकाल-संभोग्यं य(I*)वत्परत्तानुग्रह-काक्षिणा भ(I*)रद्वाज-सगो-
 19 त्त-वाजसनेय-षलङ्गाध्यायिनस्य चन्द्रस्वामिनस्य¹⁰ मातापितोरनुग्रहा-
 20 य¹¹ मुदक-पूर्व्वेण¹² प्रतिपादितमिति (I*) तदुपरि लिखितकागाम-सामन्त-¹³
 राजभि(:*) सम-
 21 धिगतशास्त्रभि¹⁴ भूमि-दानानुपालन-क्षेपानुमोदनेषु सम्य(ग्*)-दत्तान्यपि दानानि
 22 राजभिरने¹⁵ प्रतिपादनीयानिति¹⁶ प्रत्यवगम्य भूमिदानं सुतरामेव प्रतिपालनी-
 23 यमिति (II*) सीमा-लिङ्गानि चात्त पूर्व्वेण हिमसेन-पाटके¹⁷ दक्षिणेन¹⁸
 त्रिघटिका¹⁹
 24 अपर-ताम्रपट्टश्च पश्चिमेन²⁰ त्रिघटिकायाः शीलकुण्डश्च उत्तरेण [ना]वाता²¹

1 Pargiter read न्यासाधौ and suggested न्यासाधेः. Possibly न्यासनः or न्यसनात् is intended.

2 Read *कल्पितं तथा. Pargiter suggested *कल्पाभिलषा.

3 Read क्रिययाष्ट्य in which आष्ट्य=supporting. The intended reading may really be क्रियतामित्यवष्टे.

4 Read वातभोगेन.

5 Pargiter : *नायतो. Read दीनारा अयतो दत्ताः.

6 Read नलेनापविच्छ ; or possibly नलाभ्यामप०.

7 Dhruvilāṭī is identified with modern Dhulāt (near Pangsha in the Goalundo Subdivision) about 23 miles to the north-west of the Faridpur town.

8 Read ताम्रपट्टधर्मेण.

9 Pargiter : सगो.

10 Read *षडङ्गाध्यायिने चन्द्रस्वामिने.

11 I e., ब्राह्मणात् पागत्रिकानुग्रहलाभाय.

12 Read उदक०. Cf. द्रव्यस्य नाम गृह्णीयाद्दानमिति तथा वदेत् । तोयं दद्यात्तो हस्ते दाने विधिरयं चतः ॥ अग्निपुराण, २०.१४२-५०.

13 Pargiter suggested *कागम. The intended reading seems to be लिखितकम् आगामि०. *लिखितकं qualifies भूमिदानं in line 22.

14 Read सामन्तराजैः समधिगत-शास्त्रैर्भूमि०. चेप=transgressing.

15 Read *रन्वेः. Pargiter suggested एभिः or एतैः.

16 Read *नीति.

17 Read पाटको (land measuring a pātaka).

18 Read *श्वेत.

19 Read त्रिघटिका which was possibly a locality having three ghāṭs (landing places) of a river. ताम्रपट्ट = पट्टप्राप्त-भूमि.

20 Read *सेन. Silakunḍa was a small hamlet (No. 45, line 25).

21 ना may also be read भा. नौ + आता (=door-frame) + चणौ (चयण, harbour)=ship-building harbour, according to Hoernle and Pargiter. Nāvātā and Kehepī may however be geographical names.

- 25 क्षेत्री हिमसेन-पाटकश्च (॥*) भवति चात्त शोकः¹ (।*)
 स्व-दत्तां परदत्ताम्वा² यो ह-
 26 रेत वसुन्धरांराम् (।*)
 श्व-विष्टाया (।*) क्रिमिभूत्वा पच्यते पितृभस्सह³ ॥ 1
 27 सम्वत्⁴ ३ वैशा दि ५ (॥*)

No. 44—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Dharmāditya.

FARIDPUR District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

F. E. PARGITER, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, pp. 200 f.; BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1723 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmi of the Northern Class of the middle of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: Vv. 1-2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT⁵

First Side

- 1 स्वस्त्यस्यामृथिव्यामप्रतिरथे⁶ नृग-नक्षुष-ययात्य-⁷
 2 म्वरीष-सम-धृतौ महाराजाधिराज-श्रीधर्मादित्यभट्टारक-रा
 3 ज्यै⁸ तदनुमोदना-लब्धास्पदो⁹ नव्यावकाशिकायां¹⁰ महाप्रति-

¹ Read श्लोकः.

² Read दत्तां वा.

³ Read पितृभिः.

⁴ Read संवत्, *I. e.*, संवत्सरः तृतीयः वैशाखमास-दिवसः पञ्चमः.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX. R. D. Banerji at first believed that the record (also Nos. 48 and 45) is spurious; but later he was convinced about its genuineness. The mistakes are due to the carelessness and incompetence of the engraver and to the fact that he could not follow the draft of the scribe.

⁶ Better read स्वस्ति ॥ अस्यां पृथिव्या.

⁷ Read नक्षुष. These are the names of some famous kings of Brahmanical tradition.

⁸ Read ०रके राज्यं पालयति.

⁹ Read लब्धास्पदस्य.

¹⁰ अवकाश = opening. The district had its headquarters at Navyāvakāśikā which may have derived its name from a canal. Nāgadeva seems to have originally been a *Mahā-pratihāra*; but later he was appointed *Uparika* (viceroy) of the Navyāvakāśikā district. The name of this city reminds one of Kāśiyānī in the Gopālganj Subdivision of the Faridpur District. Bhattasālī (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 85) suggests its identification with Sābhār (Dacca District).

- 4 हारोपरिक-नागदेवस्यादपासन-काले(५*)नेनापि वारकमण्डल-
 5 विषयाधिनियुक्तक-व्यापारकारण्डय-गोपालस्वामी¹ (1*)
 6 यतो(५*)स्य सम्बवहरतो² वसुदावस्वामिना³ सादरमभिगम्य
 7 ज्येषकायस्थ⁴-नयसेन-प्रमुखमधिकरणम्महत्तार-⁵
 8 सोमचोष-पुरस्सराश्च विषयान(1*)⁶ महत्तरा विज्ञासाः⁶ (1*)
 9 इच्छेयम्भवतान्प्रसादाद्यथार्घेण⁷ भवद्गोरेव⁸ क्षेत्वा-खण्डलकै-
 10 कर्कोत्वा⁹ मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुणा(ष्या)भिवृद्धये गुणवत्काण्व-द्वा-
 11 जिसिनेय-लौहित्यसगोत्वाय¹⁰ ब्राह्मणे¹¹ सोमस्वामिने प्रति-
 12 पादितु¹² (1*) तदहंत्त्यस्मद्विज्ञाप¹³-वसान्यामांसस्त्रिकुम्त्रि¹⁴ (1*) एतदावा-¹⁵
 13 भ्यर्थानमधिकृत्यास्येतत्प्राविक्रयमानक-मर्यादा¹⁶ चतुर्दीनारिक्रय-¹⁷
 14 कल्यवापेन क्षेत्रागि विक्रीयन्तानीत्यस्माद्रसु(देव*)स्वामिनः¹⁸

1 व्यापारकारण्डय=one who has to regulate trade, according to Pargiter. But possibly
 ०कारण्डीय, 'one in charge of the boxes of documents relating to administration.'

2 Read संव्यवहरती.

3 Read वसुदेव०. See lines 19-20.

4 Read ज्येष्ठ०. ज्येष्ठकायस्थ is the same as प्रथमकायस्थ of other records.

5 Read ०हत्तर०.

6 Read विज्ञापिताः.

7 Read ०वतां प्र०.

8 Read भवद्गोरेव.

9 Read चैव-खण्डलकं (or, ०कान्) कर्कोत्वा.

10 Read वाजसनेयि. I.e., belonging to the Kāṇva-śākhā, Vājasaneyi-charaṇa and
 Lauhitya-gotra.

11 Read ब्राह्मणाय, or ब्राह्मण-सोम०.

12 Read ०पादयितुम्.

13 Read तदहंत्त्यस्मद्वि०.

14 Pargiter suggested अस्मद्विज्ञाप-वशान्यानमांसं विभक्तुमिति. May be ०दस्मद्विज्ञाप्य-वशायथायायेन
 प्रसादं कर्तुमिति.

15 Read एतदेवाभ्यर्चन०.

16 Read प्राक्कीयमाणक० or प्राग्विक्रयमर्या०.

17 Better read चातुर्दीनारिक्रय.

18 Pargiter suggested विक्रीयन्त इति. Read विक्रीयमाणानौति । अस्मा०.

Second Side

- 15 खिल[सत्त्वात्प्रप्यर्धं ?]कुल्यवापस्य [प्रवर्त्त]वापाधिकस्य दीनार-
 16 द्वयमादाय¹ यथाईच्च [षष्ठगं षड्यवाप्त्रयुरस्मानि ?]
 17 शात्पलानि² श्रीमा(म)न्महत्तर-थोड-सम्बद्ध³-क्षेत्र-खण्डलका तसनी (?)
 18 पुस्तपाल-जंमभूतेरवधारणयावष्टस्य [पूर्तेदुनिवद]⁴ [प्रतीत ?]-
 19 धर्मशील-शिवचन्द्र-हस्ताष्टक-नवक-नलेनापविच्छय [व*]सुदे-
 20 व-ब्राह्मगा(य*) विक्रीतमतेनापि⁵ क्रीत(म्*) । सीमालिङ्गानि चात्त
 21 पूर्वस्यां [सो]ग-ताम्रपट्ट⁶-सीमा । (दक्षिणस्यां*) वृद्ध-स्थपट्ट कि-पक्क⁷टी⁸-वृक्ष-सो
 22 मा (।*) पश्चिमस्यां गोरथ्य-सकृत्परभास्ताटकस्थद्वन्द्वरेस्यापि-
 23 ण्डेतिश्च्य-नौदण्डक-सीमा⁹ । उत्तरस्यां गर्गस्वामि-ताम्रपट्ट-सीमा (॥*)
 24 भवन्ति चात्त धर्मा-शास्त्र-श्लोकानि⁹ ॥
 षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि
 25 स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः(*) (।*)
 आक्षेप्त(।*) चानुमन्ता च त्यान्येव¹⁰
 26 नरके वसेत् । (।¹¹) 1
 स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ताम्बा¹¹ यो हरेत वसु-
 27 न्धरा(म्*) (।*)
 श्व-[वि]ष्टाया(*) कृमिभत्वा पितृभिः(*) सह पच्य[ते] (॥*) 2

¹ Read द्वयः. खिलसेवस्य अर्धं कुल्यवापस्य ? If the price of *alkulyarāpa* was 4 *dināras*, only, 1 *kulyarāpa* could be purchased at 2 *dināras*. The additional area called *paratararāpa* may therefore have been small. In that case *paravanta* cannot be the same as *pravarti* (5 *khāris* or 10 *ku'has*) or the *Crija jauti* (10 maunds). Cf. *I.H.Q.*, XXXI I pp 255-56. The price of the additional area seems to be indicated in a corrupt passage in lines 16-19.

² षड्गण्डकाधिकविहृपकात्यि गृहीतानि ?

³ Read संबद्ध (belonging to). खण्डलकान्दीयतामिति, or कान्तावशा नौकृत्य ?

⁴ पट्टेषु निवर्द्ध, or ताम्रपट्टधर्मेण ?

⁵ Read समनेनापि.

⁶ ताम्रपट्ट is the same as *shaman* found in other records. The word here means 'land enjoyed or owned on the strength of a charter'.

⁷ Read पक्कटि. Vrddhī-Sthapātuki may be a proper name.

⁸ Read पश्चिमायां. गोरथ्य-सकृत्प्रभ-तटाकस्थ-दण्डोऽस्मिन्दण्डे निर्दग्नीः ? नौदण्ड = नौपथ (*I H Q.*, XXIII, pp. 236-37).

⁹ Read भवतः चात्त धर्म-शास्त्र-श्लोकौ.

¹⁰ Read त्यान्येव.

¹¹ Read चत्ता वा.

No. 45—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Gopachandra—Regnal Year 18¹

FARIDPUR District, Bengal; now in East Pakistan.

F. E. PARGITER, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, 1910, p. 204; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1724 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the middle of the 6th century A. D.

Metre: Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT²

Seal

वारकमण्डलविषयाधिकरणस्य (॥*)³

First Side

- 1 स्वस्त्यस्यामृथिव्यामप्रतिर[थे] [य]या[त्यम्बरी][व-सम-धृतौ म*]हा-
- 2 राजाधिराज-श्रीगोपचन्द्रभट्टारक-राज्ये⁴ [तदनुमोदना-वन्धास्प*]-
- 3 [द*]स्य नव्यावकाशिकायां महाप्रति[हार-व्या]पार[व्य-धृ?]तमूल-कु-⁵
- 4 [मारा?]मात्य-उपरिक-नाग[देवस्या*]द्वयसन-[का*]पे⁶ वारुक[मण्ड*]लविषय-
- 5 व्यापाराय विनियुक्त-वत्सपाल[स्वामी]⁷ (1*) [यतो*](5*)[स्य] [स*]व्यवहर-
- 6 [तो] ज्येष्ठकायस्थ-नयसेन-प्र[मुखम*][धिक[र-ण-मह?]-

¹ Gopachandra apparently belonged to a local family which assumed independence on the downfall of the Imperial Gupta. See *infra*, No. 46 and notes. Gopachandra's dominions extended over a wide area including the Faridpur District in Central Bengal and the Burdwan District in South West Bengal. The king of the East called Gopa in the *Aryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (ed. R. Sankrityayana, v. 760) may be the same as Gopachandra. From a consideration of the developed form of य in this record, Pargiter (*op. cit.*, p. 207) rightly suggested that Gopachandra was later than Dharmāditya. He read the date as 19.

² From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX.

³ I.e., [This is the seal] of the administrative office of the district called Vārakamaṇḍala.

⁴ Read ०रके राज्यं पालयति.

⁵ Pargiter suggested क्रियामात्र, Read ०मात्रोपरिक, व्यापारव्य=the business of managing trade, according to Pargiter. But read व्यापारकारख्य=व्यापारकारख्यीय (cf. p. 368, note 1).

⁶ Read काले वारक०.

⁷ Pargiter read स्वामि[ना]...ध(स ?) and suggested स्वामिना तस्य.

- 7 त्तर-विष(न)यकुण्ड-प.....ह.....घो-
 8 षचन्द्रानाचार-रा[ज्य].....ल.....व[ह]...मह-
 9 त्तराः(*) प्रधान-व्याप[ारिणः ?] ... [य].....र.....मन-
 10 सा यथाह[र्] विज्ञाताः(*) (।*) [इ*] [च्छेयं] भवत[ि*] [प्रस*] [ादाद]... [महाको?]-
 11 ट्टिक-[ना*]म [प] [त्त].. ज्ञो¹ क्षेत्र-कुल्य-
 12 वापैकं यथा[र्वे*]णो[पक्री]य मा[तापि] [त्तो[रा]स्मनश्च*] पुण्याभिवृद्धये [गु]-
 13 णवन्त-कण्व-[वज]सिनय-[लौहस्य-भट्ट-गो[मि]दत्तस्वामि प्र-
 14 [ति]पा[दितु²] (।*) त[द*]ह³थ [भा]रद्वाज-सगोत्तूत्रेभ्यो [भ]वन्तो(।*)स्मत्तो
 मूल्यमादा-
 15 य.....धेनमस... इतमत³ (।*) [यत एतद][भ्य*]थनमधि[क्क]-

Second Side

- 16 [त्य]ागम्यमाना प्राक्प्रवृ[त्ति*]-मर्यादा च(वा)तु[र्हीना*]रि[क्कय*]-[कुल्य]वा[वे]न
 [क्षत्ता]-
 17 णि विक्रीयमाना(णा)नीति पुस्तपाल-[न]य[भू]तिस्त्र⁴ स्थलावधारण-
 18 यावद्वत्य विषयाधिकरणेनाधिकरणकज्ञन कुलवारान्प्रकल्प्य⁵ प्र-
 19 तीत-धर्मशील-शिवचन्द्र-हस्ताष्टक-नवक-नलेनापविष्ट्य वत्सपाल-
 20 स्वामि(ने*) क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापैकम्विक्रीतं⁶ (।*) अनेनापि क्रीत्वा भट्ट-गोमिदत्तस्वामि-
 21 ने पुत्त्र-पौत्त्र क्रमेण विधिना प्रतिपादितं तम्(।*) सीमा-लिङ्गानि चात्त्र
 22 पूर्वस्यां ध्रुविलाद्याग्रहार-सीमा दक्षिणस्यां करङ्कः(*)
 23 पश्चिमस्यां⁷ शीलकुण्डग्राम-सीमा उत्तरस्यां करङ्क-सी-

¹ Read भवद्गो. Lines 7-9 contained the list of persons who were approached by Vatsapālasvāmin. The names Ghosbachandra and Arāclāna are the same as in *supra*, No. 48. The name of Śivachandra is also found in Nos. 44-45. There could not therefore have been a long interval between Dharmāditya and Gopachandra.

² Read गुणवते काण्व-वाजमनेय-लौहस्य-भट्ट-गोमिदत्तस्वामिने प्रतिपादयितुम्.

³ Pargiter suggested अंशमङ्कितुमिति. Possibly प्रसादङ्कितुमिति.

⁴ Possibly नयभूतेषु स्थलावधारणया or नयभूति-मुखलावधारणया.

⁵ Pargiter : ज्वन or युष्ण. Read करणिकजनाङ्कु. N. G. Majumdar read करणिकज्ञाङ्कु (those who are acquainted with administrative affairs) in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 156, note कुलवार possibly means an arbitrator.

⁶ Read एकं विक्रीतम्.

⁷ Read पश्चिमायां. Karaṅka seems to be the name of a village. For Dhruvilāṭī, see *supra*, p. 367, note 10.

24 मा (।*)

स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा¹ यो हरेत् वसुन्धरां राम्) (।*)

25 सम्बत्² १०(।*) ८ (॥*)

श्व-विष्टाया(।*) कृमिभूर्त्वा पितृभिः(।*) सह पच्यते (॥*) 1

No. 46—Mallasarūl Copper-plate Inscription
[of Vijayasena] of the time of Gopachandra—Regnal Year 33⁴

MALLASARUL, Burdwan District, West Bengal.

N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 159ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmi of the Northern Class of the middle of the 6th century A. D.

Metre: Verse 1 आर्षा ; V. 2 उपगीति ; Vv. 3-10 श्लोक (अनुष्टम्).

TEXT⁵

Seal

[महा*]राज-विजय[से]नस्य (॥*)⁶

First Side

1 [१ स्वस्ति ।*]⁷

¹ Read दत्तां वा.

² Read संवत्.

³ Pargiter takes the figure to be ६. The date portion should be read after the second half of the stanza in अनुष्टम्.

⁴ Majumdar reads 3 in line 25. See below, p. 377, note 6

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.* XXIII.

⁶ This Vijayasena has been identified with the person of the same name mentioned in *supra*, No. 37. This would place Gopachandra shortly after the time of Vainyagupta (507 A.D.). The seal bears in relief a standing figure of a two-armed god with a *chakra* in the background. Some scholars regard the deity as the Buddhist Lokanātha and others as the Vaishnavite Chakrapurusha. But, in this age, the identification of the Buddha and Vishnu was becoming gradually popular and the conception of Chakrapurusha seems to indicate a rapprochement between the Sudarśana-chakra of Vishnu and the Buddhist Dharma-chakra. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 226.

⁷ The restorations are conjectural but probable.

[जयति श्री-लो०] कनाथः^१ यः पुंसां सुकृत-कर्मफल-हेतुः (१*)

सत्य-तपो-मय-मूर्तिर्लोक-द्वय-साधनो धर्मः (॥*) १

तदनु जितदम्त^२-लोभा जय-

२

[न्ति चिरा*]य^३ [पर]हितार्थाः (१*)

निर्म्मत्सराः सुचरितैः पर-लोक-जिगीषवः सन्तः (॥*) २

पृथिवीं पृथुरिव^४ प्रथित-प्रताप-नय-शौच्यं महाराजाधिराज-श्री-गोप-

३ [चन्द्रे*]^५ प्रशासति तदनुज्ञसायां पुष्पोत्तर-जनपदाध्यासितायां^६ सतत-धर्म-
क्रिया-वर्द्धमानायां वर्द्धमानभुक्तौ^७ पूज्यान्वर्त्तमानोपस्थितत^८-कार्त्ताकृतिक-कु-

४ मारामात्य- [चोरो]द्वरगिकोपरिकौद्रङ्गिकाग्रहारिकौर्गस्थानिक-भोगपतिक-विषयपति-
तदा १। युक्त-हिरण्यसामुदायिक-पत्तलकावसथिक-देवद्रोणीसम्ब(म्ब)-^९

५ द्वादीन्विधिवत्सम्पूज्य^{१०} वक्त्रक्त-वीथी-सम्बन्ध-द्वाङ्मकरकाग्रहारीण महत्तरः हिमदत्तः

^१ Read ०नाथो. Some suggest विलोकनाथो, i.e. the god Viṣṇu. Put. as to सन्तः in verse 2, cf. जयन्ति सन्तः कुशलं प्रजानां नमो सुनीन्द्राय सुराः स्मृताः स्य, etc., at the beginning of the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* by the Buddhist Puruṣottama. The reference may therefore be to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

^२ Read दम्भ०.

^३ The restoration is conjectural but probable.

^४ Read पृथाविव.

^५ This probable restoration is due to Majumdar.

^६ Vardhamānabhukti was the province round modern Burdwan.

^७ Read वर्त्तमानोपस्थित (those who are serving at the present time and are expected to be present on the spot).

^८ With the single exception of the actual व sign in ब्राह्मणस्य in line 16, in all other cases, व has been indicated by the sign for व. This shows the gradual dying out of the old sign for व. Read सम्बद्ध, बाह्वृच, etc.

^९ कार्त्ताकृतिक (from कृताकृत, business done and to be done), possibly reporter of the progress made by officers in special undertakings entrusted to them; cf. कृताकृतञ्चो भृत्यानां (*Matsya Purāṇa*, CCXV. 17). कुमारामात्य, executive officer of the same status as the Kumāra. चौरोद्वरगिक, recoverer of stolen goods or collector of fines for theft. उपरिक, a superior officer; sometimes, victory. औद्रङ्गिक (from उद्रङ्ग, possibly a tax on permanent tenant's), collector of the tax called उद्रङ्ग or the principal or fixed tax. आग्रहारिक, owner of an *agrahāra* (gift-village belonging to a Brāhmaṇa [or a god]) or, officer superintending the *agrahāras*. और्गस्थानिक (from ऊर्ण, wool), owner of a wool market or a factory producing wool; or, officer superintending the *ūnasthānas*. भोगपतिक, possibly the same as भोगिक or भोगपाल, either a superintendent of rent-free holdings or a Jāgirdār. According to a commentary on the *Gāthā antakṛti* (VI 50) bhogin means grāma-bhoktā adhikārī. विषयपति, ruler of a district. तदायुक्तक, possibly an आयुक्त (a magistrate or administrative officer) appointed by particular officers like the *Vishayapati*. हिरण्यसामुदायिक, collector of taxes payable in cash probably in lieu of the king's grain share.

- निर्वृतवाटकीय-महत्तर-सु[व*]र्ण-यशाः(*) कपिस्थवाटकाग्रह[1]रीण-
- 6 महत्तर-धनस्वामि¹ वटवल्गकाग्रहारीण-महत्तर-पष्ठिदत्त-श्रीदत्तौ कोडवीराग्रहारीण-
भट्ट-वामनस्वामि¹ गोधयामाग्रहारीण-महिदत्त-राज्य-
- 7 दत्तौ शास्त्रलिवाटकीय-जीवस्वामि¹ वक्कत्तकीय-खाडि-हरिः² मधुवाटकीय-
खाडि-गोडकः(*) खण्डजोटिकेय-खाडि-भद्रनन्दि³ विन्धपुरिय-वाहनायक-
- 8 हरि-प्रभुतयो⁴ वीथ्यधिकरणञ्च⁵ विज्ञापयन्ति (1*) पूज्य-महाराज-विजयसेनेन⁶
वयमभ्यर्थिता इच्छे[5*]हमेत(दु*)वीथी-सम्बद्ध-वेत्तगर्ताग्रामे युग्मभ्यो य-
- 9 था-न्यायनोपक्रीयाद्यौ⁷ कुल्यवापान् मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये कल्पान्तर-
स्थायिन्या प्रवृत्त्या पुस्त-पौत्त्वान्वय-भोग्यत्वेन कौण्डिन्य-सगोत्राय
- 10 वा(वा)ह्वृच-वत्सस्वामिनो⁸ पञ्चमहायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनाय प्रतिपावयितुमिति⁹ (1*) यतो-
(5*)स्माभिरस्याभ्यर्थ(न*)यावष्टतमस्त्योषो[5*]नुक्रमः¹⁰ उभयलोक-विजिगीषुभिः(*)

पत्तलक, possibly ruler of a territorial division called पत्तला, आवसथिक, one who keeps the *avasathya* or domestic fire burning with daily offerings, or possibly superintendent of the *avasathas* or Dharamśālās. देवदोषी-संबद्ध, officer superintending the processions of the idols of temples or, probably, of temple-property (cf. line 12 of the Veraval inscription where देवदोषी seems to mean temple-property; see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, p. 144). These are all technical terms, the actual meanings of some of which are uncertain. The suggested interpretations are in some cases no better than conjectures. It is better to take them all as officers' designations.

¹ Read स्वामी.

² खाडि⁰ is possibly the same as खडिन्, swordsman वाहनायक = superintendent of the plough, probably related to the cultivation of the Khas Mahal lands. आग्रहारीण = अग्रहारिन्.

³ Read ०नन्दी. *Jotikā* is apparently the same as *jor* (from *jota*) meaning 'a small stream' in the East Indian dialects.

⁴ Read प्रभुतयो.

⁵ I.e., the administrative board of the territorial division known as *Vithi*. विज्ञापयन्ति = declare. Note that the *mahattaras* and others as well as the *Vithi* board were approached by Vijayasena. The charter was issued by the elders and the *Vithi* board.

⁶ Read पूज्य० and इच्छे (or इच्छामि),

⁷ Read न्यायेन०.

⁸ Read ०स्वामिने, प्रवृत्ति = continuance, or maintenance (*ṛitti*).

⁹ Read ०पादयितु०. The word पञ्चमहायज्ञ actually refers to a Brāhmaṇa householder's sacred duties. They are अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञस्तु तर्पणम् । होमो दैवो (or देवयज्ञो) बलिर्भौतो (or भूतयज्ञो) नृयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम् ॥ मनु । ३।७०-७१. They are sometimes enumerated as बलि, चरु, वैश्वदेव, अग्निहोत्र and अतिथि.

¹⁰ Read ०मस्त्ये०.

- 11 [सा]धुभिः क्रियमाण-पुण्य-स्कन्धेषु श्री-परमा'भट्टारक-प(१*)दानां धर्म-पडागो-
(प*)चयो(५*)स्नाकमपि प्रतिपालयतां कीर्त्ति-श्रेयोभ्यां योगः (१*) उक्तञ्च (१*)
यः क्रियां धर्म-सं-
- 12 युक्तां मनसाप्यभिनन्दति (१*)
(व*)द्वते स यथेष्टे^२ च शुक्ल-पक्ष इवोडुराद् (॥*) ३
तत्सम्पद्यतामस्याभिप्राय इत्यस्मन्वारकृतैरनेन^३ दत्तक-दीनारा'न*) (संगृह्य*) वीथ्यां
सन्निभज्यास्मद्वेत्त-^४
- 13 गार्त्ता-ग्रामे(५*)ष्टाभ्यः कल्यवापेभ्यो यथोचितं दानं त[द्वि]थी-समुदय एव प्रनास्य^५
वोढव्यमित्यवचूष्याष्टौ कल्यवापा महाराज-विजयसेनस्य दत्तोः^६ (१*)
- 14 [अनेना*]पि' राजास्मे कौण्डिन्य-सगोस्त्राय वा(वा)हृच-वत्सस्वामिने पञ्चमहायश-
प्रवर्त्तनाय ताम्र प्रष्टेन^७ प्रतिपादिताः(*) (१*) अथ च चैषां चतुर्षु^८ दिक्षु सीमा
भवन्ति (॥*) पू-
- 15 [वर्त्तनां दि*]शि गोधग्राम-सीमा(१*) दक्षिण्यां^{१०} गोधग्रामा^{११} [ए]व(१*) उत्तरस्यां
वटवत्सकाम्रहार-सीमा (१*) पश्चिमस्यां^{१२} दिशि अर्द्धेन आम्नगर्त्तिका-सीमा (॥*)^{१३}
कीलकाश्चात्त कम[ला]-

^१ Read परम०.

^२ Read यथेष्टे.

^३ Read इत्यस्मद्धार०. वारकृत=persons appointed for the occasion (the same as वारनियुक्त in the Chammak plates, line 45), seems to refer to some official duty, and is possibly connected with the word कुलवार=arbitrator. वारकृतैः may not be related to संविभज्य. For *anona dattaka*, better read *anona dattān*. The *Vithi* was a territorial division (on the banks of a river according to Majumdar).

^४ Read संविभज्या०. Cf. विषये विभज्य of No. 43, lines 8-9, which is usually but wrongly taken to indicate a division of the land.

^५ Read प्राणाय्य=honestly. वीथी-समुदये=in the revenue, i.e. revenue account, of the *Vithi*. वोढव्य=to be borne. दान=देय=dues. अवचूष्य=अपविच्छा.

^६ Read दत्ताः. सेनस्य=सेनाय. The sixth case-ending has been used because Vijaya-sena was the purchaser of the land (cf. the Kailan plate of Śrīdhāraṇarāta in *I.H.Q.*, XXIII, pp. 221-41).

^७ This very probable restoration is due to Majumdar.

^८ Read चतुर्षु.

^९ Read अथ चैषां चतुर्षु.

^{१०} Read दक्षिणस्यां.

^{११} Read ग्राम.

^{१२} Read पश्चिमायां.

^{१३} The identifications suggested are the following : Godhagrāma=Gohagrām on the Dāmodar to the south-east of Mallasārul. Āmṛagartikā=Āmbahulā to the south of

Second Side

- 16 क्ष-मालाङ्किता(ः*) चतुर्षु¹ दिक्षु न्यस्ता भवन्त्येवमेषां कृत-सोमाङ्गानामस्य ब्राह्मणस्य²
पञ्चमहायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनेनोपभुञ्जानस्य न
- 17 केनचिदेतद्वन्शजेनान्यतमेन³ वा स्वल्प(ः*)प्यावाधा⁴ हस्तक्षेपो वा क[ः]र्यः (ः*)
एवमवष्टते यो ऽ*)थ करोति स वध्यः पञ्चभिर्मम-
- 18 हापातकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादपि⁵ च (ः*)
नास्य देवा न पितरो हविः-पिण्डं समाप्नुयुः (ः*)
[छि]न्न-मस्तक-वेत्तालः⁶ अप्र-
- 19 तिष्ठः पतिष्यति (ः*) 4
भूमि-दानापहरण-प्रतिपालन-गुण-दोष⁷-व्यञ्जकाः आर्षाः श्लोका भवन्ति (ः*)
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि
- 20 स्वर्गे नन्दति भूमिदः (ः*)
आक्षेपा चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् (ः*) 5
आस्कोटयन्ति पितरः प्रवल्गन्ति पितामहाः (ः*)
भूमिदो-
- 21 (ः*)सन्कुले⁸ जातः स नः सन्तारयिष्यति (ः*) 6
यत्किञ्चिन्कुरुते⁹ पापं नरो लोभ-समान्वितः¹⁰ (ः*)
अपि गो-चर्म-मास्त्रेण भूमि-दानेन शुध्यति (ः*) 7
पू-
- 22 र्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो य[त्ना]द्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (ः*)
भूमिं भूमि(म*)तां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रे यो ऽ* नुपालनं नम् (ः*) 8
इयं राजशतैर्दत्ता दीयते च पुनः

Malla-āṇul. Khṇḍaj tika = Klāṇj uli between Gohagrāu and Mallasā ul. Vakattak = Baktā to the east of Gohagrāu. Sāmali = Malla-āṇul, also called Sāṇul.

1 Read चतुष्टु. Better भवन्ति। एवः.

2 Here is the only instance in the inscription of the use of the real sign for व.

3 Read ०हंश०.

4 Usually ०वाधा.

5 Better स्यात्। अपि.

6 Better वेतालो ह्यप्रतिष्ठः. Majumdar : ०वत्तालः.

7 Read ०दोष०.

8 Read ०सत्कुले.

9 Read ०चिक्कुरुते.

10 Read समन्वितः.

23

पुनः (1*)

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) (11*) 9

तद्वित्तरङ्ग-व(व)हुलां श्रियं मत्वा च मर्यानां नाम् (1*)

न धर्म-स्थितय-

24

स्सन्निः¹ युक्ता लोके विलोपितुम् [11] 10²कुल्य¹ ८ (1*) दूतकः शुभदत्तो लिखितं सान्धिविग्रहिक-भोगचन्द्रेण⁴ (1*)

25

तापितं⁵ पुस्तपाल-जयदासेन (11*) संव्व⁶ ३० (+*) ३ श्राव-दि २० (+*) ४⁷ (11*)

¹ Read ०स्सन्नियुक्ता.

² According to the general rules of metre, the sixth and seventh syllables of the first foot of this stanza should have been long and the seventh syllable of the second foot short. The defects of the first foot are however often noticed in the standard *Kāryas*. See *Raghuvamśa*, I. 16, 23, 30, 34, 53, 60 and 61; cf. also I. 71 and 81.

³ I.e., कुल्यवापाः

⁴ Cf. सन्धिविग्रहकारी तु भवेद्यस्य लेखकः। स्वयं राज्ञा समादिष्टः स लिखेद्राजशासनम् ॥ quoted in the *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya, *Achārādhyāya*, v. 320.

⁵ तापित = heated. This seems to be a technical expression indicating that this officer was responsible for the final examination of the charter, especially for soldering the seal, which required heating. The *pustapāla* may have supervised the actual engraving which however hardly required heating.

⁶ I.e., संवत् (=संवत्सर); Majumdar reads संव्वद् ३; for the reduplication in व्व, see *supra*, No. 41, line 22, note. श्राव-दि = श्रावण-दिवसे.

⁷ Majumdar reads 4; but the symbol seems to be the same as the one noticed, e.g., in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 153, text line 46.

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF NEPĀL, BIHAR, ASSAM AND UTTAR PRADESH

No. 48—Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa Pillar Inscription of Manadeva—[Śaka]¹ Year 386 (= 464 A.D.)

Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa² temple, near KĀTHMANDU, Nepāl.

Bhagawānlāl INDRĀJĪ and BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, IX, 1880, pp. 163 ff.; FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, Intro., p. 95; S. LÉVI, *Le Népal*, II, p. 126; III, pp. 10-14; R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, I, pp. 1ff. (No. I).

¹ There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars about the epoch of the era to which the date of this record is to be referred. Bhagawānlāl Indrājī referred it to the Vikrama era starting in 58 B.C. and assigned it to 329 A.D., while Fleet referred it to the Gupta era starting in 319 A.D. and ascribed it to the 28th April, 705 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, XVII, p. 210; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Intro., p. 95). Fleet depended on the Golmāḍhiṭol inscription of the year 316 or 318 (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 97; also IX, p. 168 which mentions Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarman of the Thākuri dynasty as a contemporary of the Lichchavi or Śrīyavamśī king Śivadeva I. As Amśuvarman has been mentioned by Hiuen-tsang as a recently dead ruler and was therefore an early contemporary of Harshavardhana (606-47 A.D.), the epoch of the era to which year 316 of the Golmāḍhiṭol inscription is to be referred was ascribed by Fleet to 319 A.D. Sylvain Lévi points out that the astronomical data in the Kisipidi inscription of the year 449, which had an intercalary Āshāḍha, agree only with Śaka 482 current. According to this scholar therefore the Lichchavi era of Nepāl started in (482-449=) Śaka 83=110 A.D. That is also supposed to be supported by the details of the date of the present record. The year of the Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa record would then be (386+110=) 495-96 A.D. The date of the Golmāḍhiṭol inscription has been read by Lévi as 518. He reads 519 and 520 in two other records mentioning both Śivadeva I and Amśuvarman (*Le Népal*, II, p. 126; III, pp. 61-64; 70-81). Indrājī's theory, though palaeographically tenable, is improbable, as the early use of the Vikrama era in Nepāl is unlikely. Fleet's theory seems to be wrong, as the alphabet of the present record is earlier than the 7th-8th century script (e.g., in the records of Amśuvarman); cf. ॐ (initial and medial), ख, च, ट, ष, य, ल, ह, the numerical symbols, etc. We prefer Kanishka's, i.e. the Śaka, era (p. 163, note 1). From an examination of the many dated records in Gnoli's book, it appears that the records of Manadeva and his successors are dated in the Śaka era, while the later records of Amśuvarman as also the epigraphs of his descendants bear dates in the Śaka era minus 500 (i.e. Śaka 501=year 1).

² गारुड (literally, 'one with a beak' in the Nepālī language) means Garuḍa. The name therefore means Garuḍa and Nārāyaṇa, or Nārāyaṇa on Garuḍa. The temple contains an old image of Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of about the 4th-5th century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-17 शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 संवत् ३०० (+*) ८० (+*) ६ ज्यैष्ठ-मासे शुक्लपक्षे प्रतिपदि १ (१*)
- 2 [रो*]हिणी-नक्षत्र-युक्ते² चन्द्रमसि मुहूर्ते प्रशस्ते (५* भिजिति³ (१*)
- 3 [श्री*]वत्साङ्कित-दीप्त-चारु-विपुल*]-प्रोद्वत्त-व[क्षः]स्थलः
- 4 [श्री*]वक्षःस्तन-पद्म-बाहु — — स्मर्त्तु*]-⁴प्रवृद्धोत्सवः (१*)
- 5 [सै*]लोक्य-भ्रमयन्त्ववर्त्ति — — न्यासङ्ग-नित्यो ५*)व्ययः(यो)
- 6 [दो*]लाद्रौ⁵ निवसज्जयत्यनि[मि०]पेरभ्यर्च्यमानो ह्वरिः (॥*) [१*]
- 7 [मन्तो*]त्सा[ह-न*]य-प्रताप-विभ[वैवर्ष्या]याम-संक्षेपकृत कृद्
- 8 [राजाभू*]दृष्टदेव इत्यनुपमः[स]त्य-प्रतिज्ञोदयः (१*)
- 9 [संवृद्ध*]-सवितेव दीप्त-किर[णैः*] सम्यग्धृतैः*] स्वैः सुतैःतैर]
- 10 [विद्व*]द्भिर्ब्रह्म-गर्वितैरच[पलेः*] [ख्यातै*][वि]⁶नीतात्मभिः (॥*) २
- 11 [त*]स्याभूतनयः समृद्ध-[विष*]यः सङ्ख्येयस्त्वज्यो ५*,रिभिःभी)
- 12 [राजा*] शङ्करदेव इत्यपर-संभी*]तिप्रदः सत्यधीः (१*)
- 13 [विद्या*]-विक्रम-दान-मान-विभवैर्लब्ध्वा यशः पुष्कलम् लं)
- 14 — — — ररक्ष गामभि[मतैर्भृ]त्यै[स्मृ]गे*]न्द्रोपमः (॥*) ३
- 15 [तस्या*]प्युत्तम-धर्म-कर्म-य[शसः*] [पुत्रोऽर्थ*]विद्धा[स्मि]कः(को)
- 16 [अ*]स्मी[त्मा*] विनयेप्सुरुत्त[मगुणः] [श्री-ध*]स्मदेवो नृपः (१*)
- 17 [ध*]स्मर्णैव कुलक्रमागत — — — राज्यं महत्

¹ From the facsimile in *Le Népal*, III, and Gnoli, *op. cit.*, I.

² Cf. अपराह्णे तु संप्राप्ते अभिजिद्रौहिणीोदये ।

यदत्र दीयते जलोत्सदक्षयसुदाहृतम् ॥

quoted in the *Sabdakalpadruma*, s.v.

³ The eighth of the 15 *muhūrtas* of a day is called अभिजित्.

⁴ According to Lévi, traces on the estampe do not suggest त्त^६.

⁵ Dolādrī or Dolapārvata is the hill on which the temple stands.

⁶ Lévi is not satisfied with this reading as there is no reduplication of *v*. But cf. *वृषात (line 70), etc.

- 18 [स्फी]तीकृत्य नयैन्तृपर्षि-चरि[तेर्वि*]भाव्य चेतो नृणाम् (॥*) ४
 19 [रे]जे स — शुभिः सुरानु — [भि*]: सम्पन्नमन्त्रर्द्धिभिः
 20 — मावा — विशुद्ध-देह-हृदयश्चन्द्र-द्युतिः पार्थिवः (॥*)
 21 [प]त्नी तस्य विशुद्ध-वंश-विभवा श्री-राज्यवत्युत्तमा
 22 [प्रा]णा[नाम*]भव[स्त्रि][या*] [कु]ल[गु][णै*]लक्ष्मीरि[वा]प्रग हरेः (॥*) ५
 23 — — — रतेर्यशोशुभिरिदं व्याभास्य कृत्स्नजगत्(गद्)
 24 याति स त्रिदिवालयन्नरपतावुद्धान-यासामिव (॥*)
 25 प्रम्लाना ज्वरविह्वला कुलज — — नेकमन्दा तदा
 26 देवाहार-विधि-क्रियास्वभिरता तद्विप्रयोगात्पुरा (॥*) ६

Second Face

- 27 देवो राज्यवतो तु तस्य नृपतेर्भार्याभिधाना¹ सती
 28 श्रीरेवानुगता भविष्यति तदा लोकान्तरासङ्गिनी (॥*)
 29 यस्याज्ञात इहानवद्य-चरितः श्री-मानदेवो नृपः
 30 कान्त्या शारद-चन्द्रमा इव जगत्प्रह्लादयन्सर्वदा (॥*) ७
 31 प्रत्यागत्य स-गङ्गाक्षरमिदन्दीर्घं विनिश्चय्य च
 32 प्रेम्णा पुत्रमुवाच साश्रु-वदना यातः पिता ते दिवम् (॥*)
 33 हा पुत्रास्तमिते तवाद्य पितरि प्राणैर्वृथा किम्भम
 34 राज्यपुत्रक कारयाहमनुयाम्यद्यैव भर्तुर्गतिम्² (॥*) [८*]
 35 किम्मे भोग-विधान-विस्तर-कृतैराशामयैर्बन्धनैः(नैर्)
 36 माया-स्वप्न-निभे समागम-विधौ भर्ता विना जीवितुम् (॥*)
 37 यामीत्येवमवस्थिता खलु तदा दीनात्मना सूनुना
 38 पादौ भक्तिवशाज्जिपीड्य शिरसा विज्ञापिता यत्नतः (॥*) ८
 39 किम्भोगैर्मम किं हि जीवित-सुखैस्त्वद्विप्रयोगे सति
 40 प्राणान्पूर्वमहज्जहामि परतस्त्वं यास्यसीतो दिवम् (॥*)
 41 इत्येवमुत्पङ्कजान्तर-गतैर्नैलाम्बु-मिश्रैर्हृदम् (॥*)
 42 वाक्पाशैर्विहगीव पाशवशगा बद्धा ततस्तस्थुषी (॥*) ९
 43 सत्पुत्रेण सहौद्ध देहिक-विधिं भर्तुः प्रकृत्यात्मना
 44 शोल-त्याग-दमोपवास-नियमैरेकान्त-शुद्धाशया (॥*)

¹ Indrāji suggests °धानात्.

² This is another early reference to the prevalence of the Suttee. See above, p. 346 and note 5. For कारय better read धारय.

- 45 [वि]प्रेम्यो(ऽ*)पि च सत्त्वंदा प्रददती तत्पुण्यवृद्धे धनम्(नं)
 46 तस्थौ तद्धृदया सती व्रतविधौ साक्षादिवारुन्धती (॥*) १० (+ *) १
 47 पुत्रो(ऽ*)प्युज्जित-सत्त्व-विक्रम-धृतिः क्षान्तः प्रजावत्सलः
 48 कर्ता नैव विकथनः स्मितकथः पूर्वाभिभाषी सदा (॥*)
 49 तेजस्वी न च गर्वितो न च परां लोकज्ञताञ्चाश्रितः
 50 दीनानाथ-सुहृत्प्रियातिथिजनः प्रत्यर्थिनाम्माननुत् (॥*) १० (+ *) २

Third Face

- 51 अस्त्रापास्त्र-विधान-कौशल-गुणैः प्रज्ञात-सत्पौरुषः
 52 श्रीमच्चारुभुजः प्रभृष्ट-कनक-श्लक्ष्णवावदातच्छविः (॥*)
 53 पोनांसो विकचासितोत्पल-दल-प्रस्पृष्टमानेक्षणः
 54 साक्षात्काम इवाङ्गवाञ्छरपतिः कान्ता-विलासोत्सवः (॥*) १० (+ *) ३
 55 यूपैश्चारुभिरुच्छितैर्व्वसुमती पित्रा ममालङ्कृता
 56 क्षास्त्रेणाजिमखाश्रयेण विधिना दीक्षाश्रितो(ऽ*)हं स्थितः (॥*)
 57 यास्त्राप्रत्यरि-सङ्ख्याय तरसा गच्छामि पूर्व्वान्दिशम्(शं)
 58 ये चाज्ञा-वश-वर्त्तिनो मम नृपाः संस्थापयिष्यामि तान् (॥*) [१० (+ *) ४]
 59 इत्येवञ्जननीमपेतकलुषां राजा प्रणम्योचिवान्
 60 नास्त्रानुष्यमहन्तपोभिरमलैः शक्नोमि यातुम्पितुः (॥*)
 61 किन्त्वाप्तेन यथावदस्त्र-विधिना तत्पाद-संसेवया
 62 यास्यामीति ततो(ऽ*)ऋयातिमुदया दत्ताभ्यनुज्ञो नृपः (॥*) १० (+ *) ५
 63 प्रायात्पूर्व्वपथेन तत्र च शठा ये पूर्व्वदेशाश्रयाः
 64 सामन्ताः प्रणिपात-बन्धुर-शिरः-प्रभृष्ट-मौलिस्रजः (॥*)
 65 तानाज्ञा-वशवर्त्तिनो नरपतिः संस्थाप्य तस्मात्पुनः(नर्)
 66 निर्भोः सिंह इवाकुलोत्कट-सटः पश्चाद्भवजग्मिवान् (॥*) १० (+ *) ६
 67 सामन्तस्य च तत्र दुष्ट-चरितं श्रुत्वा शिरः कम्पयन्
 68 बाहुं हस्तिकरोपमं स शनकैः स्पृष्ट्वाव्रीह्वितम् (॥*)
 69 आहूतो यदि नैति विक्रमवशादेष्यत्यसौ मे वशं
 70 किं वाक्यैर्व्वहुभिवृथात् गदितेः संक्षेपतः कथ्यते (॥*) [१० (+ *) ७*]
 71 अद्यैव प्रियमातुलोह-विषम-क्षोभाष्णाव-स्पृष्टिनोम्
 72 भीमावर्त्त-तरङ्ग-चञ्चल-जलान्तङ्गण्डकीमुत्तर (॥*)
 73 सन्नद्धैर्व्वरवाजि-कुञ्जर-शतैरन्वेमि तीर्त्वा नदीम्(दीं)

- 74 त्वत्सेनामिति निश्चयान्नरपतिस्तीर्ण-प्रतिज्ञस्तदा (॥*) १० (+*) ८
 75 जित्वा मल्लपुरीन्तस्तु शनकैरभ्याजगाम स्वकम् (कं)
 76 देशप्रीतमनास्तदा खलु धनम्प्रादाद्दिजेभ्यो ऽक्षयम् (॥*)
 77 राज्ञी राज्यवती च साधुमतिना प्रोक्ता दृढं सूनु[ना]
 78 भक्तग्राम्ब त्वमपि प्रसन्नहृदया दानम्प्रयच्छस्व त[त्] (॥*) १० (+*) ८

No. 48A—Nandapur Copper-plate Inscription of the
 [Gupta] Year 169 (=488 A.D.)

Nandapur, near Surajgarha, Monghyr District, Bihar.

N. G. Majumdar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 52ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

TEXT¹

Obverse

- 1 स्वस्त्र[म्बि]लग्रामाग्रहारात्मविश्वासमधिकरणाम्(णं) जङ्गोयिका-ग्रामे ब्राह्मणी-
 त्तारान्संन्यवहा-
 2 योदिकुटुम्बि(म्बि)नः कुशलमनुवर्णय बोधयन्ति लिखन्ति² च (॥*) विज्ञापयति नः
 विषयपति कृत्तमहः
 3 इच्छाम्यहं स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये नन्दवैधेय³-खटापूरणाग्रहारिक-छान्दोग-काश्यप-
 सगोत्र-ब्राह्मणा-
 4 * * स्वामिने पञ्च-महायज्ञ-प्रवर्त्तनाय क्षिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप-चतुष्टयं क्रीत्वातिस्रष्टुम् (॥*)
 5 युष्मद्विषये च समुदयवा(वा)ह्याद्यस्तम्ब(म्ब)⁴ खिल-क्षेत्राणां शश्वदाचन्द्रार्कतारक-
 भोज्या[ना*]-

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII.

² Read बोधयति लिखति. Plural number was used through confusion apparently because the *adhikarāṇa* or board of administration consisted of several members; cf. विज्ञापयति नः below.

³ Nandapur, the findspot of the plate, was probably the headquarters of the territorial unit called Nanda-vīthī.

⁴ समुदयवाह्य = not yielding any crop or revenue: आद्यस्तम्ब = covered with original shrubs.

- 6 मक्षय-नीग्या द्विदीनारिक्ख-कुल्यवाप विक्रयो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तस्तदहंथ मत्तो(ऽ*)दौ दीनारानुप-
- 7 संगृह्य जङ्गोयिका-ग्रामे खिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप-चतुष्टयमक्षय-नीग्यास्तात्र-पट्टेन दातु-
मिति (।*)
- 8 यतः पुस्तपाल-प्रद्योतसि (सिंह)-व(व)न्धुदासयोरव'धारणयावधृतमस्तीह-विषये समु-
दय-
- 9 वा(वा)ह्यास्तम्ब(म्ब)-खिलक्षेत्रागामकिञ्चित्प्रतिकराणां'द्विदीनारिक्ख-कुल्यवाप-विक्र-
यो(ऽ*)नुवृत्तः (।*)
- 10 एवम्वि'व'वि'धोत्प्रतिकर'-खिल क्षेत्र-विक्रये च न कश्चिद्राजार्थं विरोधः दीयमाने तु
परमभट्टारक-
- 11 पादानां धर्म-षडागावासिस्तदीयतामित्येतस्माद्विषयपति-छत्तमहादष्टौ दीनारानुप-
- 12 संगृह्य जङ्गोयिका-ग्रामे गोरक्षित-ताम्बपट्ट-दक्षिणेन गोपालिभोगाया(ः*)
पश्चिमेन खिल-
- 13 क्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप-चतुष्टयं दत्तम् (।*) कु ४ (।*) ते यूयमेवं विदित्वा कुट्टुम्वि(म्बि)नां
कर्षणाविरोधि-स्थाने
- 14 दर्वीकर्म-हस्तेनाष्टक-नवक-नलाभ्यामपविन्द्य चिरकाल-स्थायि-तुषाङ्गारादिचिह्नै-
श्चतुर्दि-
- 15 द्विप्रमित-पमानं कृत्वा दास्यथ (।*) दत्त्वा(त्वा) चाक्षय-नीवी-धर्मेण शशवत्काल
मनुपालयिष्यथ (।*)

Reverse

- 16 वत्तमान-भविष्यैश्च संव्यवहारिभिरेतद्धर्मापेक्षयानुपालयितव्यमिति (।*) उक्तञ्च
भग-
- 17 [वता] [ग्या]से[न] (।*)
स्व-दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) ।
स त्रिष्टायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह
- 18 पच्यते (।*) 1
[षष्टिं] वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे भोदति भूमिदः (।*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव न-

1 व had been at first omitted and was later incised below the line.

2 अकिञ्चित्प्रतिकर = not yielding any revenue.

3 उत्प्रतिकर = अप्रतिकर = अकिञ्चित्प्रतिकर. Cf. उल्लिख in Bk. I, No. 31.

19

रके वसेत् (॥*) 2

सं १०० (+*) ६० (+*) ८ वै-शुदि^१ ८ '॥*)^२

No. 48B—Bargāṅga Stone Inscription of Bhutivarman³ (c. 518-42 A.D.)

Bargāṅgā, Nowgong District, Assam.

N. K. Bhattasali, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 18-23; D. C. Sircar, *ibid.*, XXX, pp. 62ff.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of about the 6th century A.D.⁴

TEXT⁵

1 स्वस्ति (॥*) श्रीपरमदेवत-परमभट्टारक-महारा[जा]-

2 धिराज्ञाश्वमेधयाजिन⁶ औभूतिवर्म्मास्य(णः) पादान[i]⁷

¹ I.e., वैशाख-शुद्ध-दिवस.

² Majumdar compares the style of this record with that of the Baigram and other plates from North Bengal and suggests that the document was drafted and the land was situated in the said area, even though the Brāhmaṇa donee hailed from the Monghyr District.

³ The name of this king, who was the great-great-grandfather of king Bhāskara-varman (c. 600-50 A.D.), is also found as Mahābhūti-varman or Mahābhūta-varman.

⁴ Bhattasali read the date of the inscription as the Gupta year 234 (553 A.D.), though the reading is wrong, and really the epigraph is not dated. See below, p. 385, note 1.

⁵ See the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXX.

⁶ Read ०याजिनः. It is interesting to note that not Bhūti-varman but his father Nārāyaṇavarman and grandson Sthiravarman are credited in the legend on Bhāskara-varman's seals with the performance of the Aśvamedha, twice in both the cases. The second Aśvamedha of Nārāyaṇavarman may have been performed when he was too old and his son Bhūti-varman was the *de facto* king. The epithet परमदेवत was imitated from the Guptas (cf. Nos. 16, 18, 19, 31, 36). It means 'highly devoted to the gods (or one of the great gods)', although it is often wrongly taken to mean 'the supreme divinity' and also sometimes erroneously regarded as an imperial title. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 470; *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 116; my paper contributed to XXVI Int. Cong. Or., New Delhi, 1964.

⁷ Read पादानाम्.

3 आयुष्कामं¹ विषयामात्य²- अवगुणस्य³

4 इदं आश्रमं⁴ (॥*)

No. 48C—Harāhā Stone Inscription of Īsānavarman—
[Vikrama] Year 611 (=553-54 A.D.)

Harāhā, Bara Banki District, U. P.

H. Sāstri, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 115ff.; D. C. Sircar, *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, XI, 1945, p.67, note 4.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-2 शार्दूलविक्रीडितः; V. 3 गायः; V. 4 शार्दूलविक्रीडितः; V. 5 उपजातिः; V. 6 इन्द्रजाः; V. 7 मालिनोः; V. 8 शार्दूलविक्रीडितः; V. 9 स्रग्धराः; Vv. 10-14 शार्दूलविक्रीडितः; V. 15 द्रुतविजम्बितः; Vv. 16-19 शार्दूलविक्रीडितः; V. 20 वसन्ततिलकः; Vv. 21-23 श्लोक (चण्डभू).⁵

TEXT⁵

1 १ लोकाविष्कृति-संक्षय-स्थितिकृतां यः कारणं वेधसाम्(सां)

ध्वस्त-ध्वान्त-चयाः परास्त-रजसा ध्यायन्ति यं योगिनः ।

यस्माद्द्व-स्थित-योषितो ऽः पि हृदये ना स्थायि चेतोभुवा

भूतात्मा स्त्रिपुरान्तकः स

2 जयति धेयः-प्रसूतिर्भवः ॥ 1

आशोणां फगिनः फगोपल-रुचा सैङ्गो सैङ्गो, वसानं त्वचं

शुभ्रां लोचन-जन्मना कपिशयन्त्रासा कपालावलीम् (॥*)

तन्वीं ध्वान्त-नुदं मृगाकृतिभृतो वि विःअत्कळां मौलिना

दिश्यादन्ध-

¹ Bhattasali read here २००(+*)२०(+*)४ का and regarded the year 234 of the Gupta era as the date of the record. See above, p. 354, note 4.

² *Sandhi* has not been observed here. विषयामात्य=administrator of a district; cf. विषयपति.

³ The name literally means 'one having little good quality'. For the custom of giving names with derogatory sense to children, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 64, note 2.

⁴ Read इदम् आश्रमम्. The *āśrama* was probably a hermit's dwelling.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV.

3 क-विद्विषः स्फुरदहि स्थेयः पदं वो वपुः ॥ 2
 सुत-शतं लेभे नृपो(ऽ*)श्वपतिर्वैवस्वतायद्रुणोदितम् ।
 तत्प्रसूता दुरित-वृत्ति-रुधो मुखुराः क्षितीशाः क्षतारयः ॥ 3'
 तेष्वदौ हरिवर्मणी(ऽ*)वनिभुजो भूतिभू-

4 वो भूतये ।¹
 रुद्धाशेषदिगन्तराल-यशसा रुग्णारि-सम्पत्विषा ।
 सङ्ग्रामे हुतभुक्प्रभा-कपिशितं वक्तुं समीक्ष्यारिभि-
 र्यो भीतेः(तैः) प्रणतस्ततश्च भुवने ज्वालामुखाख्यां गतः ॥ 4
 लोक-स्थितीनां स्थितये स्थि-

5 तस्य
 मनोरिवाचार-विवेक-मार्गो ।
 जगाहिरे यस्य जगन्ति रम्याः
 सत्कीर्त्तयः कीर्त्तयितव्य-नाम्नः ॥ 5
 तस्मात्पयोधेरिव शीतरश्मि-
 रादित्यवर्मा नृपतिर्बभूव ।
 वर्णश्रमाचार-विधि-प्रणोते-
 यं प्राप्य

6 साफल्यमियाय धाता ॥ 6
 हुतभुजि मखमध्यासङ्गिनि ध्वान्त-नीलम्(लं)
 वियति पवन-जन्म-भ्रान्ति-विक्षेप-भूयः ।
 मुखुरयति समन्तादुत्पतद्धूम-जालम्(लं)
 शिखिकुल-मरुमेघाशङ्कि

¹ This verse shows that the Mukhara or Maukharī family claimed descent from Sāvitrī's father, the Madra king Aśvapati who obtained a hundred sons through the grace of Vaiśvasvata (Yama, son of the Sun-god). The *Mahābhārata* represents these sons of Aśvapati and his queen Mālavi as the Mālavas; cf. पितुश्च ते पुत्रशतं भविता तव मातरि । मालव्या मालवा नाम शाखाः पुत्रपौत्रिणः ॥ (III. 296. 59; cf. *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 298 ff.). The Maukharis were thus a branch of the Mālava people who were themselves a branch of the Madras according to the traditions.

² The *danḍa* is redundant.

- 7 यस्य प्रसक्तम् ॥ 7
तेनापीश्वरवर्ष्मणः क्षितिपतेः क्षत्र-प्रभावाप्तये ।¹
जन्माकारि कृतात्मनः कर्तु-गणेष्वद्भुत-वृत्त्रद्विषः ।
यस्योत्खात-कलि-स्वभाव-चरितस्याचार-मार्गं नृपा
यत्नेनापि ययाति-
- 8 तुल्य-यशसो नान्येऽ*नुगन्तुं क्षमाः ॥ 8
नीत्या शौर्यं विशालं सुहृदमकुठिने²नोत्त*मेच्छाङ्कुलेन ।¹
त्यागं पात्रेण वित्तप्रभवमपि ह्या³ यौवनं संयमेन (।*)
वाचं सत्येन चेष्टां श्रुति-पथ-विधिना प्रश्रये-
- 9 गीतमर्द्धिम् द्विं)
यो बध्ननैः(धनन्)व खदं व्रजति कष्टिमये ध्वान्त-मग्नेऽ*पि लोके ॥ 9
यस्येज्यास्वनिशं यथाविधि हुतज्योतिर्ज्वलज्जन्मना ।¹
धूमेनाञ्जनभङ्ग-मेचक-रुचा दिक्चक्रवाले तते ।
आयाता नव-
- 10 वारि-भार-विनमन्मेघावली प्रावृडि-
त्युन्मादोद्धत-चेतसः शिखिगणा वाचाळतामाययुः ॥ 10
तस्मात्सूर्य इवोदयाद्रिशिरसो धातुर्मूर्खत्वानिव
क्षीरोदादिव तजि²तेन्दुकिरणः कान्तप्रभः कौस्तुभः ।
- 11 भूतानामुदपद्यत स्थितिकरः स्थेष्टं महिम्नः पदम्(दं)
राजनाजक-मण्डलाम्बर-शशी श्रीशानवर्मा नृपः ॥ 11
लोकानामुपकारिणारि-कुमुद-ज्यालुप्त-कान्ति-श्रिया ।¹
मितास्याम्बुरुहाग(क)र-द्युतिकृता भूरि-
- 12 प्रताप-त्विषा ।
येनाच्छादित-सत्पथं कलियुग-ध्वान्तावमग्नज्जग-
त्सूर्येणैव समुद्यता कृतमिदं भूयः प्रवृत्त-विक्रयम् ॥ 12
जित्वाभ्राधिपतिं सहस्रगणित-क्षेत्राक्षरद्वारणम्(णं)
व्यवल्गन्नियुताति-

¹ The *danḍa* is redundant.

² Read *मकुटिले. Śāstri suggests *मकुटिलिनोत्तमुत्तौ.

³ Read क्रिया and note that the syllable before प्र, ऋ, व्र and क्र was optionally regarded

- 13 संख्य-तुरगान्भङ्गा रणे स्तलिकाम्(कान्) ।

कृत्वा चायति-मौ(मो)चित-स्थलभुवो गौडान्समुद्राश्रया-
नध्यासिष्ट नत-क्षितीश-चरगः सिंहासनं यो जिती ॥¹ 13
प्रस्थानेषु बलाष्ट²वाभिगमन-क्षोभ-स्फुटद्भूतल-

- 14 प्रोद्भूत-स्थगिताक्क³-मण्डल-रुचा दिग्वापिना रेणुना ।
यस्यामूढदिनादिमध्य-विरतौ लोके ऽ⁴न्धकारीकृते ।²
व्यक्तिं नाडिकयैव³ यान्ति जयिनो यामास्त्रियामास्त्रिव ॥ 14
प्रविशती कलि-मारुत-घट्टिता

- 15 क्षितिरलक्ष्य-रसातल-वारिधौ ।
गुगनतैरववध्य समन्ततः
स्फुटित-नौरिव येन बलाद्धि⁴द्वेता ॥ 15
ज्याघात-वग-रुद्धि-कव³श-भुजा-व्याकृष्ट-शार्ङ्ग-च्युता-
न्यस्यावाप्य पतस्त्रिगो रणमुखे¹ प्राणानमुच्च-

- 16 द्विषः ।
यस्मिन्शासति च क्षितिं क्षितिपतौ जातेव भूयस्त्रयी ।¹
तेन ध्वस्त-कलि प्रवृत्ति तिमिरः श्री-सूर्यवर्माजनि ॥ 16
यो बालेन्दु सकान्ति कृत्स्न-भुवन-प्रेयो दधद्यौवनम् नं)
शान्तः शास्त्र-विचारगा-

- 17 हित-मनाः पारङ्गलानाङ्गतः ।
लक्ष्मी कीर्त्ति-सरस्वती-प्रभृतयो यं स्वधयेवाश्रिता
लोके कामित-कानि-भाव-रसिकः कान्ता-जनो भूयसा ॥ 17
सद्वत्तेन बलात्कलेरवनति¹त्तं तावत्प्रवृद्धात्मनो
बाणै-

¹ Isānavarman claims to have driven the Gaudas out of land for all time to come and to have compelled them to take shelter in the waters of the sea. Here is an old convention according to which the national characteristics of a people were represented as the result of their defeat at the hands of a particular hero. The Gaudas were a sea-faring mercantile people and this characteristic has been regarded as effected by Isānavarman's victory. The Maukhari victory over the Andhra king is so referred to in a passage in the fragmentary Jaunpur inscription which seems to be a record of Isānavarman and not of his father Isānavarman as supposed by Fleet (*C. I. I.*, III, pp. 223ff.).

² The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

³ नाडिका-घटिका = water-clock.

⁴ Śāstrī has रणमुखे.

- 18 स्तावदवस्थितं स्मृतिभुवः कान्ता-शरीर-क्षतौ ।
 लक्ष्म्या तावदकाण्ड-भङ्गज-भयं त्यक्तम्परापाश्रयम्¹ ।¹
 यावन्नाविरकारि यस्य जनता-कान्तं वपुर्व्वेधसा ॥ 18
 लक्ष्म्यः क्षात्रभुवः कुच-ग्रह-भयावेश-भ्रम-
- 19 लोचना ।¹
 येनाकृष्य भुजेन विस्फुरदसि-ज्योतिः-कलासङ्गिता ।
 कान्ता मन्मथिनेव कामित-विदा गाढं निपीड्योरसा ।¹
 प्रायेगान्यमनु-न्य-संश्रय-कृतं भावं परित्याजिता ॥ 19
 तेनानतोन्नतिकृता
- 20 मृगया-गतेन
 दृष्ट्वाद्यमन्धकभिदो भवनं विशीर्णम् (।*)
 स्वेच्छा-समुन्नतमकारि ललाम भूमेः
 क्षेमेश्वर प्रथित-नाम शशाङ्क-शुभ्रम् ॥ (।*) 20
 एकादशातिरिक्तेषु षट् शतित-विद्विषि ।
 शतेषु शरदां
- 21 पर्यौ भुवः श्रीमानवस्मैणि ॥ 21²
 यस्मिन्काले ऽ* म्बुवाहा नव-गवल-रुचः प्रान्त-लग्नेन्द्रवापा-
 स्तन्वन्त्याशा-वितानं स्फुरदुरु-तडितः सान्द्र-धीरं क्वगन्तः ।
 वाताश्च वान्ति नीपात्रव-कुपुम-चयानघ्र-सूक्ष्मौ
- 22 धुनाना-
 स्तस्मिन्मुक्तम्बुमेव-द्युति भवनमदो निर्मितं शूलपाणेः ॥ 22
 कुमारशान्तेः पुत्रेण गम्भीराकट-वायिना ।
 नृगानुरागात्स्वयमकारि रविशान्तिना ॥ 23³
 उत्कीर्णा मिहिरवर्मणा (॥*)

¹ The *danṭa* is redundant.

² The date is given as the year 611 falling in the reign of Īśānavarman. The year has to be referred to the Vikrama era, the use of which the Maukharis appear to have carried from Rajasthan to U.P. (cf. Bk. II, Nos. 1-6).

³ The word *nripa* here refers to Śū śivarman apparently because he was the ruler of the Harāhā area under his father. He is also mentioned as a *nripa* of the family of the Varmans who were great owing to their lordship over Magadha (निष्पङ्के मगधाधिपत्यमहतां जातः कुले वर्मणां...श्रीमर्त्यवर्मा नृपः) in the Sirpur Lakshmana temple inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XI, pp. 190ff.) of the Pāṇḍuvarmanis. पूर्व्वो = the above [eulogy = *prāśasti*].

C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE INDIGENOUS KINGS OF MADHYA PRADESH

(i) Northern Area

(a) Uchchakalpa Family

No. 49—Khoh Copper-plate Inscription of Śarvanātha—[Gupta] Year 193 (= 512 A.D.)¹

खोह, former Nāgaudh State, now in the Satna District.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 126 ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT*

First Plate²

1 १^४ स्वस्त्युच्चकल्पात्महाराजौघदेवस्तस्य^५ पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धातो महादेव्या(१*)

¹ Some scholars refer the date to the Kalachuri era, the first year of which corresponds to 243-49 A.D. The Bhumara inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1661), the date of which is possibly 508 A.D., rather than 484 or 520 A.D., shows that Hastin of the Parivrajaka family with dates between 156 and 191 and Śarvanātha of Uchchakalpa with dates between 191 and 214 were contemporaries. The dates should be referred to the Gupta era as the region in question formed a part of the Gupta empire (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 267-68). There is no evidence of the Kalachuri era being used in that area in early times. See also Mirashi in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 171 ff.

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

³ Fleet says, "The first plate of this grant is a quasi-palimpsest. On the outer side of it there are traces of sixteen lines of writing, containing an inscription of the same Mahārāja Śarvanātha, in the same characters as those of the extant inscription. They have been so carefully beaten in that no impression of them is possible, and only detached words can be read here and there. . . . And this inscription seems to have been cancelled because of the omission of the words तमस-नया उत्तरपारे, between महाराज-शर्वनाथः कुशली and ब्राह्मण-दीगकुटुम्बिनः, in line 7."

⁴ सिद्धम् expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read ०कल्याणम् इ०. The place may be the same as mod. Uchchaharā or Unchhaharā in the former Nāgaudh State. Khoh means 'a cave.'

- 2 कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-कुमारदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानु-
- 3 द्धरातो महादेव्यां जयस्वामिन्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-जयस्वामो तस्य
- 4 पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धरातो महादेव्यां रामदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-व्याघ्रस्तस्य¹
- 5 पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धरातो महादेव्यामज्झितदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-जय-
- 6 नाथस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धरातो महादेव्यां मुरुण्डदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-
- 7 शर्वनाथः² कुशली तमसा-नद्या उत्तर-पारे आश्रमके ब्राह्मणा-
- 8 दीनकुटुम्बिनस्सर्व-कारुण्य³ समाज्ञापयति (1*) विदितम्बास्तु यथैष
- 9 ग्रामो मयाचन्द्रार्क-समकालिकस्सद्रङ्गस्सोपरिकरः⁴ अ-चाट-
- 10 भट-प्रावेक्ष्यश्चोर-दण्ड-वर्जितः चतुभिरन्द्रो⁵ प्रतिपादितः (1*) अतो-

¹ This Vyāghra is identified by Bhandarkar with Vyāghrarāja of *supra*, No. 2, and with the feudatory of Vākāṭaka Pṛthivishēṇa mentioned in the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions. But the dates 174 and 177 (=493 and 496, or even 421 and 424 A.D.) of his son Jayanātha (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1194-95) are too late for Vyāghra to have been a contemporary of Samudragupta. The form of the letter *tha* in the records of the Vākāṭaka feudatory Vyāghra is not earlier than the sixth century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 248, note 4).

² Fleet: शर्वो

³ Read कारुण्य. Tamasā = Pons, tributary of the Ganges. Muruṇḍadevi is also called Muruṇḍasvāminī. The queen possibly belonged to the Muruṇḍa clan, related to the Śakas. There is a tradition about Maruṇḍa influence in East India before the rise of the Guptas; cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 460.

⁴ Read विदितं वोऽस्तु.

⁵ Read •सोदङ्गो, उदङ्ग=उद्धार, उद्गम्य (Śāśvata)=fixed tax or tax on permanent tenants; cf. Marāṭhī *udhār-gamābandī*, assessing the total revenue of a village upon the chief proprietor who is entitled to distribute the proportions उपरिक्कर (cf. Marāṭhī *upri*) =tax paid by temporary tenants, or occasional taxes.

⁶ Read •भिरंशैः, चाट=swindler (cf. चाटतस्करदुर्गं तमहासाहसिकादिभिः । पौञ्चमानाः प्रजा रणेत् कायस्थेय विशेषतः ॥ याज्ञवल्क्य । आचाराध्याय । ३३६); भट=soldier. Cf. चाट-भाट, चट-भट, चड-भड, etc., of later records. Fleet translates अ-चाट-भट-प्रावेक्ष्य as "not to be entered by the regular or irregular troops" while Indrajī points out (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i, pp. 81f.) that, according to the *Kumārāpāṭīacharita*, Siddharāja despatched Chāṭas and Bhāṭas to apprehend the fugitive Kumārāpāla and refers to the Bhāṭ community of Western India. Passages like अभटप्रावेक्ष्य, अभटच्छावप्रावेक्ष्य (काव=छववाह), प्रतिनिविद्धचाटभटप्रावेक्ष्य, समस्तराज-कीयानाम् अप्रावेक्ष्य, राजसेवकादीनां वसतिदण्डप्रयाणदण्डौ न स्तः (*C.I.I.*, III, p. 98 note), सर्वसपदराजपुरुष-प्रावेक्ष्यविवर्जित, etc., suggest that by चाट-भट royal officers are intended. This appears to be supported by *infra*, No. 58, line 2. भट seems to be a Pāṭik or Barkandāz, and चाट the leader of a group of Bhāṭas. The fine to be imposed on thieves were not granted in favour of the donee Ghāṣhal takes चोरदण्ड in the sense of police tax (*Hindu Rev. Syst.*, p. 211). Mirasī (*Nagpur Un. Journ.*, Dec. 1937, p. 28) thinks that this refers to immunity from the entry of royal soldiers and policemen when they had to punish thieves, etc. Vogel regards Chāṭa as the modern Chār (head of a Pargana) of Chamba.

- 11 (५*) न्ना-द्वय¹ विष्णुनन्दिनः (1*) अपरो ५*, प्यन्शः² स्वामिनाग-पुत्त-वणिज-
 12 शक्तिनागस्य (1*) अपरो (५*) प्यन्शः² कुमारनाग-स्कन्दनागयोः (॥*) एतत्पु-
 13 त्त- (पौत्त*)-प्रपौत्त-तत्पुत्ताद्यनुक्रमेण³ ताम्र-शासनेनातिसृष्टम् (1*) एभिरप(पि)
 मया(*)-
 14 नुमोदितकं यथोपरिलिखितक-क्रमेणैव स्व-पुण्याभिवृद्धये स्व-प्रति-
 15 ष्ठापितक-भगवत्पादानामादिता⁴-भट्टारकपादानाञ्च खण्ड-फुट्ट⁵-प्रतिसं-
 16 स्कार-करणाय बलि⁶ - वह-सत्त - गन्ध - धूप - माल्य - दीप - [प्र]वर्त्तनाय च (1*) ति-
 सृष्टम्⁷ (1*)

Second Plate.

- 17 तै⁸ यूयमेषां समुचित-भाग-भोग-कर-हिरण्यादि-प्रत्यायोप-⁹
 18 नय *) करिष्यथाज्ञा-श्रवण-विधेयाश्च भविष्यथ (1*) ये चास्मद्वन्शोत्पद्य-¹⁰
 19 मानक-राजानस्तैरियन्दत्तिर्न विलोप्यानुमोदनीया यथोकादञ्च¹¹
 20 [प्रति]पालनीया समुचित-राजाभाव्य-कर-प्रत्यायाश्च न ग्राह्याः (1*) यः
 21 इमान्दत्तिन्लोपयेत्स¹² = पञ्चभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च¹³ संयुक्तः *)
 22 स्यादुक्तञ्च महाभारते भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन (1*)
 स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ता-

¹ Read अतोऽंशः.

² Read ०प्यन्शः, वणिज = trader.

³ Fleet is inclined to supply a word like उपभोक्तृ after it.

⁴ Evidently ०दित्य. The subscript y, owing to the engraver's carelessness, has got the shape of a subscribed s. Supply मन्दिरयोः. The Bhagavat is possibly Vishnu.

⁵ This is a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit स्फुटित, Cf. वराहदिद्र (for वराहदत्त) in line 30.

⁶ Read बलि०

⁷ टम् is engraved below च for want of space at the end of the line.

⁸ Read तै as in other records or better तद्.

⁹ भाग = royal share of the produce. भोग = periodical supplies of fruit, firewood, flowers, etc., which the villagers had to furnish to the king. कर = tax to be paid besides the grain share. हिरण्य = money paid in lieu of the king's share of crops. प्रत्याय = revenue आज्ञाश्रवणविधेय = obedient to command.

¹⁰ Read ०द्वयोः, दत्ति = gift. ' f. दत्त्वा भूमिं निदत्स्व' वा कृत्वा लिखन्तु कारयेत्. आगामि-भट्ट-वृत्ति-परिज्ञानाय पार्थिवः ॥ पटे वा तावपट्टे वा स्वमुद्रोपरिचिह्नितम्. अभिलेखात्मनी वंश्यानाम्नामच महोपतिः ॥ प्रतिषट्पदमात्रं दानच्छेदोपवर्णनम्. स्रहस्तकालमस्य शमनं कारयेत् स्थिरम् ॥ *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, Achārādhyāya, vv. 318-20.

¹¹ Read यथा०, आभ व्य = भाव्य = accruing in future; sometimes = tax.

¹² Read इमान्दत्तिं लो०.

¹³ Read ०क्त पञ्च०, Better स्यात्. उक्त०

- 23 म्वा' यत्ताद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (I*)
महीम्महीमताब्देष्ट दानाच्छेयोऽनुपालनं नम् (II*) 1
- 24 प्रायेन¹ हि नरेन्द्राणां विद्यते न शुभा² गतिः (I*)
पृथन्ते ते तु सततं प्र-
25 यच्छन्तो वसुन्धरा म्* (II*) 2
बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (I*)
यस्य
26 यस्य यदा भुमिस्तस्य³ तस्य तदा फलं⁴ (II*) 3
षष्टिं वर्षं-सहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोद-
27 ति भूमिदः (I*)
आच्छेत्ता चाहुमन्ता च तान्येव गरके वसे-⁵ ह
त्सव्वे-सस्य-सम्-
28 द्धान्तु यो हरेत वसुन्धरां राम् (I*)
श्वविष्टायां कृनिभुवा पितृभिस्सह सज्जते (II*) 3
29 लिखितं सख्यन्त-अति⁶ त्व-यन्तुत्ति⁷ चैत-माम-दिवसे दशमे
30 भोगिक-फालगुदनासात्य-नष्टा भोगिक-वरादिक्ल-पुस्ते⁸ महा-
31 सान्धिविग्रहिक-अभोरथेन (I*) दूतकर्म-स* हावलाधिकृत-क्षत्रिय-⁹
32 शिव[गु]स[ः] (II*)

1 Read दत्तां वा.

2 Read प्रविण.

3 नाशुभा is usually found in inscriptions for न शुभा.

4 Read भूमिः.

5 Properly अवसित्वा सः.

6 Read संवत्सर.

7 Read त्वि.

8 Properly फल्गु and वराहदत्त.

9 भोगिक = *Īrāṇīk*; *bhoga* = *īrāṇī*. दूतकर्म = दूतक or it may be a case of wrong Samalla of दूतका + सहा. For the other offices, see *supra*, p. 360, note. The specific mention of क्षत्रिय may indicate that the Kshatri caste is meant.

- 16 त्वादपिण्डोपजीविभिर्वा कालान्तरं पवि न व्याघातः कार्यः ॥१॥ एवमाज्ञा-
- 17 स¹ यो ऽ*न्यथा कुप्योत्तत्रहं देहान्तर गतो ऽ* वि सहतावध्यानेन निर्द्देह्यं यम् ॥१॥
- 18 उक्तं च भगवता परमर्षिणा वेदव्याख्येन व्याख्येनः ॥१॥
पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो
- 19 यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिरः² ॥*
महीम्महिमता³ (*) श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो ऽ* नृपालनः⁴ ॥* १
बहुभिः⁵
- 20 वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्त्वग्रादिभिः ॥*
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
- 21 फलं⁶ लभ्य ॥* २
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः ॥*
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-
- 22 व नरके वसेत् ॥* ३
भूमि-प्रदानाज्ञा⁷ परं प्रदानं
दानाद्विशिष्टं परिपालनञ्च⁸ ॥*
23 सर्वं⁹ ऽ* तिसृष्टा⁹ (*) परिपाल्य भूमि⁹ *
नृपा नृगाद्यास्त्रिदिवं प्रपन्नाः ॥ ३
लिखितञ्च⁶
- 24 जीवित-नप्ता भुजंगदास-पुत्रेश्वरादासिनेति ॥* स्व मुद्राज्ञा⁹ ॥* चैत्र-दि २०
(+*) ८ ॥*

1 Read वज्रते, अद्यमानवर्तमानः

2 Read व्याख्येन, The *visarga* like sign may also be regarded as a mark of punctuation.

3 Read युधिष्ठिर, For the *visarga* sign, cf. above, lot 2.

4 Read पालनम्,

5 Read बहुभिर्विभक्ता,

6 Read प्रदानात्,

7 Read पालनञ्च,

8 Read लिखितञ्च,

9 आज्ञा stands for आज्ञाभि or दूतज्ञ in some records. It is striking to observe to have given the order of execution personally. स्वमुद्राज्ञा is practically the same as अविवेक आणनं in the Prākrit record. Dates: पुष्यवद्रा २० and २० (+*) ८.

(ii) THE AULIKARAS OF DASAPURA
(MANDASOR = MANDSAUR)

No. 51—Mandasor Stone Inscription of the time
of Naravarman—Mālava (=Vikrama) Year 461
(= A.D. 404)

MANDASOR, former Gwalior State, now in the Mandsaur District.
H. P. SHASTRI, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 320 f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-13 श्लोक (अनुष्टम्भ).

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम् (1*)
सहस्र-शिरसे तस्मै पुरुषायामितात्मने (1*)
चतुस्समुद्र-पर्यङ्क-तोय-निद्रालवे नमः (॥*) 1
श्रीमालव-गणाम्नाते² प्रशस्ते कृत-संज्ञिते (1*)
- 2 एकषष्ट्यधिके प्राप्ते ममा-शत-चतुष्टय³ (॥*) 2
प्रावृट्काले⁴ शुभे प्राप्ते मनस्तुष्टिकरे नृणाम् (1*)
मघे(हे) प्रनृष्टे शक्रस्य कृष्णस्यानुमते तदा (॥*) 3
- 3 निष्पन्न-व्रीहि-यवसा काश-पुष्पैरलंकृता (1*)
भाभिरभ्यधिकं भाति मेदिनी सख-मालिनी (॥*) 4
दिने आश्वोज-शुकस्य⁴ पंचम्यामथ सत्कृते (1*)

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XII. The record begins with an adoration to the thousand-headed Purusha identified with Vishnu. Naravarman was the father of Viśhavarman (No. 52) and grandfather of Bandhuvvarman (No. 21).

² Read श्रीमालव० and चतुष्टये. आम्नात = banded down. Kṛita or Kṛita was an early name of the Vikrama era. See B. II, Nos. 4-5.

³ Shastri: प्रावृट्काले.

⁴ आश्वोज in Pāṇini for शुक्ल आश्वयुज or अश्वयुज = आश्विन. Better read आश्विन०. निष्पन्न-व्रीहि-यवस = with standing barley crop and glass.

- 4 ईदकालवरे रम्ये प्रशासति वसुन्धराम् (॥*) 5
 प्राक्पुष्योपचयाभ्यासात्संवर्द्धित-मनोरथे (।*)
 जयवर्मा-नरेन्द्रस्य पौत्रे देवेन्द्र-विक्रमे (॥*) 6
- 5 क्षितीशे सिङ्गवर्मणस्सिङ्गविक्रान्त-गामिनि¹ (।*)
 सत्पुत्रे श्रीर्महाराज²-नरवर्माणि पार्थिवे (॥*) 7
 तत्पालन-गुणोद्देशाद्धर्म-प्राप्त्यर्थ-विस्तरः (।*)
- 6 पूर्व[ज]³न्मान्तराभ्यासाद्विलादाक्षित-मानसः (॥*) 8
 स्व-यशः-पुण्य-संभार-विवर्द्धित-कृतोद्यमः (।*)
 मृगतृष्णाजल-स्वप्न-विद्वद्दीपशिखा⁵-चलम् (॥*) 9
- 7 जीवलोकमिमं ज्ञात्वा शरण्यां शरणङ्गतः (।*)
 विदशोदार-फलदं स्वर्गस्त्री-चारु-पल्लवम् (॥*) 10
 विमानानेक-वितपं तोयदांशु-मधु-स्रवम्⁶ (।*)
- 8 वासुदेवं जगद्वासमप्रमेयमजं त्रिभुम् (॥*) 11
 मिल-भृत्यात्त-सत्कर्त्ता स्व-कुलस्य (।*)थ चन्द्रमाः (।*)
 यस्य वित्तं च प्राणाश्च देव-ब्राह्मण-सागता[:]⁷ (॥*) 12
- 9 महाकारुणिकः सत्यो धर्म्मार्जित-महाधनः (।*)
 सत्पुत्रो वर्णवृद्धेस्तु सत्पौत्रो (।*)थ जयस्य वै (॥*) 13
 दुहितुर्बलशूरायाः(*) सत्पुत्रो जयमित (।*)या[:]⁷ (।*)
- 10

1 Read सिंह०. The identification of this king with the father of Chandravarman, of the Sumuniyā inscription (*supra*, No. 40) is impossible. According to some scholars सिंहविक्रान्त-गामिन् indicates that Naravarman was a feudatory of Simhavikrānta (i.e. Simhavikrama or Chandragupta II).

2 Read श्रीमहा०.

3 ज was written with an unnecessary curve below; but that seems to have been cancelled. Shastri read ज्.

4 सं: seems to have been originally engraved.

5 Read विद्य०.

6 Shastri: स्रवम्. र्धु was originally engraved; but the sign for the superscript r seems to have been afterwards cancelled. Note that Vāsudeva is here represented as a tree with the gods (not heaven, as suggested by Shastri) as its fruits, with the *apsarases* as its shoots, and similar branches, etc. फलद = वृक्ष; विदशोदार-फलदः = मुरूपफलानां महावृक्षः. The reference seems to be to the Viśvarūpa conception.

7 Better read ०सात्कृता: or सङ्गता:

No. 51A—Bihar-kotra Stone Inscription of the
time of Naravarman—[Malava = Vikrama]
Year 474 (417 A.D.)

Bihar-kotra, Rajgarh District.

S. N. Chakravarti, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, pp. 130ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

TEXT¹

- 1 [सि*]द्धम् (।*) श्रीम्म(म)हाराज-नरवर्म्मणः [औ]लिकरस्य
- 2 राज्य-संवत्सरे चतुर्षु वर्ष-शतेषु चतु[:*]-
- 3 [म*]सतेषु² श्रावण-शुक्ल-द्वितीयायाम् भट्टिमह-
- 4 र-सत्पुत्रेण वीरसेनेनायमुदपानः खानि-
- 5 तश्चातुर्दिशं भिन्न-संघमुद्दिश्य (।*) सर्व्व-सत्वा(स्वा)नां
- 6 तृष्णा-क्षयायास्तु [॥]

No. 52—Gangdhar Stone Inscription of Viśva-
varman—Mālava (= Vikrama) Year 480 (= 423 A.D.)

GANGDHAR, Jhālāwār District, Rajasthan.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 74 ff; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 4

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-18 वसन्ततिलका; Vv. 19-20 शार्दूलविक्रीडित;
V. 21 वसन्ततिलका; V. 22 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 23
मन्दाक्रान्ता; V. 24 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 25 मन्दाक्रान्ता.

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI.

² Read चतुःसप्तत्यधिकैष.

TEXT¹

- 1 — — — — — मस्य
विष्णोर्भुजस्सुरपति-द्विप-हस्त-[स]र्प[*] (।*)
— — — — —
— — —
- 2 — — — — — (।*) 1
प्रकल्यात-वीर्य-यशस[ः] [क्षिति]पाधिपानां
वंशोद्भवो [ज*]गति विश्रुत-कीर्त्ति-भाजाम्* (।*)
— — — — —
- 3 — — — कान्त-
इश्रीमान्वभूव नरवर्ध-नृपः प्रकाशः² ॥ 2
यज्ञैस्सुरान्मुनि-गणा[न्निय]मैरुदारै[ः]
— — — — — (।*)
- 4 [माने]न भृत्य-जनसंप्रतिमेन लोके
योऽन्तोपयत्पुचरितैश्च जगत्समग्र-ग्रम् ॥ 3
हस्त्यश्व-साधन — — — — —
— — — — —
- 5 — खड मरीचमत्सु ॥⁴
ग
सङ्ग्राम-मूर्द्धसु सुखं समुदीक्ष्य यस्य
नाशम्प्रयान्त्यरि-गणा भय-न[ष्ट-चेष्टाः] (।*) 4
[तस्यात्मजः*]⁴ — — — — —
- 6 — *। महात्मा
बुद्ध्या बृहस्पति-समस्सकलेन्दु-वक्त्रः ॥
औपम्य-भूत इव राम-भगीरथाभ्यां
रा — — — — —

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Viśnavarma was the son of Naravarma (No. 51-51A) and father of Bandhuvarma (No. 21).

² प्रकाश = famous.

³ Read मरीचि. Only one *danḍa* is required here for punctuation. See also verses 5, 7, etc., below.

⁴ तस्यात्मजः is also possible.

7 — — [भु*]वि विश्ववर्मा ॥ 5

धैर्येण मेरुमभिजाति-गुणेन वैभ्य-

मिन्दुं प्रभा-समुदयेन बलेन विष्णुं (१*)

[सं*]-

8 [व]र्त्तकानलमसह्यतमञ्च दीप्त्या

यो विक्रमेण च सुराधिपतिं विजिग्ये ॥ 6

व्यावृत्त-मार्गा इव भा-

9 [नुरस*]द्य-मूर्ति-

व्यम्भ्रोदयाधिकतरोज्ज्वल¹-घोर-दीप्तिः ॥²

यश्शक्यते न रिपुभिर्भय-विह्वलाक्षै-

रुद्धी-

10 [क्षितुं क्ष*]णमपि अगृहीत-शस्त्रः ॥ 7

निर्भण्णैरविगतास्त्र-जलाद्र³-गण्डै-

र्विच्छिन्न-मण्डनतथोज्ज्वल-नष्ट-

11 [शोभै*]: ॥²,

यस्त्यारि-कामिनि⁴-मुखाभ्युरुहैर्बलस्य

पूर्वं प्रताप-चकितं × क्रियते प्रणामः ॥ 8

रत्नोद्गम-द्युति-

12 [विर*]जित-कूल-तालै-

रुत्तस्त नक्क-मकर-क्षत-[फे]न-मालैः ॥²

चण्डानिलोद्धत-तरङ्ग-समस्त-हस्तै-

13 र्यस्त्या[र्णवै*]रपि बलानि नम × क्रियन्ते ॥ 9

भूरुद्धि द्युत-द्रुम विकम्पित-शैल-कील-

विस्वस्त-विद्ध-मृग-द्विज शूष्य-गु-

¹ Read °ज्ज्वल. व्यम्भ=free from clouds. व्यम्भोदय=rise that is unshadowed by clouds.

² Only one *danḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

³ नी has been made नि 'or the metre's sake. This reminds one of the saying साधमपि मधं कुर्याच्छन्दोभङ्गं विवर्जयेत्, बल=proweess, army.

⁴ Read शूल, कोल=lance; मृग-द्विज=beasts and birds.

- 14 [लमा*] (।*)
 यस्त्योन्नत-प्रविष[मी]कृत¹-राजमार्गा
 स्सैण्य-प्रयाण-समये² विनिमज्जतीव ॥ 10
 प्रत्यस्त-मौलि-
- 15 [म*]णि-रश्मि-नख-प्रभान्धे-
 रन्ध्रयुताञ्जलितया शबलाग्र-गण्डैः ॥³
 विद्याधरैः प्रियतमा-भुज-पाश-व-
- 16 [खे*]-
 [र्य*]स्स्याद्रादिवि यश[ि]सि नम × क्रियन्ते ॥ 11
 अग्रे⁴ ऽपि या⁵ वयमि सम्परिवर्त्तमान-
 शशास्त्रानुसार-परि-
- 17 [वद्धित*]-शुद्ध-बुद्धिः ॥⁵
 सद्धर्म-मार्गमिव राजसु दर्शयिष्य-
 नक्ष्रा-विधिं भरतवज्रगत × करोति ॥ 12
 तस्मिन्प्र-
- 18 [शास*]ति महीन्नुपति-प्रवीरे
 स्वर्गं यथा सुरपतावमित-प्रभावे ॥¹
 नाभूद्भ्रम-निरतो व्यसनान्वितो
- 19 [वा*]
 [लोके*] कदा च न जनस्सुख-वर्जितो वा ॥ 13
 यातेषु चतु[र्षु] क्रितेषु शतेषु सौस्त्यै⁵
 प्वाशीत-सोत्तरपटेष्विह वत्स-
- 20 [रेष*] ॥
 शुक्ले त्रयोदश-दिने भुवि कार्तिकस्य
 मासस्य सर्वजन-चित्त-सुखावहस्य ॥ 14
 नीलोत्पल प्र-

¹ Read प्रविषमौलित (made uneven).

² Read सैन्य, प्रत्यस्त=directed towards. शबल=variegated.

³ Only one *danḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

⁴ Read यो, अग्रे वयसि संप०=when he was still in early youth.

⁵ The reading चतुर्षु appears to be correct: but the first of the syllables ought to have been long. Read कृतेषु and सौम्येवाशी०.

- 21 [सूत-रे*] ष्वरुणांश्च-कीर्णै
बन्धूक-बाण-कुसुमोज्ज्वल-कान्तान्ते ॥¹
निद्रा-व्यपाय-समये मधुसूदनस्य
का-
- 22 [ले प्रबु*] दकुमुदागर-शुद्ध-तारे² ॥ 15
वापी-तडाग-सुरसङ्घ-सभोदपान-³
नानाविधोपवन-सङ्ग्राम-दीर्घिक[१]-
- 23 [मिः*] ॥⁴
शिष्टामिवाभरण-जातिभिरङ्गनां⁵ स्वां
यो गगर्गा-तट-पुरं सकलञ्चकार⁶ ॥ 16
राज्ञस्त्रितीयमिव⁷ चक्षुरुदा-
- 24 [र-वृत्ति*]-
ईव-द्विजाति-गुरु-ब[१]न्धव-साधु-भक्तः ॥⁸
शास्त्रैः स्तुते च विनय⁹ व्यवहार-हीने
यो(ऽ*)पक्षपात-रहितो निद[धौ]
- 25 [स्व-चिन्त*] ॥ 17
सर्वस्य जीवितमनित्यमसारवच्च
दोला-चलामनुविचिन्त्य तथा विभूतिम् ॥¹
न्यायाग[ते*]-

¹ Only one *danḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

² काल=शरत्काल. Note that Viṣṇu sleeps during the four months of the rainy season from Āśvāḍha-śukla 11 to Kārttika-śukla 11. आगर=अमावास्या; Fleet takes it in the sense of आगर. प्रबुद्धकुमुदागर-शुद्धतार=adorned with blossomed lilies and shining stars of the new moon.

³ Read ०भोदपान. उदपान is Prakrit from Sanskrit उदपान (=well or cistern), सुरसङ्घ=temple. सभा=shelter, hall. सङ्ग्राम=bridge.

⁴ Fleet सेष्टा०.

⁵ Read समल०. Gargarā has been supposed to be the ancient name of the modern Kāli-sindh, a tributary of the Chambal. The city referred to (Gaṅgdhār?) seems to have been a provincial capital of Viśvavarman. The main capital was Daśapura=Mandasor (Mandsaur).

⁶ Read ०सृतीय०.

⁷ Read विनये. For the omission of *visarga* in शास्त्रैः, see p. 404, note 7. व्यवहार=litigation, dispute.

- 26 [न वि*]भवेन पराञ्च भक्तिं
 विष्ण्यापयन्नुपरि चक्र-गदा-धरस्य¹ ॥ ⁸
 पीन-व्यायत-वृत्त-लम्बि-सुभुज × खड्ग-प्र[णै]-
- 27 [रङ्गि*]तः ॥²
 कर्णान्त-प्रतिसर्पमान ण-नयनः³; ग्यामावदातच्छविः³ ॥⁴
 दर्पाविष्कृतसोर-शङ्ख-मथनो⁵ दुष्टाश्च-⁶
- 28 [यन्ता*] वली ॥²
 भक्त्या चासुहृदाञ्च बान्धव-समो धर्मार्थ-कामोदितः ॥ 10
 प्रज्ञा-शौर्य-कुलोद्गतो दिशि
- 29 [दिशि*] प्रवख्यात-वीर्यो वशी ।²
 पुष्पे विष्णुभटे तथा हरिभटे सम्बद्ध-वङ्ग-वंश)-क्रियः ॥¹
 एत-
- 30 [त्पाप*]-पथावरोधि विपुलश्री-वल्लभेरात्मजैः⁷ ॥²
 विष्णो स्थानमकारयद्भगव-
- 31 [तद्श्री*]मान्मयूराक्षकः ॥ 20
 कैलास-तुङ्ग-शिखर-प्रतिमस्य यस्य
 दृष्टाकृतिं⁸ प्र-
- 32 [मुदितै*]र्ध्वदनारविन्दिः⁹ ॥⁴
 विद्याधराः प्रियतमा-सहिताः सु-शोभ-
 मादर्शि-विम्ब-¹⁰

1 Vishṇu is the wielder of both the discus and the club. उपरि = on.

2 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

3 Read ग्यामा०.

4 Only one *daṇḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

5 Read ०कृत-सार०.

6 Read दृष्टाश्च (= दृष्टजनरूपाश्च).

7 Read वल्लभै०. Note that the omission of *visarga* after विष्णो; (as also after शास्त्रे; in line 24) is supported by the *vārttika* खर्परं शरि वा विसर्ग-लोपो वक्तव्यः; on Pāṇini's *sandhi* rule वा शरि (८.३.३६).

8 Read ०कृतिं.

9 Read ०विन्दे;

10 Read ०दर्श.

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- 33 [मिव*] यान्त्यवलोकयन्तः ॥ 21
यान्दष्टा सुर सुन्दरी-कर-तल-व्याघ्र-पृष्ठ-क्षणम् ॥¹
प्रत्या-
- 34 [वर्त्त*] न-शङ्किनो रथ-हयानाक्रि(कृ)ष्य चञ्चत्सटान् ॥²
पुण्योदक-मति-प्रभाव-मुनिभिस्सं-
- 35 [स्तू*] यमानो ऽ-म्बरे ॥¹
संरज्याञ्जलि-कूटलन्नत-शिरा' भीतः प्रयात्त्यङ्गु त्यंशुमान् ॥ 22
- 36 मातृगाञ्च³
[प्रमु*] दित घनात्यर्थ निहादिनीनाम् ॥¹
तन्तोद्भूत-प्रवल-पवनोद्वृत्तिताम्भोनिधीनाम् ॥²
- 37 — — — — गजसिद्धं डाकिनी संप्रकीर्णम् ॥¹
त्रैशमात्युग्रं नृगति-सचिवो ऽ-कारयत्पुण्य-हेतोः ॥ 23
पाताले — — —
- 38 — — — रतिभिर्गुप्तं भुजङ्गो(प*)मेः ॥¹
शीत-स्वाङ्ग-विशुद्ध-भूरि-सलिलं सोपानि मालोज्ज्वलम् ॥²
द — — —
- 39 — — — गहनं क्षीरोदधि-स्पद्धिनम् ॥¹
कूटञ्चैनमकारयद्गुण-निधिः श्रोमान्मयूराक्षकः ॥ 24
यावच्च — — —
- 40 — — — सागरा रत्नवन्तो
नाना-गुल्म-द्रुम-वनवती यावदुर्वी स[क्षै]ला ॥²
यावच्चेन्दुग्रह-गण-चितं व्योम भा[सीक*]-
- 41 [रोति*]
[ता*] वत्कीर्त्तिर्भवतु विपुला श्रीमयूराक्षकस्येदिति⁶ (॥*) 25
सिद्धिरस्तु (॥*)

¹ The punctuation mark is unnecessary. यां = आकृतिं. Possibly ०पृष्ठं चणान्.

² Only one *daṇḍa* is necessary for proper punctuation. चञ्चत्सट = with tossing manes.
उदकं = result.

³ Read संकुच्याञ्जलिकुटुमलत्र०.

⁴ Read मातृ०. तन्त्र = spell. वेष्टन = abode. The temple for the Mothers indicates the influence of the Tantra cult. For another early temple of the Divine Mothers, see the Deogarh inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 126f.). Cf. also the Chhoti Sadri inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 12)ff.

⁵ Read सोपानमालोज्ज्वलम्.

⁶ Read ०कस्य ॥ इति ॥, चित = full of.

No. 52A—Mandasor Stone Inscription of the time of
Prabhakara¹—Mālava (= Vikrama) Year 524 (467 A.D.)

MANDASOR, former Gwalior State, now in the Mandsaur District.

M. B. GARDE, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 12-18.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verse 1 वसन्ततिलकः Vv. 2-16 उपजाति; V. 17 पृथ्वी; V. 18
श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT²

- 1 सिद्धम् (॥*)
ये[ने]दमुद्भव-निरोध-परंपरायां
मग्नं जगद्विविध-दुःख-निरन्तरायाम् (॥*)
तित्त्वासुना त्रिपदिरो(को)² निरदेशि धर्म-
स्तस्मै नमो(ऽ*)स्तु सुगताय [ग]ताय शान्तिम् (॥*) 1
- 2 गुप्तान्वय-व्योमनि चन्द्रकल्पः
श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-प्रथिताभिधानः (॥*)
आसीन्नृपो लोक-विलोचनानां
नवोदितश्चन्द्र इवापहर्त्ता (॥*) 2
भुवः पती[नां] भुवि भूपतित्व-
माच्छिद्य
- 3 श्री-विक्रम-साधनेन (॥*)
नाद्यापि मोक्षं समुपैति येन
स्व-वंश्य-पाशैरवपाशिता भूः (॥*) 3
गोविन्दवत्ख्यात-गुण-प्रभावो
गोविन्दगुप्तोज्जित(त³)-ना[मधे]यम् (॥*)
वसुन्धरेश-

¹ There is little doubt that Prabhākara belonged to the Aulikara family of Daśapura and was a successor of Bandhuvarmā (No 21 above) who ruled in the Mālava year 493 (436 A. D.) and was the son and successor of Viśvavarmā (No 52 above, dated in the Mālava year 480=423 A. D.).

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII.

³ *Dharma* has been called *tri-padika* because the Buddhist faith stands on the trinity, viz., the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

4 स्तनयं प्रजज्ञे¹
 स दित्यदि[त्यो]स्तनयैस्सरूपम् (॥०) 4
 यस्मिन्नूपैरस्तमित-प्रतापै-
 दिशरोभिरालिङ्गित-पादपद्मे ।
 विचार-दो[ळां] विबुधाधिपोऽ(*)पि
 शङ्कापरीतः

5 समुपा[ह]रोह (॥*)² 5
 सेनापतिस्तस्य बभूव नाम्ना
 वायादिना रक्षित-पश्चिमेन (।*)
 यस्यारिसेनास्समुपेत्य सेनां
 न कस्यचिद्धोचनमार्गमीयुः (॥*) 6

6 शौचानु-
 राग-व्यं(व्य वसाय-मेधा-
 दाक्ष्य-क्षमादिङ्गणराशिमैकः (।*)
 यशश्च यश्चन्द्र-मरीचि-गौरं
 दधार धाराधर-धीर-घोषः (॥०) 7
 उदीच्य भूभृत्कुल-चन्द्रिकायां³
 स रा[ज]पुत्र्या

1 Correctly it should be जनयामास. For similar cases of तेन जातः in the legend on Bhāṣkaravarman's seals and अजनि and जज्ञे in the causative sense in the Chāṭeśvara inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, p. 122).

2 The reference to Indra's fear for Govindagupta and to the latter's feudatories has been taken to suggest that Govindagupta was an imperial ruler. This is unwarranted. See No. 52, Vv. 6 and 13; *I. H. Q.*, XXIV, pp. 72-75. Govindagupta was apparently ruling as the viceroy over some areas (which included Malwa recently conquered from the Śakas) of the empire of his father Chandragupta II. His viceregal headquarters may have been at Ujjayinī.

3 General Vāyurakṣita's wife was the daughter of a ruler of Udichya or Uttarāpatha, i.e. the land between the Eastern Punjab and the Oxus.

- 7 जं(ज)नयांवभूव¹ ।
 नाम्नात्मजं दत्तभटं गुणानां
 कीर्त्तेश्च यो(ऽ*)भूस्त्रिलयः पि[ते]व ।(1*) 8
 दाने धनेशं धियि वाचि चेशं
 रतौ स्मरं संयति पाशपाणिम् ।(1*)
 यमर्त्थि-
- 8 विद्वत्प्रमदारिवर्गा-
 स्सम्भावयांचक्रुरनेकधैकम् ॥*) 9
 गुप्तान्वयारि-द्रुम-धूमकेतुः³
 प्रभाकरो भूमपतिर्यमेनम् ।(1*)
 स्वेषाम्बलानां बलदेववीर्यं
 गुणा-
- 9 नुरागादधिपं चकार ॥
 चिकीर्षुणा प्रत्युपकार-लेशं
 तेनैष पिबोः शुभयोग-सिद्धेय ।
 स्तूप-प्रपारामवरैरुपेतः
 कूपो(ऽ*)र्णवागाधजलो [इय]खानि ।(1*) 11
 यस्मि-
- 10 न्सुहृत्सङ्गम-शीतलञ्च
 मनो मुनीनामिव निर्मलं च ।
 वचो गुरुगामिव चाम्बु पथ्यं
 पेपीयमानः सुखमेति लोकः ।(1*) 12
 शरन्नितानाथ-करामलायाः(या)

¹ Cf. note on प्रजज्ञे in line 4.

² This has been taken to mean "the lord of speech i.e. Brīhaspati in talent", although the meaning actually is "Īśa (Śiva) in talent and speech".

³ This shows that Prabhākara was a feudatory of the Gupta emperors.

- 11 विख्यापके मालव-वह वंश-कीर्तिः ।
श

शरद्वर्षे पञ्चशते व्यतीते

त्रि-धातिताष्टाभ्यधिके क्रमेण ।(1*) 13

भृङ्गाङ्ग भारालस-वाल-पद्मे

काले प्रपञ्चे रमणीय-साले ।

- 12 गतासु देशान्तरित-प्रियासु

प्रियासु काम-ज्वलनाहुतित्वम् ॥(*) 14

नात्युष्ण शीतानिल-कम्पितेषु

प्रवृत्त-मत्तान्यभृत-स्वते(ने)षु ।

प्रियाधरोष्ठारुण-पल्लवेषु

- 13 नवां व[ह]त्सूपवनेषु कान्तिम् ॥¹ 15

यो धातुमात्रे हत-धातु-दोषः

सर्व-क्रिया-सिद्धिमुवाच तस्य² ।

कुन्देन्दु-शुभ्रो(ऽ*)ञ्ज-विष्ट-यष्टि-

रथं कृतो धातुवरः³ स-कूपः ।(1*) 16

- 14 अनेक-सरिदङ्गनाङ्ग-परिभोग-नित्योत्सवो

महार्णव इवाम्बुतो(नो) निचय एष मा भू(त्*)क्षयी ।

सुरासुर-नरोरगेन्द्र-महितो(ऽ*)प्ययं धातुष्ट-

क्परैतु सम-

- 15 कालताममरभूधराक्केन्दुभिः ।(1*) 17

स्तूप-कूप-प्रपारामा ये चैते परिकीर्त्तिताः ।(1*)

लोकोन्त(त्)र-विहारस्य⁴ सीम्नि ते(ऽ*)भ्यन्तरीकृताः(*) ॥ 18

रविलस्य कृतिः⁵ ।(1*)

¹ The reference is apparently to the spring season शरद्वर्ष = years.

² The reference is to the Buddha.

³ *Dhātu-vara* really means the relics of the Buddha; but here it means a *stūpa* built on the Buddha's relics. Such *stūpas* were usually called *dhātu-garbha*.

⁴ The Buddhist monastery, within which the *stūpa*, *kūpa* (well), *prapā* (shed for supplying free drinking water) and *ārāma* (garden) were made, was known as the *Lokottara-vihāra*.

⁵ The poem was the composition of a poet named Ravila.

No. 52B—Mandasor Fragmentary Inscription [of Gauri]
of the time of Ādityavardhana (c. 490-500 A.D.)¹

Mandasor, former Gwalior State, now in the Mandsaur District.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 127ff.; XXXIII, pp. 205ff.; *I.H.Q.*, XXXV, pp. 73ff.; XXXVI, pp. 191ff.; V. V. Mirashi, *I.H.Q.*, XXXIII, pp. 314ff.; XXXV, pp. 254ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-9 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT²

- 1 [जितं भग*][वता तेन] गरुडमर(द्र)थ-यायिना ।³
सै छोक्याम * * * *
- 2 [विष्णुना चक्र*]पाणिना ॥ 1
जित्वा रिपुबलं संखे(ख्ये) रम्यं पुर(रं) दशादि[कम् ।*]
- 3 [पालयति*] [न]रव्याघ्रे नरेन्द्रादित्यवर्द्धने ॥ 2
आसीन्मान * * * *⁴
- 4 * * * * वर्द्धणः(नः ।)
राष्ट्रवर्द्धण(न)-सत्पुत्रः(त्तो) यशोगुप्तो नरा[धिपः ॥*] 3
- 5 [तस्यानेन त*][नू]जेन श्री-महाराज-गौरिणा ॥ 4⁵
यस्य मातामहः श्री[मान्*]
- 6 * * * * [प्रताप]वान् (।*)
हरिश्चरति विख्याता जननी च पतिव्रता ॥ 5

¹ Ādityavardhana's date is suggested by the Chhoti Sadri inscription (Vikrama year 547=491 A.D.) of his feudatory Gauri (*Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 120ff.). Another king of the Aulikara dynasty, who probably flourished earlier than Ādityavardhana, was the *Āvantika nripa* Dravyavardhana mentioned as the author of a work on the *śākuna-śāstra* in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (85. 2) of Varāhamihira who seems to have composed his *Pañchasiddhāntikā* in Śaka 427 (505 A.D.). Dravyavardhana was a *Mahārājādhirāja*, and Ādityavardhana had his capital at Daś-ādika-pura=Daśapura.

² See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXX.

³ The punctuation is indicated by a slightly curved horizontal stroke. See also such marks in the other lines.

⁴ The name of Gauri's family is given as Mānavāyaṇi in the Chhoti Sadri inscription.

⁵ This is a half verse to be read along with verse 7.

- 7 * * * * समासाद्य तप्त्वा तममनुत्तमं(मम् ।)
 दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) दानं द्विजेभ्य[श्च*]
 8 [माता यस्य*] दिवङ्गता ॥ 6
 येन कूपास्तटाकानि मण्डपाश्च मनो[हराः ।*]
 9 [कारिताः पुण्य*]-वृद्धयर्थं ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च ॥ 7
 तेनेदं नगराभ्या[से]
 10 [मातुः पुण्याभि*]वृद्धये ।
 खानितं(त)स्स[व्व-सत्त्वा(त्त्वा)नां] सुख-[पेयो ज]ला[शयः ॥*] 8
 11प्रद... तेव मातापितो.....[॥*] 9

No. 53—Mandasor Stone Inscription of
 Yaśodharman alias Vishnuvardhana¹—
 Mālava (= Vikrama) Year 589 (= 532 A.D.)

MANDASOR, former Gwalior State; now in the Mandsaur District.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 152ff. ; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 220; XX, pp. 118ff. ; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 9.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verse 1 पुथिताया; V. 2 शिखरिणी; V. 3 मालिनी; V. 4 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 5 मालिनी; Vv. 6-7 वसन्ततिलका; V. 8 स्रग्धरा; V. 9 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 10 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 11 मालिनी; V. 12 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 13 मालिनी; Vv. 14-16 ओक (अनुष्टुप्); Vv. 17-18 मालिनी; V. 19 स्रग्धरा; Vv. 20-22 मालिनी; V. 23 शिखरिणी; V. 24 आर्या; V. 25 मन्दाक्रान्ता; V. 26 मालिनी; V. 27 स्रग्धरा; V. 28 शालिनी.

¹ In interpreting verses 5 and 6 of the record, Fleet suggests that Yaśodharman and Vishnuvardhana were not identical and that the latter was a feudatory of the former. He thinks that Yaśodharman was a जनेन्द्र = tribal ruler, and Vishnuvardhana a नराधिपति = king of men. But both the words mean 'a king' and the context shows that they were used for the sake of alliteration. It should further be noted that Yaśodharman is also called a *samrāt* (the same as *rājādhirāja-paramēśvara* of this record) in *infra*, No. 54. The passage स एव, Vishnuvardhana's title राजाधिराज-परमेश्वर, and the facts that Mandasor was apparently the capital of Yaśodharman and that the engraver was very probably an officer of Yaśodharman (cf. No. 54, line 9), go very strongly to suggest that Yaśodharman and Vishnu-

TEXT¹

1 सिद्धम् (॥*)

स जयति जगतां पतिः पिनाकी
 स्मित-रव-गीतिषु यस्य दन्त-कान्तिः ।
 द्युतिरिव तडितां निशि स्फुरन्ती
 तिरयति च स्फुटयत्यदश्च विश्वम् ॥ 1
 स्वयम्भूर्भूतानां स्थिति-लय-[समु*]-

2

त्पत्ति-विधिषु

प्रयुक्तो येनाज्ञां वहति भुवनानां विष्टतये ।
 पितृत्वं चानीतो जगति गरिमाणं गमयता
 स शम्भूर्भूयान्सि² प्रतिदिशतु भद्राणि भव[ताम्*] ॥ 2
 फण-मणि-गुरुभार[त्कर]-

3

न्ति-दूरावनम्रं

स्थगयति रुचमिन्दोर्मण्डलं यस्य मूर्ध्नाम् (।*)
 स शिरसि विनिबद्धनन्ध्रिनीमस्थिमालां
 सृजतु भव-सृजो³ वः क्लेश-भङ्गं भुजङ्गः ॥ 3
 षष्ट्या सहस्रैः सगरात्मजानां
 खात[ः*]

4

स्व-तुल्यां रुचमादधानः !

अस्योदपानाधिपतेश्चिराय
 यशान्सि⁴, पायात्पयसां विधाता ॥ 4

vardhana were names of one and the same king. पुनश्च = "further more" does not introduce a new person but only new details about the king. आजौ जितौ विजयते जगतीं पुनश्च = 'besides, having been victorious in battle (referred to in verse 5), he acquired the earth [by conquest]. See also p. 413, note 4. Yośoiharman's relationship with the earlier Aulikaras is not known. He was a Śaiva while the earlier members of the family were Vaiṣṇavas.

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

² Read ०भूयांसि. तिरयति च स्फुटयति = envelops and brings into full view.

³ Note that the Śaivas consider Śiva to be Creator, Preserver and Destroyer all in one. रुच् (fem.) = splendour. मण्डल = multitude.

⁴ Read यशान्सि. Note the epic story of the 60,000 sons of the Ikṣhvāku king Sagara, who dug out the earth and went to the nether world in search of the horse let loose in connection with their father's Aśvamedha. Thus they excavated the bed of the ocean, called sāgara after their father.

अथ जयति जनेन्द्रः श्री-यशोधर्मा-नामा
 प्रमद-वनमिवान्तः¹ शत्रु-सैन्यं विगाह्य (1*)
 व्रण-

5 किललय-भङ्गैर्योऽ(5*)ङ्गभूषां विधत्ते
 तरुण-तरु-लतावद्वीर-कीर्त्तीर्विवान्म्य² ॥ 5
 आजौ जिती विजयते जगतीम्पुनश्च
 श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धन-नराधिपतिः स एव ।
 प्रख्यात औलिकार-लान्ठन आत्म-

6 वङ्गो³
 येनोदितोदित-पदं गमितो गरीयः ॥ 6
 प्राचो नृपान्सुबृहतश्च बहुसुदीचः
 साम्ना युधा च वशगान्प्रविधाय येन (1*)
 नामापरां जगति कान्तमदो दुरापं
 राजाधिराज-परमे-

7 श्वर इत्युदूढम् ॥ 7⁴
 स्तिग्ध-श्यामाश्वुदाभैः स्थगित-दिनकृतो यज्वनामाज्य-धूर्त्रै-
 रम्भोमेध्यं मघोनावधिषु विदधता गाढ-सम्पन्न-सत्याः ।
 संहर्षाद्वाग्निनीनां कर-रभस-हृतो-

¹ अन्तः = in the interior.

² विनाम्य for विनमय्य is not grammatically happy.

³ Read वंशी, जितौ = conqueror. The meaning of औलिकार is unknown. Fleet suggests the hot-rayed sun or the cool-rayed moon. लाङ्कन = mark or token, is taken by that scholar to mean "the crest" which is the principal emblem impressed by kings on the seals attached to their charters and is different from the emblem on their dhvajā or banners. The Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum had सुवर्णगरुडध्वज and सिम्हुरलाङ्कन; the Kadambas of Banavasi and Goa had शाखाचरेन्द्रध्वज or वानरसहाध्वज and सिंहलाङ्कन. But Fleet's view may not be true in all cases; the Guptas, e.g., appear to have had the Garuḍa both on their seals and their banners. Yaśodharman belonged to the same Aulikara family as Naravarman (cf. the Biharkotra inscription) and his successors.

⁴ The verse indirectly refers to Yaśodharma-Vishnupurvardhana's victory over the Guptas of the east and the Hūṇas of the north, which afforded him the right to the title of a universal monarch. Cf. No. 54, verse 4. It is difficult to say whether No. 54 is earlier than No. 53. मघोना = by Indra; अभोमेध्यं = प्रचुरसज्जलमेघान्, वाग्निनी = wanton woman.

8

द्यानचूताङ्कुराद्या

राजन्वन्तो रमन्ते भुज-विजित-भुवा भूरयो येन देशाः ॥ 8

यस्योत्केतुभिर्हृन्मद-द्विप-कर-व्याविद्ध-लोभ-द्रुमै-

रुद्धूतेन वनाध्वनि ध्वनि-नदद्विन्याद्वि-रन्ध्रैर्व्वलैः (1*)

बाले-

9

य-च्छवि धूमरेण रजसा मन्दाङ्गु¹ संलक्ष्यतेपर्यावृत्त-शिखण्डि-चन्द्रक² इव ध्यामं रवेर्मण्डलम् ॥ 9तस्य प्रभोर्व्वङ्कृतां³ नृपाणां

पादाश्रयाद्विश्रुत-पुण्यकीर्त्तिः ।

भृत्यः स्व-नैभृत्य-जिता-

• 10

रि-षट्⁴

आसीद्वसीयान्किल षष्ठिदत्तः ॥ 10

हिमवत इव गाङ्गस्तुङ्ग-नम्रः प्रवाहः

शशभृत इव रेवा-वारि-राशिः प्रथीयान् (1*)

परमभिगमनीयः श्रुद्धिमानन्ववायो

यत उदित-गरि-

11

मगस्तायः नैगमानाम् ॥ 11

तस्यानुकूलः कुलजात्कलसा-

त्सुतः प्रसूतो यशसां प्रसूतिः ।

हरेरिवाङ्ग⁵ वशिनं वराहं

वराहदासं यमुदाहरन्ति ॥ 12

सुकृति-विपयि-तुङ्गं⁶ रुढमूलं

1 Read मन्दाङ्गु. बालियच्छविधूमर=smoke-coloured like an ass. धूसर may also be intended. ध्याम=black.

2 I.e., the eye on a peacock's tail reversed (=looked at from the wrong side).

3 Read ऽर्व्वंश. वंशकृतं=ancestors; नैभृत्य=retainers; वसीयान्=excellent; नैगम 'inhabitant of a nigama, a merchant'. See Lüders' List, p. 217.

4 The six enemies hindering religious practices are कामक्रोधस्तया लोभो मदमोहौ च मत्सरः.

5 Read ऽर्वांशं

6 Read ऽविपयं which is Kiehlhorn's reading. I.e. 'high like the abode of those who have performed good actions' (mountain); 'eminent in containing men who perform good actions (family)'. अपगतभङ्ग=free from breaks.

12

धरायां

स्थितिमपगतभङ्गां स्थेयसीमादधानम् (।*)

गुरु-शिखरमिवाद्रेस्तकुलं स्वात्म-भूत्या

रविरिव रविकीर्त्तिः सुप्रकाशं व्यधत् ॥ 13

विभ्रता शुभ्रमभ्रङ्गि (अंशि) स्मात्तं वत्सोचितं सताम् (।*)

न विसंन्वा-¹

13

दिता येन कलावपि कुलीनता ॥ 14

धुत-धीदीधिति-ध्वान्तान्हविर्भुज इवाध्वरान् (।*)

भानुगुप्ता ततः साध्वी तनयांस्त्रीनजीजनत् ॥ 15

भगवद्दोष इत्यासीत्प्रथमः कार्यवत्सु ।

आल-

14

म्बनं बान्धवानामन्धकानामिवोद्धवः ॥ 16

बहु-नय-विधि-वेधा गह्वरे (ऽ*) प्यर्थ-मार्गो

विदुर इव विदूरं प्रेक्षया प्रेक्षमाणः ।

वचन-रचन-बन्धे संस्कृत-प्राकृते यः

कविभिर्हृदि-

15

त-रागं गीयते गीरभिज्ञः ॥ 17

प्रणिधि-दगनुगन्ता यस्य बौद्धेन चाक्ष्णा

न निशि तनु दवीयो वास्त्यदृष्टं धरित्र्याम्² (।*)

पदमुदयि दधानो (ऽ*) नन्तरं तस्य चाभू-

त्स भयमभयदत्तो नाम

16

विघ्नोन्प्रजानाम् ॥ 18

विन्ध्यस्यावन्ध्य-कर्मा शिखर-तट-पतत्पाण्डु-रेवान्धुराशे-

गर्गोलाङ्गलैः सहेल³-प्लुति-नमित तरोः पारियात्रस्य चाद्रेः ।

आ सिन्धोरन्तरालं निज-शुचि-सचिवाद्धया-

¹ Read विसंवादिता.² धरित्र्यां is to be taken with चट्ट' and not with दधानः.³ "Abhayadatta maintaining a high position and preventing any fear on the part of his subjects."⁴ Fleet : सहलं.

17

सितानेक-देशं

राजस्थानीय-वृत्त्या¹ सुरगुरुरिव यो वर्णिनां भूतये ऽ*, पात् ॥ 19
 विहित-सकल-वर्णासङ्करं शान्त-डिम्बं
 कृत इव कृतमेतद्येन राज्यं निराधि ।
 स धुरमयमिदानीं

18

दोषकुम्भस्य सूनु-

गुरुं वहति तदूढां धर्मतो धर्मीदोषः ॥ 20²
 स्व-सुखमनभिवाच्छन्दुर्गमे(ऽ*)द्वन्यसङ्गां³
 धुरमतिगुरुभारां यो(ऽ*)दधत्तुर्थं ।
 वहति नृपति-वेपं केवलं लक्ष्म-मात्त⁴

19

वलिनिमिव विलम्बं कम्बलं बाहुलेयः¹ ॥ 21
 उपहित-हित-रक्षामण्डनो जाति-रत्नै-²
 भुज इव पृथुलांसस्तस्य दत्तः कनीयान् (।*)
 महदिदमुदपानं खानयामास त्रिभ्र-

20

च्छ्रुति-हृदय-नितान्तानन्दि निर्दोष-नामा ॥ 22
 सुखाश्रेय-च्छायं परिणति-हित-स्वादु-फलदं
 गजेन्द्रेणारुणं द्रुममिव कृतान्तेन बलिना ।
 पितृव्यं प्रोद्दिश्य प्रियमभयदत्तं पृ-

¹ Read वृत्त्या, राजस्थानीय=a feudatory or viceroy; cf तलवर=तुष्टभूपाल-प्रदत्त-पट्ट-बन्ध-विभूषित-राजस्थानीय (Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 12); प्रजापालनार्थमुवहति रचयति च स राजस्थानीयः in the *Lokoprakāśa* (C.I.I., III, p. 157, note). Abhayadatta is claimed to have been ruling the land lying between the Vindhya and the Pāriyātra (p. 204, note 1) and stretching as far as the Arabian Sea, as a viceroy of Yaśodharman surnamed Vishṇu-vardhana. Doshakumbha, father of Dharmadosha, was a younger brother of Abhayadatta.

² डिम्ब=hostility. तदूढ=borne by him (Abhayadatta).

³ Fleet: ०मनति०. Read ०वाञ्छन्दु०. असङ्ग=अप्रतिबन्ध. Fleet has यो दध०.

⁴ बाहुलेय=bull, from बहुला, a cow. बलिन=weighty.

⁵ Read ज्ञाति which is Kielhorn's reading. The first line means "invested, as with a decoration, with the protection of friends, by excellent relatives", and "with a beneficial protective ornament fastened by excellent relatives".

532AD

21

शु-धिया

प्रथीयस्तेनेदं कुशलमिह कर्मोपरचितं(तम्) ॥ 23

पञ्चसु शतेषु शरदां यातेष्वेकान्ननवति-सहितेषु ।

मालव-गण-स्थिति-वशात्काल-ज्ञानाय लिखितेषु¹ ॥ 24

य-

22

सिन्काले कल-मृदु-गिरां कोकिलानां प्रलापा

भिन्दन्तीव स्मर-शर-निभाः प्रोषितानां मनांसि ।

भृङ्गालीनां ध्वनिरनुवनं भार-मन्द्रश्च यस्मि-

न्नाधूत-ज्यं धनुरिव नदच्छ्रूयते पुष्प-

23

केतोः ॥ 25

प्रियतम-कुपितानां कम्पयन्बद्धरागं²

किसलयमिव मुग्धं मानसं मानिनीनां (।*)

उपनयति नभस्वान्मान-भङ्गाय यस्मि-

न्कुसुम-समय-भासे तत्त्व निर्मापितो(ऽ*)यम् ॥ 26

24

यावत्तुङ्गेरुदन्वान्किरण-समुदयं सङ्ग-कान्तं³ तरङ्गै-

रालिङ्गिन्नु-बिम्बं गुरुभिरिव भुजैः संविधत्ते सुहृत्ताम् (।*)

बिभ्रत्सौधान्त-लेखा-वलय-परिगतिं मुग्धमालामिवायं

सत्कूपस्तावदा-

25

स्ताममृत-सम-रस-स्वच्छ-विष्यन्दिताम्बुः ॥ 27

धीमां⁴ दक्षी दक्षिणः सत्यसन्धो

हीमांच्छ्रू(छू)रो वृद्ध-सेवी कृतज्ञः ।

बद्धोत्साहः स्वामि-कार्येष्वखेदो

निर्दोषो(ऽ*)यं पातु धर्म्मं चिराय ॥ 28

उत्कीर्णा⁵ गोविन्देन ॥

¹ स्थिति=settled rule, ordinance, established custom. वशात्=owing to Here स्थितिवशात् (owing to the custom) seems to mean "according to the custom [established by the republic of the Mālavas]" and to be the same as स्थित्या in *supra*, No. 21, line 19. एकान्न-नवति=एकोननवति.

² Fleet : रामयन्बद्ध०.

³ I.e., lovely owing to the contact with water ० दयासङ्गकान्तं may also be intended.

⁴ Read धीमान्. Fleet takes the name to be Daksha and Kielhorn to be Nirdosha. The occurrence of both of these words in verses 22 and 23 suggests that Daksha had the second name Nirdosha.

⁵ Better supply पूर्वा or प्रशस्तिः after उत्कीर्णा.

No. 54—Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription of Yasodharman (c. 525-35 A.D.)¹

MANDASOR, former Gwalior State; now in the Mandsaur District.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 146f.; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 219f.; XX, p. 188; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 1870.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-8 सङ्घरा ; V. 9 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT²

- 1 वेपन्ते यस्य भीम-स्तनित-भय-समुद्भ्रान्त-दैत्या दिगन्ताः
शृङ्गाघातैः सुमेरोर्विघटित-दृषदः कन्दरा यः करोति ।
उक्षाणं तं दधानः क्षितिधर-तनया-दत्त-[पञ्चाशुला]ङ्गं
द्राघिष्ठः शूलपाणेः क्षपयतु भवतां शत्रु-तेजाङ्गि³ केतुः ॥ 1
- 2 आविर्भूतावलेपैरविनय-पटुभिर्लङ्घिताचार-[मा]गौ-
मोहादैर्दयुगीनैरपशुभ-रतिभिः पीड्यमाना नरेन्द्रैः ।
यस्य क्षमा शाङ्गपाणेरिव कठिन-धनुर्ज्या-किणा[ङ्ग]-प्रकोष्ठ[⁴]
बाहुं लोकोपकार-व्रत-सफल-परिस्पन्द⁵-धीरं प्रपन्ना ॥ 2
- 3 निन्द्याचारेषु यो(ऽ*)स्मिन्विनय-मुषि युगे कल्पना-मारुत-वृत्त्या(स्या)
राजस्वन्येषु पाङ्कज्विव⁶ कुसुम-बलिर्जावभासे प्रयुक्तः ।
सु
स श्रेयो धाम्नि सम्राडिति⁷ मनु-भरतालवर्क-[मान्धा]तृ-कल्पे
कल्याणे हेमिन् भास्वान्मणिरिव सुतरां आजते यत्न शब्दः⁸ ॥ 3

¹ Yasodharman's known date is the Vikrama year 539=532 A. D. (see *supra*, No. 53).

² From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

³ Read तेजांसि. The inscribed pillar is described as the banner of Siva.

⁴ The original looks like परिस्पन्दि.

⁵ Read पांसु.

⁶ सचाट = a ruler of kings and performer of the Rā'sūya. Cf. verse 7 of No. 53 above.

⁷ "He, in whom possessed of a wealth of virtue and so falling but little short of Manu, Bharata, Alarka and Māndhātṛi, the title of 'Universal Sovereign',—which, in this age that is the ravisher of good behaviour, applied with a mere imaginary meaning to other kings of reprehensible conduct, has not shone at all, being in their case like an offering of flowers placed in the dust,—shines even more than it ordinarily does, like a resplendent jewel set in good gold."

- 4 ये भुक्ता गुप्त-नाथैर्न सकल-वसुधाकक्रान्ति-दृष्ट-प्रतापं-
 ब्राह्मण-ह्यधिपाना['] क्षितिपति-मुकुटादरासिनी यान्प्रविष्टा ।
 देशांस्तान्धन्व-शैल-द्रुम-श(ग)हन-सरिदीरबाहूपगूढा-
 न्वीर्ग्यावस्केन्न-राज्ञः स्व-गृह-परिसरावज्ञया यो भुनक्ति ॥ ४^१
- 5 आ लौहित्योपकण्ठात्तलवन-गह[नो]पत्यकादा महेन्द्रा-
 दा गङ्गास्त्रिष्ट-सानोस्तुहिनशिखरिण-पश्चिमादा पयोधिः ।
 सामन्तैर्यस्य^२ बाहु-द्रविण-हत-म[दै]ः पादयोरानमद्भि-
 र्ब्रूढा-रत्नाङ्ग-राजि-न्यतिकर-शबला भूमि-भागाः क्रियन्ते ॥ ५^३
- 6 स्थाणोरन्यत्स येन प्रणति-कृपणतां प्रापितं नोत्तमाङ्गं
 यस्यास्त्रिष्टो भुजाभ्यां वहति हिमगिरिदुर्गं-शब्दाभिमान[म्] ।
 नीचैस्तेनापि यस्य प्रणति-भुजबलावर्जन-क्लिष्ट-मूर्द्धा
 [च]ूडा-पुष्पोपहारैर्भिर्हिरकुल-नृपेणाचि[त] [']पाद-युग्मं(ग्मम्) ॥ ६^४

¹ Note that Yaśodharman claims to have conquered more territories than did the Gupta and Hūṇa kings. This shows that his sovereignty in the Malwa region followed that of the Guptas and the Hūṇas.

² सामन्त = originally, a neighbour; but here, a feudatory ruler. बाहुद्रविण = strength of arms. चूडा = the single tuft of hair left on the crown after the ceremony called Chūḍākaraṇa; here, top of head. रत्नाङ्गराजिन्यतिकरशबल = variegated owing to the intermingling of a multitude of the rays of jewels. तल = ताल = palmyra tree.

³ Read रत्नाङ्ग. The verse refers to *digvijaya*, which the king claims to have performed, and gives the conventional boundaries of the *Chakravartīkṣetra*. It is a conventional eulogy and never entirely historical in all its details. There is no reason to believe that Yaśodharman actually conquered the whole of India from the Himalayas to the Mahendra and from the banks of the Brahmaputra to the Arabian Sea (see above, p. 234, note 1). Lauhitya = the Brahmaputra; Tuhinaśikharin = the Himalayas; Mahendra = the Eastern Ghāṭs; here, Mahendrāchala in the Tirunelveli District; Paścimapayodhi = the Arabian Sea.

⁴ "He (i.e., Yaśodharman) to whose two feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of his head, by even that famous king Mihirakula whose head had never previously been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save the god Sthāṇu, and embraced by whose arms the Himālaya falsely prides itself on being styled an inaccessible fortress, and whose forehead was pained through being now for the first time bent low down by the strength of his (Yaśodharman's) arm in the act of compelling obeisance" The Hūṇa Mihirakula was thus an emperor; he was a devotee of स्थाणु = शिव; his capital was in the Himalayan region or not very far from it; he was subdued by Yaśodharman. Kalhaṇa mentions Mihirakula as a king of Kashmir. According to Buddhist traditions, he had his capital at Sākala or Siālk in the W. Panjāb. But his empire appears to have extended at least from Kashmir to Mālwā from where he was possibly ousted by Yaśodharman. For his record, see *infra*, No. 57; also p. 330, note 4.

- 7 [गा*]मेवोन्मातुमृद्धं विगणयितुमिव ज्योतिषां चक्रवाकं
निर्दुष्टं मार्गमुच्चैर्दिव इव [सु]कृतोपार्जितायाः स्व-कीर्तेः ।
तेनाकल्पान्त-कालावधिरवनिभुजा श्री-यशोधर्मणाथं
स्तम्भः स्तम्भाभिराम-स्थिर-भुज-परिघेणोच्छ्रितं नायितो(५*)स्त्व ॥ 7
- 8 [श्ला]घ्ये जन्मास्य वड्ढे(वंशे) चरितमघहरं दृश्यते कान्तमस्मि-
न्धर्मस्यायं निकेतश्चकति नियमितं नामुना लोकवृत्तम्¹ (।*)
इत्युत्कर्षं गुणानां लिखितुमिव यशोधर्मणश्चन्द्र-विम्बे
रागादुत्क्षिप्त उच्चैर्भुज इव रुचिमान्यः पृथिव्या विभाति ॥ 8
- 9 इति तुष्टूषया तस्य नृपतेः पुण्यकर्मणः ।
वासुलेनोपरचिताः श्लोकाः कक्षस्य सूनुना ॥ 9
उत्कीर्णा² गोविन्देन ॥

D—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE HŪṆA KINGS FROM CENTRAL INDIA AND THE PANJAB

No. 55—Eran Stone Boar Inscription of the time of Toramāṇa (c. 500-15 A.D.)³—Regnal Year 1

ERAN, Sāgar (Saugor) District, Madhya Pradesh.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 159f.; BHANDARKAR'S List,
No. 1269 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verse 1 आर्या; V. 2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ) [Fleet takes it to be a
sentence in prose]; V. 3 आर्या.

¹ असुना नियमितं लोकवृत्तं न चलति, "controlled by him, the conduct of mankind does not swerve [from the right course]". रुचिमान्=endowed with splendour.

² Supply प्रशस्तिः or पूर्वा after उत्कीर्णा; the word may refer to श्लोकाः also. No work of the poet Vāsula is known.

³ Toramāṇa, the Hūṇa king, was the father of Mihirakula. Note that Mātrivishṇu was a feudatory of Budhagupta; but, during the time of his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu,

TEXT¹

546 10

1 १^२ [॥*]

जयति धरभ्युद्धरणे घन-घोणाघात-घूर्णित-महीद्धः (॥*)

देवो वराहमूर्तिस्त्रैलोक्य-महागृह-स्तम्भः^३ (॥*) १वर्षे प्रथमे पृथिवी[म्]^४

2

पृथु-कीर्त्तौ पृथु-द्युतौ (॥*)

महाराजाधिराज-श्रीतीरमाणे प्रशासति । (॥*) 2

फाल्गुन-दिवसे दशमे ।^५ इत्येवं राज्य-वर्ष-मास-दिनैः (॥*)

एतस्यां

3

पूर्वायाम् ।^५ स्व-लक्षणैर्युक्त-पूर्वायाम् । (॥*) 3स्वकर्माभिरतस्य क्रतुयाजिनो (॥*) धीत-स्वाध्यायस्य विप्रर्षेभ्यस्त्यागीयवृषभस्येन्द्र-
विष्णोः प्रपौत्तस्य ।^५

4

पितुर्गुणानुकारिणो वरुणविष्णोः पौत्रस्य पितरमनुजातस्य स्ववंश-वृद्धि-हेतोर्हरिविष्णोः
पुत्रस्यात्यन्त-भगवद्भक्तस्य विधातुरिच्छया ।^५

5

स्वयंवरयेव राजलक्ष्म्याधिगतस्य चतुःसमुद्र-पर्यन्त-प्रथितयशसः अक्षीण-मान[ध]न-
स्यानेक-शत्रु-समर-जिष्णोः महार(॥*)ज-मातृविष्णोः

6

स्वर्गतस्य भ्रातृनुजेन ।^५ तदनुविधायिना तत्प्रसाद-परिगृहीतेन^६ धन्यविष्णुना
तेनैव [स]हाविभक्त-पुण्यविक्रयेण मातापित्तोः

the country was under Toramāna. See *supra*, No. 54.

¹ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Cf. the text with that of *supra*, No. 35.

² सिद्धम् expressed by symbol.

³ The verse refers to the Varāha incarnation of Vishṇu. घन-घोणाघात-घूर्णित-महीद्धः = who caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of his hard snout.

⁴ It is generally supposed that the fifth syllable should be short, though there is similar use of a long fifth in many standard works.

⁵ The mark of punctuation is superfluous. Better read दशम, and पूर्वायां. Here पूर्वा has been used practically as a synonym of तिथि.

⁶ There is a sign following this word and resembling the dagger-mark of English typography which, as Fleet has suggested, indicates that the passage तेनैव सहाविभक्तपुण्यविक्रयेण should be read here, i.e., just before धन्यविष्णुना. Note that Dhanyavishṇu has no royal title, though Airikīṇa is referred to as his own *viśhaua*. This may suggest that his position as *viśhayaapati* was not yet sanctioned by Toramāna who had recently occupied the country. This fact may also suggest that the year refers to Toramāna's occupation of Malwa and not to his actual regnal reckoning which was possibly not known to Dhanyavishṇu.

- 7 पुण्याप्यायनार्थमेष भगवतो वराहमूर्तेर्जगत्परायणस्य नारायणस्य शिला-प्रा[सादः]
स्व-विष[ये] (५*)स्मिन्नैरिकिणे¹ कारितः ॥(१०)
8 स्वस्त्यस्तु गो-ब्राह्मण-पुरोगाम्यः सर्व-प्रजा[भ्य इ]ति ॥

No. 56—Kura Stone Inscription of the time
of Toramana Shahi² (c. 500-15 A.D.)

KURĀ, Salt Range, the Pañjāb; now in West Pakistan.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 239f.

Language: Sanskrit strongly influenced by Prakrit.

Script: Nail-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

TEXT³

- 1 [१*]⁴ [राजाधि*]राज-महाराज-तोरमाण-घा[हि]-जऊ[वलस्यामिवध*][मान-
राज्ये] * * [संवत्सरे*]
2 * * * * मे⁶ मार्गशिर-मास-शुक्ल-द्वितीयायाम्(यां) चान्द्र[मग्रहण?] * * * * *
गग[न*]-

¹ ऐरिकिण-विषय = district round modern Eran.

² He should probably be identified with the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa, see note 5 below.

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I. Some *aksharas* here and there and a few lines at the end of the record appear to have been erased.

⁴ The restorations are probable in consideration of the space and traces before राज°.

⁵ Cf. line 10 below. Since this prince has been called a जऊवल (which is supposed to have been a feudatory title or a tribal name), Bühler and Kielhorn were not inclined to identify him with the father of Mihirakula, though they agreed that the record belongs to the 4th or 5th century A.D. I do not think that there is any improbability in the identification. There is evidence to show that a feudatory (and sometimes even his successors) continued to use the feudatory title even when he became actually independent. Note the title महाचक्र used by the Śaka kings of Malwa, and the title सेनापति applied to Pushyamitra Śuṅga (p. 95) even after his celebration of two Aśvamedha sacrifices. It has been pointed out that the name तोरमाण is the same as the Turkish word *tōramān*, *tūramān* or *tōremān*, meaning a rebel or insurgent. जऊवल has been connected with Turkish *jöl*, 'a falcon' For *shāh*, see p. 142, note 2; p. 150, note 3.

⁶ Possibly the gap between राज्य and संवत्सरे contained 2 cancelled *aksharas*. It is difficult to say whether the last word is *prathame*.

- 3 [चरे च] वर * शुचि-शात-ध्यानाध्ययन-सोक्ष-चित्तानुकूले¹ प्र[दिष्ट] * * *
 * * * * * [न*]-
- 4 क्षप्ते भगवतो बुद्धस्य देवातिदेवस्य² सर्वपापपरिक्षीण-सर्वपुण्यसमुद्गत[स्य]
- 5 तीर्ण-स(•)साराणव(स्य•) सत्त्वा(त्त्वा)नां तारयिता³ दशबल-बलिन(ः*)⁴ चतुर्वैशारद्य-⁵
 चतस्रप्रतिसं[भिदा]-⁶
- 6 अष्टादशावेणीकाद्भुत-धर्म-समन्वागतस्य⁷ सर्वसत्त्व(त्त्व)वत्सल-महाकारुणिकस्य बु-
 7 द्धप्रमुख⁸ चातुर्दिशे भिक्षु-संघे देयधर्मो(ऽ*)य(•) विहार(ः*) प्रतिष्ठापन नखीर-
 पति-प्रशस्ता-
- 8 दारित-नामधेय-विशेषवृद्धिः रोष्ट-जयवृद्धि⁹ अनेक-विहार-स्वामिनो सत्पुत्रेण (।*) यदस्य
 पुण्यं तद्भवतु
- 9 [मा]तापितो(ः•) आपायक-पोषक(योः•) चित्तस्य जंबूद्वीपस्य दर्शयितारो¹⁰ अग्रे-
 भावप्रत्यंशतायास्तु तथा विहार-स्वामिनो

¹ Possibly शान्त and चिन्ता are intended. We may read वर-शुचि as the *akshara* between र and शु seems to be a cancelled शु.

² There is a blank space between दे and वा.

³ Read °यितुः.

⁴ Ten kinds of knowledge were peculiar to the Buddha. See above, p. 233, note 4.

⁵ Read चतुर्वैशारद्य. A Buddha has four subjects of confidence or fearlessness, viz., the consciousness that he has attained omniscience, that he has freed himself from human passion, that he has rightly described the obstacles of religious life and that he has rightly taught the way to obtain salvation.

⁶ Read चतुःप्रतिसंभिदाष्टा. The four *Pratisamṃbhīdās* are the analytical sciences being divisions of the supernatural knowledge of the Arhat regarding the meaning, the text and the origin of the words, as also the discriminatory knowledge of them.

⁷ Read °वेणिकाङ्गतु. I.e., attained the 4 *raisāradyas*, etc. आवेनिकाङ्गतुधर्म = the marvellous *Dharmas* called *āveṇika* (see below, No. 72, note). The 18 *āveṇika* or independent states are said to be the distinguishing mark of a Buddha who is detached from the imperfections which attach to the majority of mankind.

⁸ Read बुद्धप्रमुखे = [belonging to the congregation] of which the Buddha is the head.

⁹ Read प्रतिष्ठापितः नखीरपति-प्रशस्तादृतनामधेय-विशेषवृद्धिना रोष्टजयवृद्धेः, etc.

¹⁰ Read आप्यायक and दर्शयितुः अग्रभागप्रत्यंशाय (or, °शतायै)। अस्तु तथा विहारस्वामिनः रोष्ट-सिद्धवृद्धेः सर्वेषां भातृणां, etc. Note that my emendations and interpretations are different in some respects from those of Büblers. For अग्रप्रत्यंश and अग्रभागप्रत्यंश, see pp. 143, 159.

- 10 रोट-सिद्धवृद्धि सर्वेषां भ्रातराणां भगिनीनां पत्नीनां पुत्राणां दुहितृणां महाराज-
तोरमाण-षाह-जकुलः¹ स-
- 11 वर्षां देवीनां राजपुत्राणां राजदुहितानां च सर्व-सत्त्वानां (त्त्वानाम्) अनुत्तर-ज्ञानावासये³
(1*) अयं पुनः (2*) विहारस्यो-
- 12 पकरण⁴ चातुर्दिशे भिक्षुसंघे परिग्रहे आचार्याणां (3*) [म]हीश [सत्त्वानां (नाम्)] (1*)
[साद्धकपु] * * लेण* [आचार्य]-
- 13

No. 57—Gwalior Stone Inscription of Mihirakula (c. 515-45 A.D.)—Regnal Year 15

Gwalior (Gvālher), former Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh.
R. L. MITRA, *J. A. S. B.*, XXXI, pp. 391ff.; FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*,
III, pp. 162f.; BHANDARKAR'S List, No. 2109.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-2 मालिनी; Vv. 3-12 आर्या; V. 13 शाट्विक्रीडित.

TEXT⁵

- 1 [१ ॥ स्वस्ति ॥*]⁶
[ज*][य]ति जलद-वल-ध्वान्तमुत्सारयन्स्वैः
किरण-निवह-जालैर्व्योम विद्योतयद्भिः (1*)

¹ Read ०षाहजकुलस्य.

² Read दुहितृणां.

³ Between अ and नु, two *aksharas* appear to be struck out.

⁴ Read ०स्योपकारः (benefaction in the shape of a monastery).

⁵ Lines 1-6 from the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, and lines, 7-9 from the facsimile in *J. A. S. B.*, XXXI.

⁶ The restorations are conjectural.

⁷ Fleet reads जल and translates it as "banks of clouds"; जलदवेला (=rainy day) seems to have been intended. The upper part of the *aksharas* are lost. The first two verses are in adoration of the Sun-god.

उ[दय*]-[गिरि]-तटाग्र[*] मण्डयन्¹ यस्तुरगैः²
चकित-गमन-खेद-भ्रान्त-चंचत्सटान्तैः ।।*) 1
उदय-[गिरि]-³

2 — — — प्रस्त-चक्रोऽ* ति-हर्त्ता
भुवन-भवन-दीपः शर्वरी-नाश-हेतुः ।।*)
तपित-कनक-वर्णैरंशुभिः पङ्कजान ।।*)-
मभिनव-रमणीयं यो विधत्ते स त्रयोऽ* व्यात् ।।*) 2
श्रो-तोर[माण[ह*]ति यः प्रथितो

3 [भूवक्र*]पः प्रभूत-गुणः ।।*)
सत्य-प्रदान-शौर्याद्येन मही न्यायतः] शास्ता⁴ [।।*] 3
तस्योदित-कुल-कीर्त्तः पुत्रोऽ* तुल-विक्रमः पतिः पृथ्व्याः ।।*)
मिहिरकुलेतिख्यातोऽ* भङ्गो⁵ यः पशुपतिम * * *⁶ [।।*] 4

4 [तस्मिन्*]जनि शालति पृथ्वीं पृथु-त्रिमल-लोचनेऽ* तिहरे ।।*)
अभिवर्द्धमान-राज्ये पंचदशाब्दे नृप-वृषस्य [।।*] 5
शशिरश्मिहास-विकसित-कुमुदोत्पल-गन्ध-शीतलामोदे ।।*)
कार्तिक-मासे प्राप्⁷ गगन-

5 [पतौ*] [नि*]र्मले भाति [।।*] 6
द्विज-गण-मुख्यैरभिसंस्तुते च पुण्याह-नाद-घोषेण ।।*)
तिथि-नक्षत्र-मुहूर्तैः संप्राप्ते सुप्रशस्त-[दिने] [।।*] 7
मातृतुल्य तु पौतः पुत्रश्च तथैव मातृदास्य ।।*)
नाम्ना च मातृचेष्टः पर्व-

¹ न् had been omitted in its proper place, and was then engraved below the line.

² Read ०रङ्गैश्चकित०.

³ Possibly उदयगिरिवनान्त्यस्त०. तपित = तप्त.

⁴ Fleet suggests the correction प्रधान for प्रदान. शास्ता for शासिता or शिष्टा is not grammatically happy.

⁵ Better मिहिरकुल इति ख्या०.

⁶ Possibly ०मर्द्धयति. Fleet and Kielhorn believed that Mihirakula broke the power of the Paśupati. Bhandarkar wants to read भेजे (which is however impossible in view of the clear traces on the facsimile) in the lacuna and suggests that the Hūṇa king was a worshipper of Paśupati = Śiva. अमङ्गः = पूजाव्यापारे विरामरहितः.

⁷ Read प्राप्ते. I.e., when the month of Kārttika arrived.

- 6 [त-दुग*][ानु]वास्तव्यः (॥*) 8
 नानाधातु-विचित्रे गोपाह्वय-नाम्नि¹ भूधरे रम्ये (॥*)
 कारित्वान्शैलमयं भानोः प्रासाद-वर-मुख्यम् (॥*) 9
 पुण्याभिवृद्धिहेतोर्ममातापिसोस्तथात्मनश्चैव (॥*)
 वसता² * च गिरिवरे (५*) स्मिन् (नृ*) राज्ञः
 7 * * * [सा१]देन³ (॥*) 10
 ये कारयन्ति भानोश्चन्द्रांशु-सम-प्रभं गृह-प्रवरं (रम्) (॥*)
 तेषां वासः स्वर्गो यावत्कल्प-क्षयो भवति ॥ 11
 भक्त्या रवेर्विरचितं सद्धर्म-ख्यापनं सुकीर्तिमयं (यम्) (॥*)
 नाम्ना च केशवेतिप्रथितेन च ।⁴
 8 * * * [दि१]त्येन (॥*) 12
 यावच्छर्व-जटा-कलाप-गहने विद्योतते चन्द्रमा
 दिव्यस्त्री-चरणैर्विभूषित-तटो यावच्च मेरुर्नगः (॥*)
 यावच्चोरसि नील-नीरद-निभे विष्णुर्विभक्त्युज्ज्वला⁵
 श्रीस्तावद्गिरि-मूर्ध्नि तिष्ठति
 [शिला-प्रा*]साद-मुख्यो रमे (॥*) 13

E—WESTERN INDIA : MAITRAKAS OF VALABHĪ

No. 58—Bhamodra-Mohota Copper-plate Inscription of Dronasimha—Gupta-Valabhī Year 183 (= 502 A.D.)

BHAMODRA-MOHOTA, Bhaunagar District, Gujarat State.

A. M. T. Jackson, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XX, No. liv, pp. 1ff.; L. D. BARNETT, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 18f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

¹ गोपाह्वय is the same as गोपगिरि and गोपाद्रि = Gwalior, the immediate source of which form is possibly Gopālikera found in some records.

² The word may be प्रसादेन.

³ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. Better केशव इति प्र०. No work of the poet Keśava is known for certain. He seems to have had a second name which was Āditya or ended in āditya.

⁴ Read ०र्विभक्त्युज्ज्वलां श्रीं ताव०. श्रीं has been used for त्रियं for the sake of the metre.

⁵ Cf. the saying मायमपि मर्षं कुर्यात्, etc. (note on No. 52, verse 8).

TEXT¹

- 1 ३^२ स्वस्ति (॥*) वलभीतः परमभट्टारक-पादानुष्यातो^१ महाराज-द्रोणसिंह-
× कुशली स्व-विषय^१ सवनेवास्तत्सन्तकायुक्तक-विनियुक्तक-मह-^२
- 2 त्तर-द्राङ्गिक-ध्रुवस्थानाधिकरण^३ चाट-भटादी^४ श्र^५ समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितं
यथा मया^६ विजयायुद्ध(द्धं)र्मफल-यशोविषय-त्रिद्ध-^७
- 3 ये नो वर्षसहस्राय सर्व-कल्याणाभिप्राय-संपत्तये च हस्तवप्राहरण्यां श्री-भगवत्या-
= पाण्डुराज्यायाः^{१०} मातापितो = पुण्याप्यायन नि-

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. For the Valabhi era, see *supra*, p. 277, note 1. It was actually the Gupta era introduced during the age of the Gupta occupation of Kāthiāwār, but was later continued by the Maitrakas who were originally feudatories of the Imperial Guptas. There was a difference of six months between the commencement of the Valabhi era (Kārttika-sudi 1) and that of the Gupta era (Chaitra-sudi 1).

² सिद्धम् expressed by a symbol.

³ Droṇasimha's father was Bhaṭārka whose name is not mentioned. Bhaṭārka was the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi (modern Wala near Bhaunagar). The overlord of Droṇasimha referred to here appears to have been a Gupta emperor; but the power of the Guptas was by this time already on the decline specially owing to the Hūṇa occupation of Malwa.

⁴ Read विषये. Barnett suggests विषयकान्.

⁵ The function of the *drāṅgika* is not known. द्रंग may be connected with the expression सोद्रङ्ग (= with उद्रङ्ग, cf. note on No. 49, line 9). The reading intended seems actually to be महत्तरोद्रङ्गिकः. *Drāṅga* is used in the *Rajatarāṅginī*, VIII. 2010, in the sense of a watch station or a station for the collection of duties.

⁶ Barnett suggests ककरणिक-चाटः which is unnecessary. ध्रुवस्थानाधिकरण was a station for collecting *dhruva* (the king's fixed grain share). *Dhruvādhuḥkaraṇika* found in later Maitraka records has been explained as "one who has the superintendence of the *Dhruvas*" by Bühler who points out that *dhruva* is still used in Kāthiāwār and Kachh to denote "a person who on the part of a *rājā*, superintends the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain, which is made by the farmers of revenue". सन्तक is a Pāli word meaning 'belonging to'. विनियुक्तक was possibly the same as तदायुक्तक.

⁷ For चाट and भट, see note on No. 49, line 10.

⁸ Barnett : महा०.

⁹ Read महद्वये.

¹⁰ Possibly राजाद्याः. This is apparently the name of the goddess of a temple in the Hastavapra āharaṇī, around Hāthab, 6 miles south of Goghā in the former Bhaunagar State. It is possibly the same as Ptolemy's Astakampra. The territorial division called āharaṇī is apparently related to āhāra (district) and both appear to have been derived from ā + hrī, as they were originally jāgīrs for the maintenance of princes and high officers. Cf. *bhukti*, *bho ga*.

- 4 मित्तमात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये¹ आ-चन्द्रार्काण्यव-क्षितिस्थिति-सरित्पर्वत-समकालीनं बलि-चरु-वैश्यदेवाद्यानां² क्रियाणां समुत्सर्पणार्थं³]
- 5 त्रिसंगमकप्रामो³ गन्ध-धूर्प-दीप-तैल्य-माल्योपयोज्यं⁴ देवकुलस्य च पतित-विशीर्ण-प्रतिसंस्कारणार्थं⁵ सलोपयोज्येस्सहिरण्या-
- 6 देयस्सहान्यैश्चादानै[र चाट-भट-प्रावेश्यं⁶ ब्रह्मदेय-स्थित्या उदकातिसर्गेण निसृष्टः (१*) यतो(ऽ*)स्योपचित-न्यायतः(ः*)⁷ भुजंतः⁸ कृशतः⁹ प्रदिशत-
- 7 × कर्षायतो वा न केनचिस्स्वल्पा¹⁰ बाधा विचारणा वा काख्या (१*) यश्चाच्छिद्यमान-मनुमोदोयुरसौ¹¹ महापातकैस्सोपपातकैश्च
- 8 संयुक्तास्मद्वंशगामि-राजभिरन्यैश्च¹² सामान्यं भूमिदायमवेत्य(१*)सहायो(ऽ*)नुमन्त-व्यो(ऽ*)पि चात्र व्यास-कृताः श्लोका भवन्ति (१*)
- 9 षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः (१*)
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च ।¹³ तान्येव नरके वशेत्¹⁴ (॥*) १
स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्तां(*) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (१*)

¹ Barnett : ब्रह्मदे.

² वैश्यदेव=an offering to the Viśvadevas or 'all-gods'. For बलि, चरु and सत्त, see *supra*, p. 348, note 5; note on No. 46, line 10. समुत्सर्पण=going; here, continuation. उपयोज्य=provision.

³ Identified with Tarsamā, near Hātibab.

⁴ Read धूप and तैल.

⁵ Read संस्कारणार्थं and व्योज्यस्स०. पतित=fallen; विशीर्ण=broken to pieces; cf. खण्ड-स्फुटित(= फुट०) of other records.

र is engraved below the line. सहिरण्यादेय=together with हिरण्य (=revenue in cash) to be paid to the State. हान्य and आदान appear to indicate "loss" and "gain". ब्रह्मदेयस्थिति = custom regarding rent-free property granted to Brāhmanas.

⁷ Read संयोजित.

⁸ Read भुजंतः.

⁹ Read कर्षतः. प्रदिश=assign, grant. Read कर्षयतः.

¹⁰ Read केनचित्स्व०. विचारणा=debate regarding the right.

¹¹ Read यश्चाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदितसौ. The *mahāpātakas* are ब्रह्महत्या मृगपानं स्त्रियं युर्वङ्गनाशनः । महानि पातकान्याइत्युत्संस्मर्य पञ्चमम् ॥ (मनु ११.१५५). The *upapātakas* are 49 in number. For these, see *Saddakalpadrūma* s.v.

¹² Read संयुक्तः स्यात् । अख्य०. See note on No. 49, line 18 सामान्य=belonging to all kings as sharers of the merit.

¹³ The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

¹⁴ Read वसेत्.

- 10 गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तुः(*) प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं(षम्) (॥*) 2
 बहुभिर्बुधैः सुधा भुक्ता राज्ञिभिः¹ शगरादिभिः(*) (॥*)
 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि² तस्य तस्य तदा(॥*) फलं(लम्) (॥*) 3
- 11 भिरुवकः(*)³ देवि-कर्मान्तिकः (॥*) सं १००(+)८०(+)३
 श्रावण-शुद्ध⁴ १०(+)५ (॥*) स्वयमाज्ञा⁵ (॥*) लिखितं षष्ठिदत्त-पुत्रेण
 कुम(॥*)रिल-क्षत्रिकेन⁶ (॥*)

¹ Read राज्ञिभिः सगः.

² Read भूमिस्तस्य

³ Read देवी*. The letter ण had been engraved between क and व, but was afterwards cancelled. कर्मान्तिक = an agent connected with कर्मान्त (execution of business; a store of grain; cultivated ground). Bhiruvaka possibly received the grant on behalf of the goddess

⁴ सं = संवत्सरे; शुद्ध = शुद्धपक्षे = शुक्लपक्षे. See above, p. 427, note 1.

⁵ See note on No. 50, line 24.

⁶ Read क्षत्रिकेण possibly the same as क्षत्रिणा.

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CONTEMPORARIES OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS IN SOUTH INDIA

A—Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha¹

No. 59—Basim Copper-plate Inscription of Vindhyasakti II—Regnal Year 37

BASIM, Akola District, Maharashtra.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XVI, pp. 182ff. ; XVII, pp. 110ff. ;
Y. K. DESHPANDE and D. B. MAHAJAN, *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*,
Calcutta, 1939, pp. 349ff. ; V. V. Mirashi and D. B. Mahajan, *Ep. Ind.*,
XXVI, pp. 137ff.

Language : Sanskrit and Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit².

Script : Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern
Class of the 4th century A. D.³

¹ For the history of the Vākāṭakas, see now Sircar in *The Age of Imperial Unity* (H.C.I P., Vol. II), pp. 217 ff. ; *The Classical Age* (ibid., Vol. III), pp. 177ff. The Nachne and Gan inscriptions ascribed there to the reign of Prithivīseṇa I should be assigned to Prithivīseṇa II.

² This record exemplifies the gradual advance of Sanskrit in South India. Sanskrit as the court language or the language of epigraphs appears to have been at first introduced in the North in the early centuries of the Christian era. It was favoured by the foreign rulers. It gradually encroached upon the field of Prakrit in all parts of North India and ultimately conquered South India about the latter half of the 4th century A.D. The mixed Prakrit-Sanskrit language used in some inscriptions shows an intermediate stage in the popularity of Sanskrit and the decline of Prakrit. Note that the language is nearer Sanskrit than in earlier Prakrit inscriptions (Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 1 c). In earlier Prakrit records, reduplication of a consonant is practically absent and conjuncts are rare.

³ Some scholars believe that the record belongs to Vindyaśakti (2nd half of the 3rd century A.D.), founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Their mistake is due to the fact that they failed to note the *sāpeksha-samāsas* in प्रवरसेनपौत्र० and सर्वसेनपुत्र० in lines 3-4 and the importance of the epithet ०सद्वाराजस्य used thrice with reference to the three kings mentioned. For such *samāsas*, see Bk. II, Nos. 68-70, 72, etc. ; Bk. III, No. 15, etc.

TEXT¹

First Plate

[दृष्टम्] (॥*)²सिद्धम् (॥*)³

- 1 'वत्सगुल्माद्धर्ममहाराजस्य [१] निष्ठोम [१] सोर्याम-वाजपेय-ज्यो [ति] -
 2 [ष्टो]म-बृहस्पतिसव-साद्यस्क-चतुरश्वमेध-याजिनस्सम्राजः (*) वृ-
 3 णिवृद्ध-सगोत्रस्य⁵ हारिती-पुत्रस्य⁶ श्री [१] -प्रवरसेन-पौत्रस्य⁷
 4 धर्ममहाराजस्य⁸ श्री-सर्वसेन-पुत्रस्य धर्ममह [१] राजस्य
 5 वाकाटकाना [म्] (नां) श्री श्री-विन्ध्यशक्तेर्वचनात्⁹ नान्दीकडस उत्तर-म [गो] ¹⁰

Second Plate : First Side

[२] ¹¹

- 6 भाकालखापाकाभासे आकाशपट्टेसु¹² अ [म्ह] -सन्तका सावायोग¹³ -नि-

¹ From the photographic prints published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta, 1933. See now facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI.

² In the left margin in the level of line 1.

³ In the left margin in the level of line 3.

⁴ Vat-agulma in modern Basim which was the capital of this collateral branch of the Vākātaka family. For the sacrifices, see *infra*, note on No. 62, line 1.

⁵ Other Vākātaka records read विष्णुवृद्ध.

⁶ Or हारिती, हारितीपुत्र is found to be used by the Kadambas of Banavasi and their predecessors. Note that there हारितीपुत्र is a family-metronymic and not a 'personal one.

⁷ Properly प्रवरसेनस्य पौत्रस्य ; similarly सर्वसेनस्य पुत्रस्य in line 4. These are undoubtedly cases of the *sāpeksha-samāsa*. See p. 420, note 3.

⁸ The title is found in the records of the Pallavas, Kadambas and Western Gaṅgas. It apparently refers to the kings' boast to have purified the Brahmanical faith from the influence of heretical doctrines like Buddhism ; cf. कलियुग-दीपावसन्नधर्मोद्धारण-नित्यसंनद्ध (*infra*, No. 67, line 13).

⁹ From here, the rest of the record is in Prakrit.

¹⁰ उ has been engraved on the *akshara* दा which was originally engraved. Nāndikāṭa is supposed to be the same as Nander in Maharashtra. The name suggests that the locality stood in the valley of the Nāndī river (modern Mānyad). See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, pp. 111-12.

¹¹ In the margin a little above the level of line 8.

¹² *Abhyāsa* may be a territorial term like *pārśva* of *supra*, No. 42. *Padra*, 'a village', is traced to modern *pādar*, 'common land, land adjacent to a village left uncultivated.'

¹³ *Āyoga* is the same *nyoga*.

- 7 युत्ता आणत्ति-भडा सेसाय-साञ्चरन्त-रलपुत्ता¹ भाणितव्वा (।*) आम्हेहि
 8 दागि आपुणो विजय-वेजयिके आयु-बल-वद्धणिके [स्व]स्ति-
 9 शान्ति-वाचने² इहामुत्तिके³ धम्मत्थाणे एत्थङ्गामे आधिच्चणिक-चर-
 10 णस्स आद्धक।⁴ भालन्दायण-सगोत्तेसि⁵ [सि]तुज्जेसि कापिञ्जल-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 सगोत्तेसि। रुद्धज्जेसि। श्राविट्ठायण-सगोत्तेसि⁶। भाट्टिदेवज्जेसि
 12 कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि⁷। देसुज्जेसि। कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि। वेषुद्धज्जेसि।
 13 कोसीक-सगोत्तेसि। विधिज्जेसि। पैप्पलादि-सगोत्तेसि पितु-
 14 जेसि भालन्दायण-सगोत्तेसि चान्दजेसि कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि जेट्टजे-
 15 सि। पडेहि दोहि।*) भालन्दायण-सगोत्तेसि बुद्धजेसि कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि

Third Plate : First Side

[३]⁷

- 16 भाट्टिलज्जेसि। कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि। सिवज्जेसि। कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि
 17 हरिणज्जेसि एताण ब्रम्हणाग भागा ति[णिग] ३(।*) कोसिक-सगोत्ते[सि]
 18 रेवतिजेसि। भागो। चउत्थोत्ति आचन्दादिच्च-कालको अपुव्व-द-
 19 त्तिय दत्तो। (।*) पुव्व-रायाणुमते यसे चातुव्वेज्ज-ग्गाम मजात[रि]-परिहारे वित-
 20 राम (।*) तज्जया अरट्ठ-संविण्येयिक। अ-लवण-[कृ]ण-खातक। अ-हिरण-
 धा[ण]-

¹ Read कुलपुत्ता; cf. आञ्जासञ्चारिकुलपुत्ता; of other Vākāṭaka records. सा looks like ना on the plate. कुलपुव्व=born of a noble family; nobility. Prakrit सञ्चरन्तक=spy. सेसाय=Pāli सेसक=the remaining ones; others. Pāli सन्तक (from अस् + शत + क)=belonging to.

² न्ति looks like त्ति on the plate.

³ त्ति looks like न्ति on the plate. त्त looks like ने in line 11.

⁴ These half-stops are sometimes superfluous. They look more or less like crescents generally put just below the level of the line.

⁵ Locative terminations appear to have been used in these cases for dative. Si is often found as a loc. sing. termination after words ending in a in Ardha-Māgadhī. But here it may also be a gen. plu. termination formed on the analogy of tesī=teṣhām. Sometimes locative is also used for accusative (see Sircar, *Gram. Prak. Lang.*, p. 61); but cf. एतेसि ब्रम्हणाग in line 27 of No. 65 below.

⁶ Traces of an erased i sign are noticed above सु.

⁷ In the left margin in the level of line 18.

Third Plate : Second Side

- 21 प्पणय-प्पदेय । अ-पुप्फ-क्खीर-ग्गहणि¹ । अ-पारम्पर-गो-बलिवह²
 22 अ-वार-सिद्धिक । अ-चम्मङ्गालक । अ-भड-प्पावेस । अ-खट्टा-चोल्लक-वेणे-
 23 सिक । अ-करद । अ-वह । स-निधि । सोपनिधि । स-कुतुप्पान्त ।
 24 स-मच्च-महाकरण । साव्वजाति-परिहार-परिहितच्च (1*) जतो उपरि-लि-
 25 खित । शासण-वादम्पमाण करेत्ता रक्खध रक्खापेधय परिहरध

Fourth Plate

8²

- 26 परिहरापेधय (1*) जो बु³ [आ]वाधं करेज्ज कतव्व [अ]नुव(म⁴)ण्ण[ति]
 27 तिस्स [ए]तेहि । उपरिलिखितेहि । बाम्हेणेहि । परिजपिते स-[द]ण्ड-
 28 निग्रह करेज्जमेत्ति (।) साव्वच्छरं ३०(+*)७ हेमन्त-पक्खं पढम
 29 [दि]व[स] ५ (1*) स-मुहाण्णत्थि⁵ (1*) लीखितमिमं शासनं सेणपतिणा
 30 वण्हुण⁶ इति ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥ [A four-petalled Lotus Symbol]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

दृष्टं (= परीक्षितम् अनुमतं च इदं शासनं राजपुरुषैः) ॥

सिद्धं (= सिद्धिरस्तु) ॥

वत्सगुल्मात् धर्ममहाराजस्य अनिष्टोमाप्तोर्याम-वाजपेय-ज्योतिष्टोम-बृहस्पतिसव-साद्यस्क-
 चतुरश्वमेध-याजिनः (= एतेषां यज्ञानाम् अनुष्ठानतः) सम्राजः (= राजाधिराजस्य) विष्णुवृद्ध-
 समोत्तस्य हारीतीपुत्रस्य (= हारीन-गोत्रायाः जनन्याः पुत्रस्य) श्री-प्रवरसेन[स्य]पौत्रस्य धर्म-महा-
 राजस्य श्रीमन्त्रसेन[स्य]पुत्रस्य धर्ममहाराजस्य वाकाटकानां (= तद्वंशीयस्य राज्ञः) श्री-विन्ध्यशक्तेः
 वचनात् (= आज्ञया) नान्दीकटस्य उत्तरमार्गं भाकालक्षोप्रकाम्यासे आकाशपद्मेषु⁶ अस्मत्सत्काः

¹ Possibly *ग* or *णि* was intended. Note however that at pp. 250-51 above, *arog*¹ and *arogiya* for Sanskrit *ārogya* are both used in the same record (lines 2 and 5). Cf. also *karamṇi* for Sanskrit *karaniya* (p. 255, line 7).

² In the left margin a little below the level of line 28.

³ Possibly *व* or *तु* was intended

⁴ The reading is not beyond doubt; for Sanskrit *समुखाग्र*, cf. *C.I.I.*, III, p. 100, note 3; *supra*, p. 396, note 9; *infra*, No. 67, line 32.

⁵ Read *वेणु* as in line 12.

⁶ I.e., in the village-group called *Ākāśapadra* in the neighbourhood of *Bhākā*, *Lakṣhā* and *Uprākā* situated in the northern part of the district called *Nāndikāṭa*. "Situated on the northern road running to *Nāndikāṭa*" does not appear to be quite satisfactory. Cf. *गोवधनाहारे दक्षिणमगे* and *गोवधनाहारे पृथग्गे* in *supra*, Bk. II, No. 87.

(= मत्संश्लिष्टाः = राज^१) सर्वायोग-नियुक्ताः (= सर्वे अधिकरगणिकाः) आज्ञासि-भटाः (= राजपुरुषाः) शेषक-सञ्चरत्क-कुलपुत्राः भणितव्याः (= वक्तव्याः) । — 'जस्माभिः इदानीम् आत्मनः विजय-वैजयिकं (= विजयलाभाय आयुर्वल-वाद्धनिकं (= वृद्धये) स्वस्ति-शान्ति-वाचनं (= आशी-मङ्गलार्थम्) एहामुत्तिकम् (= ऐहि-क-पारलिक-मङ्गलाय) धर्मस्थाने अत्र ग्रामे आथर्वणिक-चरणस्य आर्द्धकम् (= आथर्वण-ब्रह्माणेभ्यः प्रतिपादितः आकाशपद्रकग्रामस्य अर्द्धभागः) — भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय सीत्वार्याय कापिञ्जल-सगोत्राय रुद्रार्याय, श्रात्रिष्ठायन-सगोत्राय भर्तृदेवार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय देशार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय विष्णवार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय विध्वार्याय, पप्पलादि-सगोत्राय पित्तार्याय, भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय चन्द्रार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय ज्येष्ठार्याय पटैः द्विभिः (= एकैकस्मै पटद्वयम् इति क्रमेण) : भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय बुद्धार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय भद्रिलार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय शिवार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय हिरण्यार्याय [च एकैकस्मै पटमात्रम् इति क्रमेण] ; एतेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः भागाः त्रयः ३ (= ग्रामार्द्धस्य त्रिभागं दत्तम्) । कौशिक-सगोत्राय रेवत्यार्याय भागः चतुर्थः [ग्रामार्द्धस्य] इति आचन्द्रादित्यकालकम् अपूर्वदत्त्या (= अपूर्वदत्तस्य दानविधिना) दत्तम् । पूर्वराजानुमतम् अस्य चातुर्वेद्यग्राम-मर्यादा-परिहारं (= चतुर्वेदि-ब्राह्मणाधिष्ठित-ग्रामोचित-परिहारः) वितरामः । तद्यथा अ-राष्ट्रसां-विनयिकम्, अ-लवण-क्लिन्न-खातकम्, अ-हिरण्य-ध्यान्य-प्रणय-प्रदेयम्, अ-पुष्प-क्षीर-ग्रहणम्, अ-परस्परा-गोबलीवर्द्धम्, अ-वार-सिद्धिकम्, अ-चर्मोद्धारकम्, अ-भटप्रवेशम् अ-खट्वा-चोल्हक-वैनाशिकम्, अ-करदम्, अवहम्, स-निधि, सोपनिधि, स-कृतप्रान्तं^१), स-मञ्च-महाकरणं सर्वजाति-परिहार-परिहृतं च । यतः उपरिलिखित-शासन-वादं (= लेखं) प्रमाणं कृत्वा (= मत्वा) 'एतद्दानं' रक्ष, रक्षय ; परिहर, परिहारय । यः तु आवाधां कुर्यात्, [आवाधा-करणं] कर्त्तव्यं [वा] अनुमन्यते, तस्य एतैः उपरिलिखितैः ब्राह्मणैः परिज्ञापिते [सति] स-दण्ड-निग्रहं (= दण्डेन शासनं [वयं] कुर्याम" इति । संवत्सरः सप्तविंशः ३७,

1 "We grant for this land exemptions which are in accordance with customs followed in granting villages to Brāhmanas versed in the four Vedas, and which have been approved of by former kings. They are : not to be administered as other parts of the kingdom (p. 199, note 4; usually rendered as "no interference by the district police"); no boring of trees like the palmyra for salt and moist substances (liquor, sugar); no benevolence in the shape of money or corn to be paid to the royal treasury; no flower and milk to be taken on behalf of the king; no cow for milk and bullock for cart in succession are to be supplied to the royal officers on tour; no obligation to them regarding the completion of duty in turn; no obligation to them regarding the supply of hide-seat and charcoal; no entry for constables; no obligation regarding supply of cots, cooking pots and fuel (?) to touring officers; no tax to be paid to the king; no obligation regarding carrying loads free of charge; with the right of enjoying hidden treasures and deposits; with fences made for the demarcation of boundaries and with raised platforms for official use and official records; the grant is exempted by all kind of exemptions." For a discussion on the *parihāras*, see Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 186ff.; 192ff.; *i. tra*, No. 60, notes; *Mirashi, Nag. Un. Journ.*, Dec., 1937, pp. 22ff.

हेमन्त-पक्षः प्रथमः, दिवसः [पञ्चमः] ५ (= मार्गशीर्षकृष्णपक्षस्य पञ्चमदिवसे) । स्वमुखान्नसिः ।
लिखितम् इदं शासनं सेनापतिना¹ विष्णुना ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

No. 60—Poona Copper-plate Inscription of Prabhavatigupta—Regnal Year 13²

POONA,³ Poona District, Maharashtra.

K. B. PATHAK and K. N. DIKSHIT, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 41ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Nail-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class (with some Northern peculiarities) of the fifth century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT⁴

Seal

- a वाकाटक-ललामस्य
- b [क्र]म-प्राप्त-नृपश्रियः(*) (I*)
- c जनन्या युवराजस्य
- d शासनं रिपु-शास[न](नम्) (II*)¹

First Plate

इष्टम् (II*)⁵

¹ Some of the Vākāṭaka *senāpatis* (generals) possibly acted as provincial governors.

² This year apparently refers to the regency (cf. legend on the seal) of Prabhāvatiguptā after the death of her husband although her eldest son *Yuvārāja* Divākarasena, who had at least 2 younger brothers, was not a minor (below 16 years of age) about this time. Cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 180. It is not known if the author called *Yuvārāja* Divākara, mentioned in the *Saduktikarnāmṛita*, is the same as this prince.

³ The plates were found with a copper-smith of Poona, who originally belonged to Ahmednagar. They appear to have been preserved in his family for several generations.

⁴ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

⁵ In the left margin on the level between lines 3-4. Cf. दिठं in the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman (*infra*, Nos. 64-65j).

- 1 सिद्धम् (॥*) जितं भगवता¹ (॥*) स्वस्ति नान्दिवर्द्धनादासीद्भुतादि-रा[जो]²
[मह[ाराज]-
- 2 श्रीघटोत्कचस्तस्य सत्पुत्रो महाराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य सत्पुत्रो-
- 3 (५*)नेकाश्वमेध-याजी³ लिच्छवि-दोहितौ⁴ महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो
- 4 महाराजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्तत्पुत्रस्तत्पाद⁵-परिगृहीतः
- 5 पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्सर्व-राजोच्छेत्ता⁶ चतुरुदधि-सलिखादित-
- 6 यशा नेक⁷-गो-हिरण्य-कोटी-सहस्र-प्रद-परम-भागवतो महारा-
- 7 जाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य दुहिता⁸ धारण-सगोत्रा⁹ नाग-कुल-सम्भू-
- 8 ताया(*)/श्री-महादेव्या(*) कुबेरनागायामुत्पन्नोभय-कुलालङ्कारभूतात्यन्त-भगवद्भक्ता
- 9 वाकाटकानां महाराज-श्रीरुद्रसेनस्याग्रमहिषी युवराज-

¹ This Vaishnavite expression is found at the beginning of many records of this age. Cf. also the verse : जितं भगवता तेन विष्णुना यस्य वचसि । श्रीस्वयं भाति देव्य नमिपदे पितामहः ॥ at the beginning of an early Kadamba grant. The Vākāṭakas were Śaivas. Rudrasena II accepted Vaishnavism after his matrimonial alliance with the devout Vaishṇava Chandragupta II. The popularity of Vaishnavism in India about the 5th century A.D. seems to have been largely due to this Gupta king.

² This passage has been translated as "Ghaṭotkacha who had Gupta as the first king." The translation is wrong in view of the corresponding passage गुप्तानामाधिराजः in the Rithpur plates of the same queen. Better नान्दीवर्द्धनात् ॥ आसीत्. Nāndivardhana has been identified with modern Nāgardhan or Nandardhan near Ramtek in the Nāgpur District, M. P. Nāgardhan however may be an old Nāgavardhana. Nāndivardhana is also known from other inscriptions, e.g., the Kothuraka grant of the second year of Pravarasena II (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 159 f.) and the Rithpur plates of Bhavadattavarman (*ibid.*, XIX, p. 100).

³ It is hardly credible that Samudragupta performed many Aśvamedhas. Note that the usual epithets of Samudragupta have been wrongly applied to the name of his son. This shows that the Gupta genealogy in the Vākāṭaka records is carelessly drawn. Cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 88, note 1. Chandragupta I was a Mahārājādhirāja.

⁴ Read दौहितौ.

⁵ Read °सत्पुत्रो.

⁶ Read राजोच्छेत्ता.

⁷ Read नेक or अनेक.

⁸ This record proves beyond doubt that the queen's father Devagupta, mentioned in other grants, should be identified with Chandragupta II and not with Devagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty as suggested by earlier scholars.

⁹ It is interesting that the queen refers to her paternal *gotra* instead of the *gotra* of her husband's family. Injunctions contained in late Bengal works like the *महानिर्वाणतन्त्र* 'XII. 75 : विवाहानन्तरं नारी पतिगोत्रेण गोत्रिणः) therefore were not binding in the early period at least in all parts of India. Cf. also Raghunandana's *Udrāhatatva* quoting *Laghuhārīta*?, स्वगोत्राद् भयते नारी विवाहान् सप्तमे पदे । पतिगोत्रेण कर्तव्या तस्याः पिच्छोदकक्रिया ॥

Second Plate

- 10 श्री-दिवाकरसेन-जननी श्री-प्रभावतिगुप्ता¹सुप्रतिष्ठाहारे
 11 विलवणकस्य पूर्व-पाश्वर्षे शौर्ष्यामस्य दक्षिण-पाश्वर्षे कदापिञ्जनस्यापर-पाश्वर्षे
 12 सिदिविवरकस्योत्तर-पाश्वर्षे उङ्गुणयामि² ब्राह्मणाद्यान्ग्राम-कुटुम्बिन × कुशल-
 13 मुक्त्वा समाज्ञापयति (1*) विदितमस्तु वो यथैष ग्रामो(ऽ*)स्माभिः(ः*) स्व-पुण्या-
 प्यायना[त्थं]
 14 कार्तिक-शुक्ल-द्वादश्या(*) भगवत्पाद-मूले निवेद्य भगवद्भक्ताचार्य-चनालस्वामिने-
 (ऽ*)पूर्व-
 15 दत्त्वा³ उदक-पूर्वमसिष्टो⁴ यतो भवान्निरुचितमर्यादाया⁵ सन्वीज्ञा × कर्त्तव्या(ः*) (1*)
 पूर्व-
 16 राजानुमता[']श्चात्र⁶ चातुर्विद्याग्रहार-परीहारान्वितरामस्तद्यथाभट-ऊल⁷-प्रावेक्ष्यः

Sūlapāṇi's Śrāddhahṛēka quoting Brihaspati(?) : पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्राः पितृगोत्रापरकारकाः । भर्तृगोत्रेण नारीणां देयं पिण्डोदकं ततः ॥ Also Bhavadeva-bhaṭṭa and others quoting Manu (?) : विवाहे चैव निहते चतुर्थेऽहनि रात्रिषु । एकत्वं सा गता भर्तुः पिण्डे गोत्रे च सूतके ॥ चतुर्थीहोममन्त्रेण त्वङ्मांसद्व-
 दयेन्द्रियैः । भर्ता संयुज्यते पत्नी तद्गोत्रा तेन सा भवेत् ॥ But Kātyāyana : संस्थितायानु भार्यायां सपिण्डीकरणालकम् । पैतृकं भग्नै गोत्रमूढुन्तु पतिपैतृकम् ॥ The *Parāśaramādhava* refers to Gāndharva and other marriages and to the case of the Putrikā (cf. Langūkehi), wherein *gotrāntara* does not take place owing to *pradān-ābhāra*. See also *Garuḍa P.* (Uttara, 21. 22) : ब्राह्मणादिषु विवाहेषु या वधूरिह संस्कृता । भर्तृगोत्रेण कर्त्तव्या तस्याः पिण्डोदकक्रिया ॥ आसुरादिविवाहेषु या व्युदा कन्यका भवेत् । तस्यास्तु पितृगोत्रेण कर्त्तव्या तस्याः पिण्डोदकक्रिया ॥ According to the *Smṛitichandrikā*, the father's *Sapinda*s are also the *Sapinda*s of the mother, but not so in the case of the Putrikā. N. C. Sengupta refers to the *Grihya* rituals, in course of which the bride is called by the *gotra* name of her husband (*J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, IV, pp. 149ff.). But Prabhāvatī also uses the cognomen of her father's family. She was possibly an elder sister of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.).

¹ The district (also known from the Kothuraka grant, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 158f.) has been identified with the Hinganghat Tahsil of the Wardha District.

² Pathak and Dikshit : दङ्गुणयामि. *Uṅguṇa* is possibly traceable in the first part of the name *Hinganghāt*.

³ दत्ति=gift; अपूर्वदत्त्या=according to the custom relating to things that were not previously granted.

⁴ Better read सूतः । यतो.

⁵ Read भव०.

⁶ Read राजा०.

⁷ Read भटच्छा०. भट is probably a policeman, and छात्र (literally, an umbrella-bearer) appears to be the leader of a group of *bhaṭas* and the same as चाट of other records.

- 17 अ-चारासन-चर्मार्कार-क्षिण-क्रेणि-खानक[ः]¹ अ-पा(र*)म्पर(ः*) अ-पशुमेध्यः²
अ-पुष्प-क्षीरसन्दोहः
- 18 स-निधिस्सोपनिधिस्स-कृतोपकृतः³।(*)न(त)देश भविष्यद्राजि(ज)भिस्सरक्षितव्यः(०)
परिवर्द्ध-
- 19 यितव्यश्च (।*) यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणयमानस्स्वल्पामप्यहावाधा(°*) कुर्या-
त्कारयति⁴ वा
- 20 तस्य ब्राह्मणरावेदितस्य⁵ स-दण्ड-निग्रहं कुर्याम (।*) व्यास-गितश्चाह⁶ श्लोको
भवति (।*)
- 21 स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ता(°*) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) (।*)
गवा(°*) शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतम् (॥०) 2
- 22 संवत्सरे च त्रयोदशमे⁷ लिखितमिदं(°*) शासनम् (।*) चक्रदासेनोत्कटितम् (॥०)

¹ Better °चर्मार्कारः च-लवचक्षिणः. क्षिण-क्रेणि=moist commodity क्रेणि=purchase; here a marketable object. This refers to the custom of boring certain trees for *audbhujja* salt and also sugar चारासन=pasturage (Fleet); but also चार=moving about, free movement (cf. पार of some records=free ferrying), and आसन=encamping. This refers to the king's touring officers. According to Mirashi, चार=grass for the horses of touring officers; आसनचर्मन्=hide for their seats; अङ्गार=charcoal for their cooking. Possibly we have to suggest अ-परंपरावलीवर्द्ध-यद्वय.

² पशुमेध्य is an instance of the *mayūravayamsakādi samāsa*. This refers to the custom of taking on the king's part animals like goats, from the villages, for sacrificial purposes.

³ Read °कृतोपकृतः. कृत is possibly a fixed tax (one of the 7 sources of income according to the *Arthaśāstra*). उपकृत is occasional or unfixed taxes. According to Mirashi, this is the same as सोद्वहः सोपरिकरः, "with major and minor taxes." *Nidhi* means "wealth, the owner of which is not known" (*Vishṇusamhitā*, III. 36-39). As in the record निधि and उपनिधि are mentioned separately, the former would mean 'treasure-trove' and the latter 'surface finds'. For the other terms, see p. 434 and *infra*.

⁴ Read °रयेत.

⁵ Read ब्राह्मणैः.

⁶ Read गीतः.

⁷ Read त्रयोदशे and शासनम्. उत्कटित=engraved.

No. 61—Rithpur Copper-plate Inscription [of
Prabhavatigupta] of the time of
Pravarasena II—Regnal Year 19¹

RITHPUR (Riddhapura), Amraoti District, Maharashtra.

Y. R. GUPTA, *J. P. A. S. B.*, N. S., XX, pp. 58ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the fifth century A. D.

Metre : Verse 1 श्रुष्टम् (श्लोक).

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 [१] जित(*) भगवता । रामगिरिस्वामिन = पादमूलाद्रुमान(१*)मादि³
- 2 राजो महाराज-श्रीघटोत्कचस्तस्य पुत्रो महाराज-श्रीचन्द्र-
- 3 गुप्त⁴ तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पाद-परिगृहीत-लिच्छवि-दौहित्रो⁵
- 4 महादेव्या(*) कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्तस्य⁷ पुत्र-
- 5 स्तत्पादानुद्धृतातो न्यायागतानेकगो-हिरण्यकोटिसहस्र-प्रदस्सर्वराजो-

Second Plate : First Side

- 6 च्छत्ता पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथ = परमभागवतो महादेव्या(*) दत्तदेव्यामु-
- 7 त्पन्नो⁸ महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य दुहिता धारण-सगोत्रा
- 8 नागकुलोत्पन्नाया(*) कुबेरानागदेव्यामुत्पन्ना⁹ उभय-कुलाल-

¹ Note that this record is later in date than *infra*, No. 62.

² From the facsimile in *J.P.A.S.B.*, N.S., XX.

³ Rāmagirisvāmin may have been the god at modern Rāmtēk near Nāgpur. The deity was a form of Viṣṇu (cf. his name-ending *svāmin*).

⁴ Read ०गुप्तस्तस्य,

⁵ Better ०गृहीतो लि०.

⁶ Gupta : दौहित्रो.

⁷ Note that Samudragupta is called a *Mahārāja* against the evidence of genuine Gupta records. See p. 436, note 3.

⁸ Read ०सुत्पन्नो.

⁹ Read कुबेर०. उभयकुल refers to the families of the father and the husband.

- 16 भुक्ताकाभोग-क्षेत्रमुदकपूर्व(°*)¹ शासनेनो सतिबद्धं² (।*) उचितांश्चास्य
17 पूर्वराजानुमताञ्चातुर्वेद्य-ग्राम-मर्यादा(परिहारा*)न्वितरामस्तद्यथा

Third Plate : First Side

- 18 अ-करदायी अ-भट-च्छ(।*)व-प्रावेक्ष्य(।*) अ-पुष्प-क्षीर-सन्दोह(।*)³ अ-चारा-
19 सन-चर्माङ्गार(।*) अ-लवण-क्लिन्व-⁴ क्रोणि-स्व(।*)नक[ः] सर्व-विस्त्रि-परिहारा-⁵
20 परिहृत(।*) स-निधानं सोपनिधानं⁶ स-क्लृप्तोपक्लृप्तमाचन्द्रा-
21 दिव्य-काष्ठीय(।*) पुत्र-पैदानुगामी⁷ (।*) भुञ्जता(°*) न केनचिद्व्याघात-
22 × कर्त्तव्य[ः] सर्व-क्रियाभिस्संरक्षितव्य-परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च (।*) यश्चस्मा-⁸
23 च्छासनमगणयमानः स्वल्पामपि परिबाधा(°*) कुर्यात्कारयेत वा तस्य

Third Plate : Second Side

- 24 ब्राह्मणैरावेदितस्य स-दण्ड-निग्रहं करिष्यामः (।*) अस्मि (°*)श्च धर्मादर-
25 करणे अनी(ती)तानेक-राज-दत्ता(त्त)-सञ्चि(°*)तन-परिपालनं पुन्या(ष्या)नुकीर्त्तन-
26 परिहारार्थं न कीर्त्तयाम[ः] (।*) सङ्कल्पाधियोग-पराक्रमोपजि-
27 तान्वर्त्तमानामाज्ञापयामः⁹ (।*) व्यास-गीतश्चात्र श्लोक-प्रमाणं(णम्) (।*)
28 स्वदत्ता(°*) परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् (।*)
गवां शत-सहस्रस्य
29 हन्तु-पिबति दुष्कृतमिति¹⁰ ॥ 1
वाकाटकाना(°*) महाराज-श्रीप्रवर-

¹ Read भुक्ताकाभोगक्षेत्रम् (field that they already enjoy ; cf. भुक्तभोग, No. 71, lines 19-20).
अभ्यन्तरपुर = अभ्यन्तरपुरः. अनिवेशन = a house complete with an inner apartment.

² Read शासनेन प्रतिबद्धानि.

³ Gupte : सन्दोह.

⁴ Read क्लिन्न.

⁵ Read विष्टि परिहार.

⁶ The same as सनिधिः सोपनिधिः. Read उपक्लृप्तम्.

⁷ Read अपौताम्.

⁸ Read यश्चास्मच्छाम्.

⁹ Read तानवर्त्तमानानां (No. 71, lines 19-20).

¹⁰ Better दुष्कृतम् ॥ इति ॥

Fourth Plate

- 30 सेनस्य राज्य-प्रशासन¹ सञ्चत्सरे एकुनविंशतिमे कर्त्तिक-मा-
 31 स-शुक्रपक्ष-द्वादश्या^(*) (।*) द्रुतक देवनन्दस्वामी² (।*) लोखिता
 32 प्रभुसिद्धेन³ (॥*)

No. 62—Chammak⁴ Copper-plate Inscription of
 Pravarasena II—Regnal Year 18

CHAMMAK, Ellichpur (Illichpur) District, Maharashtra.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 116ff. ; *Ind. Ant.*, XII, pp. 239ff.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 236ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class
 of the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT⁵

Seal

- a वाकाटक-ल्लामस्य
 b कक्रम-प्राप्त-नृप-श्रियः (।*)
 c राज्ञ-प्रवरसेनस्य
 d शासनं रिपु-शासनं(नम्) (॥*) 1

¹ Read राज्यं प्रशासनः (or राज्य-प्रशासनः) संवत्सरे (or संवत्सरे) एकोनविंशतिमे. The form विंशतिम (as also similar forms found in the Prakrit records) can be supported if we suggest विंशतिः मा (=मानं) यस्य सः = विंशतिमः.

² Gupte : वेवन्दस्वामी. Read द्रुतको.

³ Read लिखिता and ०सिंहन. Gupte : लिखितं.

⁴ Bühler edited this record under the name of Illichpur (Ellichpur) grant.

⁵ From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

First Plate

- 1 दृष्टं(ष्टम्)¹ (॥*) स्वस्ति ॥*) प्रवरपुरादग्निष्टोमासौर्यामोक्थ्य-षोडश्यातिरात्र-²
 2 वाजपेय-बृहस्पतिसव-साद्यस्क-चतुरश्वमेधयाजिन-
 3 वि[ष्णुवृ]द्ध-सगोत्रस्य सप्ता[ट्]-वाकाटकानां³ महाराज-श्व⁴-प्रवरसेनस्य
 4 सूनोः सूनोः⁵ अत्यन्त-[स्वा]मिमहाभैरव-भक्तस्य अ(°*)स-भार-सन्तिवेशि-⁶
 5 त-शिवलि[ङ्गे]द्वहन-शिव-सुपरितुष्ट-समुत्पादि[त]-राजव(°*)शा-

Second Plate : First Side

- 6 नाम्पराक्रमाधिगत-भागीरथ्यामल-जल-मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशा-⁷

¹ Fleet suggested that the word is a contraction of दृष्टं भगवता. The occurrence of the word in the grants of Pallava Sivaskandavarman, Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti II, etc., however, shows beyond doubt that it signifies, "seen" i.e. "examined and approved".

² The usual form of the name of this sacrifice is अतिरात्र. The *Agnishṭoma* (literally "praise of Agni") was a protracted sacrifice extending over 5 days in spring and forming a part of the *Jyotishṭoma* which was the principal sacrifice connected with the Soma plant and its juice. Other parts of the *Jyotishṭoma* were the *āptoryāma*, *ukthya*, *śoḍaśin*, *atirātra* and *vājapeya* ceremonies. *Atyagnishṭoma*, the seventh or last part of the *Jyotishṭoma*, is not mentioned in the text. The *Bṛihaspatisava* sacrifice in honour of the preceptor of the gods lasted for one day. *Sādyaśkra* seems to be the same as *Sadyaskriyā*, a one-day Soma sacrifice, mentioned in the *Āś. Śr. sūtr.*, IX. 6.

³ Read °याजिनो विष्णु° and सप्ताङ्गाकाटकानां. Note that Pravarasena I was a *samrāt*. The passage seems to mean "belonging to the family of the Vākāṭakas who had been emperors."

⁴ Read श्वी.

⁵ सूनोः सूनोः = पौत्रस्य. Bhandarkar suggests that Gautamīputra (and not Rudrasena I) was the grandson of Pravarasena I (as also of Bhavanāga). Note however that the Vākāṭaka genealogy is drawn on the pattern of the Gupta genealogy as found in the Gupta records. The position of Rudrasena I in this draft is exactly the same as that of Samudragupta in the Gupta draft, the only difference being that while the Gupta records observe the rules of *sandhi* and *samāsa*, these have usually ignored them. Bhandarkar's theory does not explain why the son of Pravarasena I is not mentioned. The mother of Gautamīputra again appears to have belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of the Gautama-gotra and not to that of the Bhāraśiva Nāgas. Note that Gautamīputra is not called वाकाटकानां महाराज° apparently because he predeceased his father.

⁶ Read सन्नि°. शिवसुपरितुष्ट = शिवसुपरितोष.

Read °रथ्यमल and मूर्द्धा°.

- 7 श्वमेभावभृत्य-स्नातानाभ्यारशिवानां¹ महाराज-श्रीभवनाग-दौ-
 8 हितस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानां महाराज श्रीरुद्रसे-
 9 नस्य सुनोरत्यल्ल-माहेश्वरस्य² सत्याज्जव-कारुण्य-शौर्य-विक्रम-न-
 10 य-विनय-माहात्म्याधिमत्त्व³-पात्तागत⁴-भक्तित्व⁵-धर्मवीजयित्व⁶

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 मनोनेर्माल्यादि⁷-[गुणै]स्समुपेतस्य वर्ष-शतमभिवर्द्धमान-कोश-
 12 दण्ड-साधन-सन्धान⁸-पुल्ल-पौल्लिणः युधिष्ठिर-वृत्नेर्वाकाटका-⁹
 13 नां महाराज-श्रीपृथिवीषेणस्य सुनोर्भगवत्सकृपाणे-प्रसा-
 14 दोपार्जित-श्री-समुदयस्य¹⁰ वाकाटकानां महाराज-श्रीरुद्रसेन
 15 सुनोर्म्महाराजाधिराज-श्रीदेवगुप्त-सुतायां प्रभाव-

Third Plate : First Side

- 16 तिगुप्तायामुत्पन्तस्य¹² शम्भो=प्रसाद-धृति-कार्त्यगुप्त

¹ Fleet reads स्नाना°. The *anabhṛtha* bath was taken after the completion of the sacrifice. The Bhāraśivas were possibly Nāgas (cf. the name Bhavanāga). Their kingdom seems to have bordered on the Bhāgirathi (=Ganges). Jayaswal's suggestion that their ten Aśvamedhas are responsible for the name of the Daśāśvamedha-ghāṭ at Vārāṇasī is problematical. All his other suggestions regarding the importance of the Vākāṭaka imperial power in North Indian politics (see his *History of India*, 150-350) are unconvincing. A large number of Nāga coins including some of Bhavanāga have been discovered. Bhavanāga probably had his capital at Padmāvatī (modern Padampawaya in the former Gwalior State). Read भवनागस्य.

² Read ०रत्यल्ल. Properly गौतमीपुत्र-पुत्रस्य which is actually found in the Pattan plates of Pravarasena II (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 85).

³ Read ०धिकत्व.

⁴ The engraver had originally made ङि which was then made पा by cancelling the i-sign and the right curve of ङ.

⁵ Read भक्तित्व.

⁶ Read विजयित्व.

⁷ Read नैर्माल्या°.

⁸ Read सन्धान. A century of Vākāṭaka rule from its commencement at the time of Vindhyaśakti I seems to have been completed during the reign of Prithivīśeṇa I.

⁹ Read वृत्ते°.

¹⁰ The engraver had first formed ज्वि which was corrected to ज्वि°.

¹¹ Properly रुद्रसेनस्य सुनो°. Note that the epithets immediately before this name belong to Rudrasena II and not to his son, as the *samāsa* would suggest.

¹² Read ०पन्नस्य. धृति=धारणः कार्त्यगुप्त=सत्ययुगीयवत्. Note that Prabhāvatī's father called Devagupta here was the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II according to Nos. 61-62 above.

- 17 वाकाटकानाम्परममादेश्वर-महाराज-श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना (इ*)
 18 भोजकट-राज्ये¹ मधुनदि²-तटे चर्माङ्क-नाम ग्र(।*)मः³ राजमानिक-भूमी-⁴
 19 सहस्रैरष्टाभिः ८०००⁵ शत्रु(तु)घ्नराज-पुत्र-कोण्डराज-विज्ञासया नाना-गो-
 20 त्त-चरणेभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यः सहस्राय⁶ दत्तः (॥*)

Third Plate : Second Side

- 21 यतो(ऽ*)सप्त-तकाः(ः*) सर्वार्द्धाक्षाययोग-नियुक्ता आज्ञा-सञ्च(।*)रि-कुलपुत्राधिकृता
 22 भटाच्छावाश्च⁷ विश्रुत-पूर्वयाज्ञयाज्ञापयितव्या विदितमस्तु वो यथे-
 23 हास्माकम्मनो⁸-धर्मायुर्व्वल⁹-विजयैश्वर्य-विवृद्धये इहामुव-हिता-
 24 र्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजैके¹⁰ धर्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्त्या¹¹ उदकपूर्व-
 25 मतिस्तुष्टः (।*) अथास्योचितां पूर्व-राजानुमतां चातुर्व्व्य-ग्राम-म-
 26 र्थादान्वितरामस्तद्यथा¹² अ-करदायी¹³ अ-भट-च्छात्र-प्रावेद्यः(ः*)

¹ Apparently the district round Chammak; roughly speaking the modern Ellichpur District. Note the word राज्य which suggests that some of the territorial divisions in the Vākāṭaka kingdom were called राज्य, either because they were still being ruled by local rulers under Vākāṭaka patronage, or because they retained their old name indicating a particular kingdom even after the Vākāṭaka occupation. If Bhojakata-rājya was under the local ruler Satrugnarāja or Koṇḍarāja, Senāpati Chitravarman was a High Commissioner or the Viceroy of the region including the area.

² Read नदी

³ क्षा had been originally engraved; but the ā-sign was afterwards cancelled.

⁴ Usually भूमि. The word seems to indicate either a plot of land or the standard land measure (nivarṭtana?).

⁵ Supply परिमित; or some such word.

⁶ The number of the Brāhmaṇas was one thousand.

⁷ Read भटाच्छा. Properly, ०सप्तसत्काः. Better ०ज्ञापयितव्याः । विदित०.

⁸ Fleet corrected the passage to यथैव आत्मनो, 'it is however possible to justify the use of मनः meaning "faculty of judgment"'.
⁹ Read ०युर्व्वल.

¹⁰ Read वैजयिक्के.

¹¹ Read दत्त्या.

¹² Read मर्थादां वितराम०.

¹³ Originally ये had been engraved; but it was afterwards corrected to यो,

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 27 अ-पारम्पर-गो-बलिर्वर्द्धः^(*)¹ अ-पुष्प-क्षीर-सत्त्वोद्द- अ-च^(*)रा-
 28 सन-चर्ममङ्गारः^(*)² अ-लवण-क्लिन्न-वक्रेणि-खनकः^(*) सव्व-वेष्टि³-परि-
 29 हार-परीहृतः⁴ स-निधिस्तोपनिधिः स क्लृप्तोपक्लृप्तः⁵
 30 आ-चन्द्रादित्य-कालीयः पुत्र-पौत्र^(*)नुगमकः ^(*)भु[]जतां न के-
 31 नचि^(*) व्याघातं⁷ कर्त्तव्यस्सर्व-क्रियाभिस्स^(*)रक्षितव्य-परवर्द्धयि-
 32 तवश्च⁸ ^(*)यश्चायं⁹ शासनमगणयमानो¹⁰ स्वल्प^(*)मपि ^(*)परिवर्द्धयि¹¹

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 33 [कु]र्यात्कारयित्वा¹² वा तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य स-च^(*)ण्ड-निग्रहं कुर्या-
 34 मः¹³ ^(*)अस्मि^(*)श्च धर्मावर-करणे¹⁴ अतितानेक-राज-दत्त-सञ्चलन-¹⁵
 35 परिपालनं कृत-पुण्यानुकीर्त्तन-परीहारार्थं न कीर्त्तयामः ^(*)

¹ Read बली०. See p. 435, note 1.

² See p. 434, note.

³ Read सन्दोहः.

⁴ Read विष्टि (= forced labour).

⁵ Read परिहृतः.

⁶ Read सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्तः. See p. 438, note 3.

⁷ Read व्याघात.

⁸ Read परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च.

⁹ Read यश्चेदं.

¹⁰ Read ०मानः.

¹¹ After this, कु (of the word कुर्या०) was first engraved and then cancelled.

¹² Read कुर्यात्कारयित्वा.

¹³ Read कुर्याम.

¹⁴ Some records read धर्मावरकरणे which is better. Fleet translates: "and in this document which has at least the merit of religion", taking करण in the sense of document (cf. करचिक, scribe). The Siwani grant has धर्माधिकरण=subject matter of religion (Fleet); gift. The king means to say that he would not refer to the merits of considering and protecting the grants of the past kings as that involves praising such grants and that he would not thus dilate upon his own merits indirectly.

¹⁵ Read अतीता० and दत्त-सञ्चलन.

36 व्यास-गीतौ चाक्ष श्लोकौ¹ प्रमानिकर्तृभ्यौ² (।*)

स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्तां³

37 व्या⁴ यो हरेत् वसुन्धरां(राम्) (।*)

गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हत्तु-⁵

Fifth Plate : First Side

38 हंरति दुष्कृतं(तम्) (।*) 2

षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्रानि⁶ स्वर्गं मोदति भू-

39 मिदः (।*)⁷

आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च⁷ तान्येव नरके वसेदिति⁸ (।*) 3

40 इशासन⁹-स्थितिश्चैयं ब्राह्मणैरीश्वरैश्चानुपालनीया तद्यथा राज्ञां स-

41 साङ्गे राज्ये¹⁰ अद्भोह-प्रवृत्तानां¹¹ ब्रह्मघ्न-चौर¹²-पारदारिक-राजा-

42 पथ्यकारि-प्रभृतीनां¹³ सङ्ग[।]म[']*) कुर्वतां¹⁴ अन्य-प्रामेय्यन- ॥¹⁵

Fifth Plate : Second Side

43 पर[।*]द्धानां आचन्द्रादित्य-कालीयः (।*) अतो ऽ*)न्यथा कुर्वतामनुमोदतां वा¹⁶

¹ श्लोकौ looks like भौकौ on the plate.

² Read प्रमाणी०. The engraver originally formed \timesप्र.

³ Read दत्ताम्परदत्तां.

⁴ Read वा. The reduplication of व is influenced by the rule वा पदान्तस्य

⁵ Read हत्तु०.

⁶ Read सहस्राणि.

⁷ Originally च or च्च was engraved.

⁸ Better वसेत् ॥ इति ॥

⁹ Read शासन.

¹⁰ Cf. स्वायमाय-सुहृत्कोश-राष्ट्र-दुर्ग-वर्तानि च which are the 7 *ahgas* or constituents of a State according to Amara.

¹¹ Read प्रवृत्तानां.

¹² चौरा was at first engraved. Fleet is inclined to supply च before ब्रह्मघ्न and संशाम-कु०.

¹³ Read प्रभृतीनां (= प्रभृतिभिः).

¹⁴ Read कुर्वतामन्य.

¹⁵ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

¹⁶ The engraver at first formed वा,

- 44 राज्ञः भूमिच्छेदं कुर्वन्तः अ-स्तेयमिति (॥*)¹ प्रातिग्राहिणश्चात्²
 45 वार-नियुक्ताः³ शाटपायनः⁴ गणार्थ्यः वात्स्य-देवार्थ्यः भारद्वाज-
 46 कुमारशर्मा⁵र्य्यः(*) पाराशर्य्य-गुहशर्मा काश्यप-देव(।०, र्य्यः महेश्वरार्थ्यः(*)⁵
 47 मात्तार्थ्यः(*) कौण्डिन्य-रुद्रार्थ्यः(*)⁴ सोमार्थ्यः(*) हरिशर्मार्य्यः(*)

Sixth Plate : First Side

- 48 भारद्वाज-कुमारशर्म[र्]र्य्यः(*) कौण्डिन्य-मातृशर्मा⁶ वरशर्मा।(*)
 49 गोण्डशर्मा नागशर्मा भारद्वा(ज*)-शान्तिशर्मा रुद्रशर्मा वात्स्यः
 50 भोजक-[दे]वार्थ्यः(*) मघशर्मा देवशर्मा भारद्वाज-भोजशर्मा[र्]।
 51 [ना*]गशर्मा रेवतिशर्मा धर्म्मार्थ्यः(*) भारद्वाज-शर्मार्य्यः(*)
 52 नन्दनार्थ्यः(*) मूलशर्मा । ईश्वरशर्मा । वरशर्मा

Sixth Plate : Second Side

- 53 चान्स्य⁷-स्कन्दाय्यः(*) भारद्वाज-वप्पार्थ्यः(*) धर्म्मार्थ्य आत्सेय-स्कन्दाय्यः(*)
 54 गौतम-सोमशर्मार्य्यः(*) भर्तृ(तृ)शर्मा रुद्रश(र्मा)* र्य्यः(*) मघार्थ्यः(*) मातृ-
 55 शर्मार्य्यः(*) ईश्वरशर्मार्य्यः(*) गौतमसगोत्र-मातृशर्मा-
 56 र्य्यः(*) कौण्डिन्य-देवशर्मार्य्यः(*)⁸ वरशर्मार्य्यः(*) रोहार्थ्यः(*)

¹ Read कुर्वन्तः. "And this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brāhmanas and by [future] lords; namely [that the enjoyment of this grant is to belong to the Brāhmanas] for so long as the moon and the sun endure, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom, consisting of 7 constituent parts, of [successive] kings; that they are always on hostile terms with slayers of Brāhmanas, thieves, adulterers, traitors to the king (Fleet—poisoners of kings), etc.; and that they do no wrong to other villages. But, if they act otherwise or assent [to such acts], the king will commit no theft in taking the land away."

² Read प्रतिग्रा०. वा was originally formed and was then corrected to ग्रा.

³ Read नियुक्ताः; for vāra (an arbitrator), cf. p. 375. note 3. The donors appear to have been made responsible for the distribution of shares of the gift village among themselves.

⁴ Although the gotra name and the following personal name have been given in a compound in some cases the separation of the former is better especially where more than one person are mentioned under one gotra.

⁵ र्य्य stands below the line only a little above the next line. Note that Maheshvara and Mātṛi belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra like Deva.

⁶ Read कौण्डिन्य.

⁷ Read वात्स्य०.

⁸ Read कौण्डिन्य.

Seventh Plate

- 57 गौतमगोत्र-स्वामिदे(वा*)र्य्यः(*) रेवतिशर्म्मार्य्यः(*)
 58 ज्येष्ठशर्म्मार्य्यः(*) शाण्डिल्य-कुमारशर्म्मार्य्यः(*) स्वातिशर्म्मा-¹
 59 र्य्यः(*) श(।*)ट्यायण-काण्ड(।*)र्य्य-प्रभृतयः (॥*) सेनापतौ
 60 चित्रवर्म्मणि संवत्सरे(ऽ*)ष्टादश² १०(+*)८ ज्येष्ठ-मास-शुक्ल-
 61 पक्ष-तयोदश्या['] शासनं लिखितमितिः³ (॥*)

No. 63—Ajanta Cave Inscription of the time of Harishena

AJAṆṬĀ (written *Ajanthā*, and pronounced *Ajinthā* by the local Marāṭhīs), Aurangābād District, Maharashtra.

BHAGAWANLAL INDRAJI, *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of India*, p. 69; Burgess and Bühler, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, pp. 124ff; V. V. Mirashi, *Nagpur University Journal*, Dec., 1940, No. 6, pp. 41 ff. (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 142 ff.); also *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. XIV; A. C. BISWAS, *Ind. Cult.*, VII, pp. 372 ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: Vv. 1-2 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 3 उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 4 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 5 उपजाति or उपेन्द्रवज्रा; Vv. 6-9, a species of मावासमक according to Kielhorn, but the गौतिका variety of मिश्रमण metres according to Venkatasubbia;⁴ V. 10 उपजाति or उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 11 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 12 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 13 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); Vv. 14-15 उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 16 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 17 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (अर्धपञ्चन्दसिक); V. 18 वंशस्थ; V. 19 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी

¹ Read स्वाति० and शाच्यायन,

² Read संवत्सरेऽष्टादशे or संवत्सरे० (see p. 359, note 2). For the position of the *Senāpati* cf. *supra*, p. 445, note 1.

³ Read ०मिति. The *risarga* sign may really be a mark of punctuation.

⁴ For this metre, see *infra*, No. 69, note; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 26f. The restorations suggested are in many places doubtful.

(श्रीपच्छन्दसिक); V. 20 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 21 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (श्रीपच्छन्दसिक);
 V. 22 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 23 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी
 (श्रीपच्छन्दसिक); V. 24 वंशस्थ; V. 25 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा);
 V. 26 प्रहर्षिणी; V. 27-28 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (श्रीपच्छन्दसिक); V. 29
 वमन्तिलका; V. 30 उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 31 शर्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 32 मालिनी।

TEXT¹

- 1 उदीर्णं लोकलय-दोषवह्नि-
 निर्व्वापणोः — — — — — (I*)
 — — — — [बुद्धम²] मिप्रमस्य
 पूर्व्वी³ प्रवक्ष्ये क्षितिपानुपूर्व्वीम् (II*) 1
- 2 महाविमर्द्दं प्वभिवृद्ध-शक्तिः
 कृद्धस्मुरैरप्यनिवार्य्य-[शक्तिः ?] (I*)
 [अनन्यसाधा⁴]रण-दान-शक्तिः⁵
 द्विज = प्रकाशो भुवि विन्ध्यश[क्तिः] (II*) 2
- 3 पुरन्दरोपेन्द्र-सम-प्रभावः
 स्वबाहुवीर्या[जि]त-[सर्व्वलोकः*] (I*)
 — — — — — [यशो]शुकानां
 बभूव वाकाटक-वङ्ग-के[तुः*]⁵ (II*) 3

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI. Many passages of the record cannot be read owing to the unsatisfactory state of its preservation. Bühler believed that it speaks of Vindhyasakti, his son Pravarasena I, his son (?) Rudrasena (?); his son Prithivishena; his son (?) Pravarasena II (cf. No. 62), his son (name lost), his son Devasena, his son Harishena. After the discovery of *supra*, No. 59, it appears to be very probable that the record belongs to the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka family. We have here Vindhyasakti, his son Pravarasena I, his son Sarvasena, his son Prithivishena (?), his son Pravarasena, his son * * *, his son Devasena, his son Harishena.

² णी looks like णि on the plate.

³ The word *pūrvā* has been used here practically as a synonym of *prastāvi*.

⁴ Read ०शक्तिर्द्विज०.

⁵ Read वंश.

- 4 रणे [स्व]हृद्युस्थित-रेणु-जाल-
सन्धादिताक्क — — — — (1*)
[प्रनष्टसारानखिला?] नराती-
न्कृत्वाभिवाद-प्रवणा[]श्चकार (11*) 4
- 5 [विनि][र्जि]तारि[स्सुर]राजकार्य-
श्चकार पुण्येषु परं प्रय[त्नम्*] (1*)
— — — — —
— — — — — [11*] 5
[अरि*]-नरेन्द्र-मौलि-विन्यस्त-मणि-किरणलीढ-[क्रमाब्जुजः*] (1*)
- 6 प्रवरवेनस्तस्य पुत्रो(ऽ*)भूद्विकसन्नवेन्दीवरेक्षणः (11*) 6
रविमयूख-द (1*)
[सर्वसेनः]¹ प्रवरसेनस्य जित-सर्वसेनस्सुतो(ऽ*)भवत् (11*) 7
- 7 [तस्य] पुत्रः पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य प्रज्ञ[शा]स धर्म्मणे मोदिनी[म्*] (1*)
कुन्तलेन्द्र[]² नि[र्जित्य-श्री?]-[पृ]थिवी[षिणो]³[नयवांस्तदा?] (11*) 8
प्रवरसे[नस्त]स्य⁴ पुत्रो(ऽ*) भू-
त्प्रवरोर्जितोदार-शासन-⁵
प्रवर
- 8
... .. (11*) 9
[तस्यात्मज × कामत ?] — — — —
— — — — — (11*)
— — — — — [म]वाप्य राज्य-
मष्टाब्दको यप्रशाशास सम्य[क्*] (11*) 10⁶

¹ Earlier scholars suggested रुद्रसेन; in place of सर्वसेन.

² Kuntala was in the heart of the Kannaḍa country, practically the same as the district round Banavāsi. A Kadamba king of Mayūrasārman's line is apparently indicated.

³ Earlier scholars like Bühler were inclined to read विजित्य...पृथिवीषिणः. Mirashi reads विन्ध्यसेन whom he identifies with Vindhyaśakti II of *supra*, No. 59. श्रीविन्ध्यसेन may not be impossible. Biswas suggests भुवि विन्ध्यशक्तिः. If the reading of Bühler be correct, we have to suggest that Vindhyaśakti II had a brother named Prithivīṣeṇa.

⁴ Indrajī: ०सेनस्य. This Pravarasena (son or brother's son of Vindhyaśakti II) is different from Pravarasena II (son of Rudrasena II; of *supra*, No. 62).

⁵ Read ०शासनः । प्रवर०.

⁶ The father of Devasena whose name is lost became king where he was 8 years old.

- 9 [त*]स्या[त्मजो](ऽ*)भून्नरदेव-[कल्पो ?]
 [गुणैरतुल्यो ?] भुवि देवसेनः¹ (1*)
 यस्योपभोगैर्ललितैर्जि[चित्तै ?]-²
 [नृ?]देवराजस्य — — — भूः (॥*) 11
 पुष्यानुभावात्क्षितिपस्य [तस्य ?]
- 10 — — — — — (1*)
 — — — — [न्या?]य-गुणाधिवासो
 [प्रवृद्ध?]—कोशो भुवि हस्तिभोजः (॥*) 12
 प्र— — — — पृथुपीनवक्षा-
 स्सरोरुहाक्ष—क्षपि-
- 11 [तारिपक्षः*] (1*)
 — — — — — ब[ाहु]-
 दिग्गन्धहस्तिप्रतिमो बभूव (॥*) 13
 हितो विनीतः प्रणय-[प्रसिक्तो ?]
 [म]नोनुकूलो(ऽ*)नुविधानव[र्त्ती] (1*)
 [नि]रत्यय
- 12 — — — — —
 — — — — — कश्च (॥*) 14
 त[थै]व लोक³ सुहिताशयत्वा-
 त्सुखेन सम्य[क्प]रिपालनेन (1*)
 [पितेव*] मातेव सखेव नित्यं
 प्रियो(ऽ*)भिगम्यश्च बभूव

¹ For a copper-plate inscription of this king issued from Vatsagulma (=Basim in the Akola District), see *New Ind. Ant.*, 1937. His minister was Hastibhoja.

² Indrajī: खिपावने०. The passage भुवि देवसेनः however suggests a metre of the Triśṭubh type (and not of the Jagatī type) which would go against that reading. Of course a combination of Indravajrā and Vamśastha is known from literature (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XV, p. 646).

³ Read लोके,

- 13 [गोसा १] (॥*) 15
 — — — — —
 — — — — — [तुल्यम् ?] (॥*)
 स्वस्थस्समावेश्य स तत्र राजा
 [सस]ञ्ज भोगेषु यथेष्ट-चेष्टः (॥*) 16
 अथ तस्य सुतो बभू-
- 14 [च भूपः ?]
 — — — — — [नीतिः ?] (॥*)
 हरि-राम-हर-स्मरे[न्दु?] -कान्ति-¹
 हर्षिष्णो हरि-विक्रम-प्रतापः (॥*) 17
 स कुन्तलावन्ति-कलिङ्ग-कोसल-
 त्रिकूट-लाटान्ध्र-²
- 15 — — — — —
 — — — — — नैष्ट-ता-
 नपि स्वनिर्देश — — — — — ॥* 18
 प्रथितो भुवि हस्तिभोज-सूनु-
 स्सचिवस्तस्य महीपतेर्बभूव (॥*)
 सकल-क्षिति
- 16 — — — — —
 — — — — — (॥*) 19
 — — — जेष्ट³ स्थिर-धीर-चेता-
 सयाग-क्षमौदार्य-गुणैरुपेतः(*) (॥*)
 धर्मैर्धर्म-प्रवण-इशशास
 देशं यश्च पुण्यगुणांशु-

¹ सरेन्द्र is the reading of some scholars.

² Avantī=district round Ujjayinī. Kālīṅga (in the narrow sense)=Puri-Ganjam region of Orissa. Kosala=South Kosala=Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilaspur region. Aparānta=the Northern Konkan. Lāṭa=Nausāri-Broach region. Andhra=districts near the mouths of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōḍāvarī. It is a vague claim which may indicate some sort of hostile relations of the Vākāṭaka king with those countries. It is impossible to believe that the countries were completely subjugated by Harishena. Harishena is possibly mentioned in another Ajantā inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1713).

³ प्रचेष्ट ? For the omission of *visarga*, see p. 404, note 7.

- 17 [दीप्तम् ?] (॥*) 20
 — — — — —
 प्रति पुष्योपचयं परं चकार (१*)
 यत् ऊर्द्धमद[स्सहायधर्मा]
 [परितो लोकगुरौ] चकार कारा[र्त्त] (॥*) 21
 आयुर्वयो-वित्त-सखाणि²
- 18 — —
 — — — — — छानि (१*)
 उ[द्दिश्य*] मातापितरावुदारं
 न्यवीविशद्वेदेम यतीन्द्र-[सेव्यम्] (॥*) 22
 सजलाम्बुद-[वृन्द-संस्थि?]ताग्रे
 भुजगेन्द्राद्युपपिते महीधरेन्द्रे (१*)
- 19 — — — — —
 — — — श्रीपतिना शरा निकुञ्जे (॥*) 23
 गवाक्ष-निर्ग्रह-सुवीथि-वेदिका-
 [सु]रेन्द्र-कन्या-प्रतिमाद्यलङ्कितम् (१*)
 मनोहरस्तम्भविभङ्ग-
- 20 [मेदुरं*]
 — — — — — र³-चैत्यमन्दिर['] (रम्) (॥*) 24
 म — — — तल-सन्निविष्ट-
 वि[तान?] — — — मनो[भि]रामं(रम्)(१*)
 — — — ज्वालामुहानिधान[']
 नागेन्द्र-वेदमादिभिर
- 21 — — — (॥*) 25
 [कल्याणं तु ?] सम(मी?)रणा — — — — —
 — — — — — (१*)
 ग्रीष्माङ्कस्य च किरणोपता[प*]-त[स*]
 सर्वतु-प्रथित-सुखोपभोगयोग[म्*] (॥*) 26

¹ लोकगुरु = बुद्ध ; कार = पूजा.

² सखानि ?

³ शिखरं ? Some scholars suggest उदुरं.

- 22 — — — — [सु]रेन्द्रमन्दिराणा[']
 रुचिम[न्म]न्दर-कन्द — — — (१०)
 — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — [मुखं ?] ययेप्सित[ञ्च ?] (॥*) 27
 असम[व्यति ?]रोचने गिरेर्वि-
 क-
- 23 — — — — — — — — [काननानि ?] (१*)¹
 वह — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — (॥*) 28
 — — — — — — — — यस्य जनेन नाम
 प्रीति-प्रसाद-विकच-प्रणयेन चक्रे (१*)
 [एतच्च ?]
- 24 — — — — — लयनं सुरेन्द्र-
 मौलि[प्रभोपचित ?] — — — — [वि?]हाय (॥*) 29
 निवेद्य सङ्गाय — — — [भोग्यं ?]
 सबन्धुवर्गास्स वराहदेवः² (१*)
 नृदेवसौख्यान्यनुभूय
- 25 — — — — —
 [शरभ्य?]—शास्ता सुगत :*) प्रशस्तः (॥*) 30
 सान्द्राभ्योद-भुजङ्गभोग — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — ज-मनश्शिलाल-कपिलैर्यावत्करैर्भास्व[स्कर?]रः (॥*)
 तावच्छे
- 26 — — — — — — — — — — स्सेव्यता-
 मन्तर्मण्डप-रत्न[मे]तदमलं रत्नत[योद्गा]वित[म्*] (॥*) 31
 विविध-लयन-सानुस्सेव्यमानो महद्भि-
 गिरेरय-
- 27 — — — — — — — — — — द्वयः (१*)
 जगदपि च समस्तव्यस्त-दोष-प्रहाणा-
 [द्वि*]शतु पदमशोकं निज्वरं शान्तमार्य['] र्यम् (॥*) 32

¹ There is possibly यतिभङ्गदोष in this half of the verse.

² Varāhadeva, minister of Harisheṇa, was probably a son of Hastibhoja.

No. 63A—Gañj Inscription [of Vyaghra] of the time of Prithivishena [II]

GAÑJ, Panna District, Madhya Pradesh.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, pp. 12ff.; K. N. DIKSHIT, *ibid.*, p. 362.

Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 6th century A.D.¹

TEXT²

- 1 वाकाटकाना['] महाराज-श्री-
- 2 पृथिविषेणपादां(दा)बुद्धगतो व्याघ्रदे-
- 3 वो मातापित्तो(ः*) पुन्या(ण्या)त्थे कृतमिति³ (॥*)

THE PALLAVAS

No. 63A—Manchikallu Pillar Inscription of Simhavarman.⁴

MANCHIKALLU near Rentachintala, Palnad Taluk, Gunṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 87ff.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 4th century A.D.

¹ For the 6th century script with the loop inside the lower bend as used in this inscription, cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, p. 259, note 3; XXXIV, p. 248, note 4. I was wrong in assigning the inscription as also the Nachnekitalai inscriptions with identical text (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 234) to the reign of Vākāṭaka Prithivishena I (4th century A.D.) See *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 179, note 1. The Vākāṭakas appear to have ousted Gupta rule from Bundelkhand about the close of the 5th century A.D.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVII.

³ The objects made are not mentioned in any of the three records of Vyāghra, feudatory of Vākāṭaka Prithivishena II.

⁴ This king seems to have been the father of Śivaskandavarman mentioned in Nos. 64-65 below.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥ भारदाय-सगो[त्तेन]...[भ]रेण पलवानं सी[ह]-
- 2 वंमण अप्पणो वेजयिके...[ल-व]र्ध(धँ)न्तिके संन्ति(ति)-सथि-
- 3 यायणं का[त्तु]ण भग[वतो]...[जीवशि]वसामिस तेथि[का]-
- 4 न कुर्त्तका(को)पहारकादि कातं (।*) किहन्थि ?-देवकुलस भट्ट[र]....²
- 5 ...[स] पाद[मूले]...

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ भारद्वाज-सगोत्रेण ...धरेण पलवानां (=पल्लवेन) सिंहवर्मणा आत्मनः वेजयिकं [धर्मव]ल्लवार्धनिकं (=वर्धनाय) शान्तिस्वस्त्ययनं कृत्वा भगवतः [श्री]जीवशिवस्वामिनः तैर्यिकेभ्यः (=पूजकेभ्यः) ⁺कुर्त्तकोपहारकादि (=कम्बलोपायनादिकं) कृतम् । किहन्थि-देवकुलस्य भट्टा[रक]...स्य पादमूले...

No. 64—Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman—Regnal Year 10³

MAYIDAVOLU, Narasaraṅvupēṭa Tāluka, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh.
E. HULTZSCH, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 86ff.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Cursive Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 4th century A.D.⁴

¹ See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII.

² The word *bhaṭṭāraka* was probably prefixed to the name of the deity in the *devakula* or temple in question. कुर्त्तक = Pali कुत्तक.

³ The year apparently refers to the rule of the father of Śivaskandavarman as he was only a *Yuvamahārāja*. The word युवमहाराज is coined from युवराज on the analogy of राजन् and महाराज. Kāñchīpura is modern Conjeeveram about 55 miles to the west of Madras. Some scholars think that the name is Skandavarman (identical with the king of No. 66) and *śiva* is an honorific like *ujaya* of No. 66, line 1; cf. No. 67, note. The name Śivaskanda is however often found in other sources. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 166f; cf. old and modern South Indian personal names like Bhavaskanda and Śivasbaṇṇukha.

⁴ This record (cf. also the Koudamudi plates of Jayavarman, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 315) is very interesting from the palaeographic point of view. See notes below. The peculiar forms of the letters are merely cursive ones.

TEXT¹*First Plate : First Side*

दिठं [॥*]

*First Plate : Second Side*1 [सिद्धं ॥*]² [का#] चौपुरातो युवमहाराजो³2 भारदाय-सगोत्तो⁴ पलवानं⁵*Second Plate : First Side*२⁶

3 मिवख['] दवम्भो धंजकडे

4 वापतं आनपयति (।*)

*Second Plate : Second Side*5 अम्हेहि दानि अम्ह-वेजयिके⁷6 [धं]मायु-बळ-वधनिके य⁸*Third Plate : First Side*३⁹

7 बम्हनानं अगिवेस-सगोत्तस

8 पुवकोदुजस अगिवेस-सगोत्तस

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VI. The seal bears the figure of a couchant bull in relief and below it the legend शिवस्त[न्दवर्धनः].

² Traces of the letters still remain.

³ म has a peculiar form in this inscription. It consists of an upper curve and of a loop that starts from its upper right corner and reaches below the line.

⁴ स also has a peculiar form consisting of two equal curves, one below the other, but not interconnected.

⁵ न in this inscription does not differ from ड or द.

⁶ In the left margin a little above the level of line 4.

⁷ ज has generally a peculiar form in this inscription consisting of an angle and a circle.

⁸ This stands for च.

⁹ In the left margin on the level between lines 7 and 8.

Third Plate : Second Side

- ७ गोनंदिजस अंधापथीय¹-गामो
10 [विरिप]रं अग्नेहि² उदकादि³

Fourth Plate : First Side

8⁴

- 11 संपदतो (1*) एतस गामस
12 विरिपरस सव-बग्नेदय-

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 13 प[रिहा]रो वित्तराम (1*) अ-छोन-[ख]ादकं
14 अ-रठ-सं[वि]नायिकं अ-परंपरा-बळीव[दं*]⁴

Fifth Plate : First Side

५⁵

- 15 अ-भड-पपेसं अ-कूर-चोळक-
16 विनासि-खट(1*)-संवासं (1*) एतेहि

Fifth Plate : Second Side

- 17 अनेहि च सव-बग्नेद-
18 देय-मजादाय

¹ Read अंधापथीय. Andhrāpatha is a geographical term like Dakṣiṇāpatha. Originally it may have indicated "way to the Andhra country", but later the Andhra country itself. Its capital Dhānyakāṭa is very probably to be identified with Amarāvati. An inscription (No. 529 of 1937-38) of Virapurushadatta refers to the installation of two *dharma*chakras at the great monastery at Duānyakāṭa.

² Omit अग्नेहि. Cf. द्रव्यस्य नाम गृह्णीयाद् ददानीति तथा वदेत् । तोयं दयात् ततो हस्ते दाने विधिरयं स्मृतः ॥ quoted above, p. 366, note 12 With विरिपरम्, cf. modern पित्रापरम्, etc.

³ In the left margin a little above the level of line 12.

⁴ Hultzsch : बलिबर्द. Some of these exemptions refer to the obligations of the villagers to the touring officers of the king, while some refer to their obligation to the king on occasions (e.g., a marriage in the king's family). For a detailed discussion on them, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 186f.; also *supra*, p. 431, note 1. लोन possibly includes the *audbhijja* salt prepared from plantain and coconut trees in some parts of Bengal even to-day. See Bk. II, No. 83, note.

⁵ In the left margin a little above the level of line 16.

*Sixth Plate : First Side*६^१

19 सव-परिहारेहि परिहारितो (1*)

20 परिहरथ परिहरापेथ च (1*)

Sixth Plate : Second Side

21 जो अम्ह-सासनं अतिछि-

22 तून पीला बाधा करेजा^२ [वा]^३*Seventh Plate : First Side*७^१23 [त]^४ कारापेजा वा तस अम्हो

24 सारीर['] सासनं करेजामो (1*)

Seventh Plate : Second Side

25 स['] वक्करं दसमं १० गिम्हा-

26 पखो छो ६ दिवसं पंचमि ५ (1*)

*Eighth Plate*८^६

27 आनती सयत्ति दत्ता

28 पट्टिका (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

दृष्टं (= राजपुरुषैः परीक्षितम्) ॥

सिद्धम् ॥ काञ्चीपुरतः युवमहाराजः (= युवराजः) भारद्वाज-सगोत्रः पल्लवानां शिवस्कन्द-
वर्मा धान्यकटे व्याघृतं (= धान्यकटनगरस्थं कर्मसचिवम्) आज्ञापयति । — 'अस्माभिः इदानीम्

^१ In the left margin a little above the level of line 20.

^२ जा is read by Hultzsch and Bühler: but it looks exactly like the ordinary form of जो. See p. 464, note 5.

^३ The scribe had at first left out कारापेजा and engraved वा त (of वा तस), but eventually the two *aksharas* were struck out.

^४ In the left margin on the level of lines 23 and 24.

^५ See above, note 2.

^६ In the left margin on the level of lines 27 and 28.

अस्मद्-वैजयिकम् (= अस्माकं विजयाय) धर्मायुर्बलवर्द्धनिकम् (= वर्द्धनाय) च ब्राह्मणाभ्याम्
अग्निवेश-सगोत्राय पूर्वकोट्यार्याय अग्निवेश-सगोत्राय गोतन्त्रार्याय [च] अन्ध्रापथीयः ग्रामः
विरिपरः उदकादि सम्प्रदत्तः । एतस्य ग्रामस्य विरिपरस्य सर्व-ब्रह्मदेय-परिहारं वितरामः—
अ-लवण-खातकम्, अ-राष्ट्र-सांविनयिकम्, अ-परम्पराबलीवर्द्धम् (= बलीवर्द्धग्रहणम्), अ-भट-
प्रवेशम्, अ-कूर-चुल्लकी-विनाशि-खट्वा-संवासं (= भक्तस्थालीन्धनखट्वावासादीनां परि-
हारम्) । एतैः अन्यैः च सर्व-ब्रह्मदेय-मर्यादया (= नित्यमानुसारेण) सर्वपरिहारैः परि-
हारितः । परिहरेत परिहारयेत च [त्वम्] । यः अस्मच्छासनम् अतिच्छिद्य पीडां बाधां [च] कुर्यात्
कारयेयुः वा तस्य वयं शरीरं शासनं (= दण्डं) कुर्याम । संवत्सरः दशमः १० ग्रीष्म-पक्षः
षष्ठः ६ दिवसः पञ्चमः ५ (= ज्यैष्ठ-शुक्ल-पक्ष-पञ्चम-दिवसे)^१ । आज्ञसिः स्वयम् इति दत्ता
पट्टिका ॥

No. 65—Hirahadagalli Copper-plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman—Regnal Year 8

HĪRAHĀḌAGALLI, Bellary District, Mysore.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 5ff., 9 ff., 479; II, pp. 485f.; LEUMANN, *ibid.*, II, pp. 483-85; LÜDERS' List, No. 1209 (for other references).

Language: Prakrit and Sanskrit.²

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the middle of the 4th century A.D.

TEXT³

Scul

शिवस्कन्द[वर्मणः]

First Plate: First Side

दिठं (॥*)

¹ It must however be remembered that the Andhra-Drāviḍa-Karṇāṭa region now reckon the *amānta* month (starting from the Śukla *pratipad* and ending with the *amāvāsya*).

² Note that this record shows more cases of the reduplication of consonants and of conjuncts than No. 64. See *supra*, p. 430, note 2.

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I. This record, found almost within the borders of ancient Kuntala, suggests that the Early Kadambas were feudatories of the Early Pallavas. For other grounds, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 184.

*First Plate : Second Side*सिद्धम् ॥¹

- 1 कांचिपुरा² अगिष्टोम³-वाजपेयस्समेधयाजी धम्ममहा-
- 2 राजाधिराजो भारद्वाजो पल्लवाणं सिवखंडवमो⁴
- 3 अहं विसये सवत्थ राजकुमार-सेनापति-

Second Plate : First side

- 4 रट्टक⁵-माडवि[क]⁶-देसाधिकादीके गामागामभोजके
- 5 वल्लवे गोवल्लवे अमच्चे आरखाधिकते⁷ गुमिके तूथिके
- 6 नेयिके अन्ने वि च अह-पेस[ण]-प्पयुत्ते संचरंतक-
- 7 भडमनुसा ण[कढसो]⁸ परिहारं वितराम⁹ (।*) एत्थ दाणि

Second Plate : Second Side

- 8 [आ]पिट्ठि-वत्थवाणं चिल्लरेककोडुं क-भोजक-बम्हणाणं अप्प-
- 9 ण कुल-गोत्तस धमायु-वल-यसो-वधनिके विजय-वेजयीके
- 10 च कातूर्णं अप्पतिहत-सासनस्स अनेक-हिरोगोकोडी¹⁰
- 11 गोहलसतसहस्स-प्पदायितो महाराज-बप्पसामीहि¹¹

1 This word is in the left margin, on the level of line 2.

2 Bühler : कांची, कीं was originally engraved.

3 Bühler : अगिल्लोम ; but the superscript is certainly ट्.

4 धर्ममहाराजाधिराज has been coined on the analogy of धर्ममहाराज which again is derived from धर्मराज. The title indicates that the king was engaged in some pious activity (*dharma*) no doubt referring to the issue of the grant.

5 Read रट्टिक which is the reading of Bühler.

6 The letter looks like नु which is Bühler's reading.

7 Bühler reads आरण्.

8 This reading seems to be suggested by the plate. The reading intended however is possibly भड-मनुसे आणवित्ति.

9 These two words are out of place here and should have been omitted.

10 हिरोगा is possibly a mistake for हिरण. For हल, see, p. 208, note 4.

11 Read स्वामिनी. Some scholars take Bappa (literally 'father') as the name of the father of Sivaskandavarman, which is unlikely. See *Sac. Sat.*, pp. 183f. Cf. परम-भट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीवप्यपादानुध्यात, परमदेवतवप्यभट्टारकमहाराजश्रीपादानुध्यात, etc., in Fleet's *C.I.I.*, III, p. 186, note बप्प from Sanskrit वत्ता = वीजवत्ता ? See above, p. 456, note 4.

*Third Plate : First Side*३^१

- 12 वाडक चिल्लरेककोडुंके पुव्वदत्तं (1*) गोळसमजस पतीभागो^२ १
 13 आत्तेय-सगोतस अगिसमजस्स पतीभागा ४
 14 माढरस पतीभागा बे २ जामातुकस अगिल्लस पती-
 15 भागो १ हारित-सगोतस कालसमस पत्तीभागा ३

Third Plate : Second Side

- 16 भारदाय-सगोत्तस कुमारसमस पतिभागा ३^३ कोसिक-
 17 सगोतस कुमारनंदि-कुमारसम-कोट्टसम-सत्तिस्स च
 18 चतुण्हं भातुकाग चत्तारि पत्तिभागा ४ कस्सव सगोत्त-
 19 स भट्टिस पतीभागो १ भारदायस खंदकोडिस

*Fourth Plate : First Side*४^४

- 20 पतीभागा बे २ खंदडस पतीभागो १ बप्पस
 21 [प]त्तीभागो^५ १ दत्तजस पतीभागा बे २ नंदिजस
 22 पतीभागा ३ वत्स-सगोतस रुद्धसमस पती-
 23 भागो^६ १ दामजस पतीभागो १ सालसमजस पति-
 24 भागो १^६

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 25 परिमितस पतीभागो १ नागनंदिस पतीभागो १ गोळिस
 26 पतिभागो १ खंदसमस पतिभागो १ सामिजस पतिभागो १ (1*)
 27 एतेसि बग्गणाणं अगिसमज-पमुखाणं साताह्नि-रट्टे^७
 28 गामे चिल्लरेककोडुंके दखिण-सीमं पुव्वदत्तं (1*)

1 In the left margin, a little above the level of line 14.

2 Bühler reads पति°.

3 Bühler reads २, कोसिका was originally engraved.

4 In the left margin, a little below the level of line 22.

5 Bühler reads पती°.

6 These aksharas are engraved below सालसम of the previous line.

7 I. e., the modern Bellary District. See *supra*, No. 90 (p. 212).

*Fifth Plate : First Side*५^१

- 29 अम्हेहि त्रि आ-चन्द-तार-काळीक^२ कातूणं उदकादि संप-
 30 दत्तो एतं बम्हणाणं चिल्लिरेककोडुंक-वाडकं (१*)
 31 अ-कूर-योळक^३-विनेसि-खट्टा-वासं अ-दूध-दधि-गहणं
 32 अ-रट्टसंविनयिकं अ-लोग-[गु]ल-च्छोभं अ-कर-वेट्टी-

Fifth Plate : Second Side

- 33 को[']जल्लं अ-पारंपर-बलिवट्ट-गहणं अ-तण-कट्ट-गह-
 34 णं अ-हरितक-साक-पुफ-गहणं एवमादीकेहि अट्टा-
 35 रम-जाति-परिहारेहि विसयवासीहि अपि-
 36 ट्टी-वासीहि चिल्लिरेककोडुंक-वासीहि च परिहरितवं

*Sixth Plate : First Side*६^४

- 37 हरिहापेतव्व च त्ति (१*) अपि च आपिट्टीयं अगिसमज-
 38 पमुखाण बम्हणाणं खल्लस निवतणं घरस्स निवत-
 39 णं अद्धिका चात्तारि ४ कोळिका वे त्ति २ (१*) एव नातूणं
 40 अथ कोचि वल्लभ-मदेन पिला बाधा करेय्य कारवेज्जा^५

Sixth Plate : Second Side

- 41 वा तस खु अम्हे निगहं वारण^६ करेय्याम त्ति (१*) भूयो च
 42 वरिस-सत-सहस्पातिरेक-समकाले अम्हं पल्लव-
 43 कुल-महंत्ते भविस्स-भडे अन्ने च नो

^१ In the left margin, on the level of line 31.

^२ Bühler reads कालिक,

^३ Hultzsch suggests अ-कूर-चोळक which is possibly the reading of the original. For a detailed discussion on these emendations, see *Sac. Sât*, pp. 192.; *op. cit.* p. 434, note 1; p. 459, note 4.

^४ In the left margin, above the level of line 39.

^५ ज्जा looks like जी. See p. 460, note 2.

^६ Better read निगह्वारणं

Seventh Plate : First Side

७¹

- 44 वसुधाधिपतये² अमत्येमि (1*) जो सक-काले उपरि-
 45 लिखित-भेजाताये अणुवद्वावेति तस
 46 वो सम्मो ति [1*] यो चसि विग्घे वट्टेज

Seventh Plate : Second Side

- 47 स च खु पञ्च-महापातक-संजुतो नराधमो
 48 होज ति (1*) दत्ता पट्टिका वास-सतसहस्साय
 49 सव ८ वास ६ दिव ५ (1*) समयमाणतं (1*)

Eighth Plate

८³

- 50 कोलिवाल-भोजकस रहसाधिकत-भट्टिस-
 51 म्मस सहस्र-लिखितेण पट्टिका कड⁴ ति (1*)
 52 स्वस्ति गो-ब्र[1]ह्मण-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्य इति (॥*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

इष्टम् ॥

सिद्धम् ॥ काञ्चीपुरात् अग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजी धर्ममहाराजाधिराजः भारद्वाजः पल्लवानां शिवरूकन्दवर्मा अस्माकं विषये (— आत्मनः राष्ट्र) सर्वत राजकुमार-सेनापति-राष्ट्रिक-माण्डपिक-देशाधिकृतादिकं ग्रामाग्राम (— नानाग्राम)-भोजकं वल्लवं (— वल्लभान् = अश्वरक्षान्) गोवल्लवं (= गोरक्षिणः) अमात्यम् आरक्षाधिकृतं (— रक्षापुरुषान्) गौक्षिकं तैथिकं नैयोगिकम्⁵ अन्यम् अपि च अस्मत् (— राज०)-प्रेषण-प्रयुक्तं सञ्चरत्क-भटमनुष्यम् [आज्ञापयति] ।—‘अस इदानीम् आपिट्टि-वास्तव्येभ्यः चिह्नरेककोटु⁶क-भोजक-ब्राह्मणेभ्यः आत्मनः कुलगोत्रस्य धर्मायुर्बलयशोवार्द्धनिकं विजयवैजयिकं च कृत्वा अग्रतिहृत-ज्ञासनेन अनेक-हिरण्यकोटि-गोहकशतसहस्र-प्रदायिना महाराज-वप्पस्वामिना (— महाराजेन

1 In the left margin, above the level of line 46.

2 Bühler reads वसुधाधिपे भये ; but his भ is certainly त.

3 On the margin, a little below the level of line 54.

4 Bühler reads कड.

5 See *Sac. Sāt.*, p. 191.

6 For this परिहार, see *Manu*, VII. 201.

पितृदेवेन) वाटकं (= आरामं) चिल्लरेक-कोडुंके पूर्वदत्तम् ।—गोलशर्मार्याय प्रतिभागः¹ १, आलेयसगोत्राय अग्निशर्मार्याय प्रतिभागाः ४, माठराय प्रतिभागौ द्वौ २, [तस्य च माठरस्य] जामातृकाय अग्निलाय प्रतिभागः १, हारीतसगोत्राय कालशर्मणे प्रतिभागाः ३, भारद्वाज-सगोत्राय कुमारशर्मणे प्रतिभागाः ३, कौशिकसगोत्रेभ्यः कुमारनन्दि-कुमारशर्म-कोट्टशर्म-शक्तिभ्यः च चतुर्भ्यः भ्रातृभ्यः चत्वारः प्रतिभागाः ४, काश्यपसगोत्राय भर्ते प्रतिभागः १, भारद्वाजाय स्कन्दकोटये प्रतिभागौ द्वौ २, स्कन्दाख्याय प्रतिभागः १, बप्पाय प्रतिभागः १, दत्तार्याय प्रतिभागौ द्वौ २, नन्दाय्याय प्रतिभागाः ३, वत्स-सगोत्राय रुद्रशर्मणे प्रतिभागः १, दामार्याय प्रतिभागः १, शालशर्मार्याय प्रतिभागः १, परिमिताय प्रतिभागः १, नागनन्दिने प्रतिभागः १, गोलिने प्रतिभागः १, स्कन्दशर्मणे प्रतिभागः १, स्वाम्यार्याय प्रतिभागः १ । एतेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अग्निशर्मार्य-प्रमुखेभ्यः सातवाहनीय-राष्ट्रे ग्रामे चिल्लरेक-कोडुंके दक्षिण-सीमा (= ०सीमालम्न-भूमिः) पूर्वदत्ता । अस्माभिः अपि आचन्द्रतारकालिकं कृत्वा उदकादि सम्प्रदत्तम् एतत् ब्राह्मणेभ्यः चिल्लरेककोडुंके-वाटकम् । अ-कूर-चल्लकी-विनाशि-खट्वावासम् (= अ-भक्त-स्थालीन्धनं), अ-दुग्धदधि-ग्रहणम्, अ-राष्ट्रसांविनयिकम्, अ-लवणगुड-क्षोभम्, अ-करविष्टि-कौञ्जस्यम्², अ-परम्पराबलीवर्द-ग्रहणम्, अ-तृणकाष्ठ-ग्रहणम्; अ-हरितकशाकपुष्प-ग्रहणम्—एवमादिकैः अष्टादशजातिपरिहारैः (= सर्वजातिः) विषयवासिभिः आपिट्टिवासिभिः चिल्लरेक-कोडुंके-वासिभिः च परिहृतं व्यं परिहारयितव्यं च इति । अपि च आपिट्ट्याम् अग्निशर्मार्य-प्रमुखेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः खलाय निवर्तनं, गृहाय निवर्तनम्, आधिकाः (= शस्याधभागिनः क्षेत्रकर्षकाः) चत्वारः ४, कौलिकौ (= क्षेत्रकर्षासेन वसनादिवयनार्थम् आवश्यकौ तःतुवायौ) द्वौ इति २ । एवं ज्ञात्वा अथ कश्चित् वल्लभ-मदेन (= राजवल्लभः अहम् इति दर्पेण) पीडां बाधां [वा] कुर्यात् कारयेत् वा तस्य खलु वयं निग्रहवारणं (= दण्डेन वारणं) कुर्याम इति । भूयः च—वर्षशतसहस्रातिरेक-समकाले अस्माकं पल्लवकुलमहतः भविष्य-भटम् अन्यान् च नः (= अस्माकं) वसुधाधिपतीन् अभ्यर्थये, यः स्वक-काले उपरि लिखितमर्यादया अनुवर्तयति, तस्य एव शर्म (= मङ्गलम्) इति; यः च अस्मिन् विघ्ने वर्तेत, स च खलु पञ्चमहापातक-संयुक्तः नराधमः भवेत् इति । दत्ता पट्टिका वर्ष-शतसहस्राय संवत्सरे अष्टमे—८-वर्षा [पक्षे षष्ठे]—६-दिवसे पञ्चमे—५ । स्वयम् आज्ञप्तम् । कोलिवाल-भोजकस्य (= कोलिवालाख्य-स्थानभोक्तुः) रहस्याधिकृत(=मन्त्रि)-भर्तृशर्मणः स्वहस्तलिखितेन (= स्वाक्षरेण) पट्टिका कृता इति ॥ स्वस्ति गो-ब्राह्मण-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्यः इति ॥

¹ प्रतिभागः = निवर्तनात्मकः चञ्चः.

² The meaning of कौञ्ज is unknown. If कुञ्ज (= वाञ्जिका) is taken in the sense of the popular beverage of South India, कौञ्जस्य may refer to the villagers' obligation to supply free gruel to the king's labourers working in the area. विनाशिन् may also be वैनाशिक in the sense of 'an attendant'.

No. 66—Gunapadeya Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Skandavarman

GUNAPADEYA, Kondakūr Tāluka, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh;
now in the BRITISH MUSEUM, London.

FLEET, *Ind. Ant.*, IX, pp. 100ff.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 2, note 2;
HULTZSCH, *ibid.*, VIII, pp. 143ff.

Language: Prakrit and Sanskrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the latter half of
the 4th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1-2 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक)

TEXT¹

First Plate

सिद्ध ॥²

- 1 सिरि-विजय-खुन्दव[म्भ]-महाराजस्स संवच्छरा *³ (1*)
- 2 युवमहाराजस्स भारद्वाजस्स प[ल्लवा]-
- 3 णं सिरि-विजय-बुद्धवम्भस्स देवी * *⁴
- 4 कुर-जनवी [चारु]देवी का (?) * वीय *⁵

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII and *Ind. Ant.*, IX. The record is usually referred to as the British Museum plates. For the suggested identification of Skandavarman with Sivaskandavarman, see p. 457, note 3. Note that the language of this record is later. It shows more cases of the doubling of consonants and of conjuncts. See p. 430, note 2. This Skandavarman may be identified with Skandavarman I of the Oṃgoḍu grant, No. 1.

² In the left margin of the plate.

³ The figures of the date are totally lost.

⁴ Hultzsch is inclined to read [वृ]द्धि[य]कुर-जनवी in lines 3-4; he further corrects जनवी to जननी. It is however impossible to decipher the two (?) aksharas after देवी in line 3. On the strength of Hultzsch's conjectural reading, Buddhavarman and Budhyaṅkura are usually represented as Pallava kings. There is no evidence to show that they ascended the throne or that Buddhavarman was the son of Skandavarman.

⁵ The reading intended is possibly आणवीयति (= आणापयति). Hultzsch is inclined to restore क[डके] वीय[पत्त] 1*. But traces of an anusvāra above the letter which looks like क and of an ā-sign are possibly visible. May कांचिये विद्यापत्त be suggested ?

Second Plate : First Side

२^१

- 5 राजतलाक-हे[हे] पाणिय-[कु*]-
 6 पादुत्तरे पासे [आ]तुकस्स कसित[ठ्वं*]
 7 छेतं दालूरे कूलिमहातरक-देवकुलस्स^२

Second Plate : Second Side

३^३

- 8 भगवन्मारायणस्स अम्हं आयु-बल्ल-वद्धनी-
 9 यं कातून भूमी-निवत्तणा चत्तारि ४ अम्हेहिं
 10 सम्पदत्ता (१०) तं नातून गामेयिका आयुत्ता
 11 सव्व-[प]रिहारेहि परिहरथ परिहरापेय (१०)

Third Plate

- 12 बहुभिर्व्वं[सु]धा दत्ता बहुभिश्च[ानुपा]लिता (१०)
 13 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि^४ तस्य [तस्य] तदा फलम् (॥*) १
 14 स्व-दत्ता(०*) परदत्त[१] वा ये हरत्ति वसून्धराम्^५ (१०)
 15 गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति बुद्धतम् (॥०) २
 16 आणत्ति रोहण[१] गुत्ता^६त्ति

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ श्रीविजय-स्कन्दवर्म-महाराजस्य संवत्सरः ...। युवमहाराजस्य भारद्वाजस्य पञ्चवानां श्रीविजय-बुद्धवर्मणः देवी ...कुर-जननी चारुदेवी [आज्ञापयति] ।—‘राजतलाका-धस्तात् पानीयकूपात् उत्तरपाद्वे आतुकस्य कष्टव्यं छेतं दालूरे कूलि-महत्तरक-देवकुलस्य (=कूलिनामकेन महत्तरेण प्रतिष्ठापितस्य मन्दिरस्य) भगवन्मारायणाय अस्माकम् आयुर्बल्ल-

^१ In the left margin of the plate.

^२ स्सा was possibly in the mind of the scribe.

^३ In the left margin of the plate. Both sides of Plate II are numbered. Usually only one of the sides bears the number of the plate.

^४ Read भूमिस्तस्य.

^५ Read यो हरति (or हरेत) वसु०.

^६ The i-sign of णी could not be properly executed owing to the interference of ख in the preceding line. The reading गुत्ता is doubtful.

चर्चनीयं (यद्वा—०वार्धनिकं) कृत्वा भूमिनिवर्तनानि चत्वारि ४ अस्माभिः सम्प्रदत्तानि । एतत्
ज्ञात्वा ग्रामेयकाः आयुक्ताः (—ग्राम-स्थिताः आयुक्ताख्याः राजभृत्याः ; यद्वा—ग्रामवासिनः
व आयुक्तकाः च) [यूयं] सर्वपरिहारैः परिहरत परिहारयत [च] ।¹

बहुभिर्घसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता ।

यस्य यस्त यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥

स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरति वसुन्धराम् ।

गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति दुष्कृतम् ॥

आशंसिः (—दान-सम्पादन-नियुक्तः दूतकः) रोहिणीगुप्तः इति ॥

No. 67—Narasaraopet¹ Copper-plate Inscription of Simhavarman—Regnal Year 4

NARASARĀOPET TĀLUKA, Guṇṭūr District, Andhra Pradesh.

H. KRISHNA SASTRI, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 254f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 6th century A. D.²

Metre: Verses 1-3 चतुष्टुम् (श्लोक).

TEXT³

First Plate

1 जि[त][*]⁴ भगवता(॥*) स्वस्ति(॥*) श्रीविजय-स्कन्ध(॥*) वारा[स्व]रामाब्रह्मण्य-⁵

2 स्य स्व-बाहु-बल[१] जिजितो[जि]त-[क्षा]स-त[पो]निधेर्विधिवि-

¹ The grant is usually referred to as the Omgoḍu grant after the name of the village donated. It was discovered in a village in the Narasaraopet Tāluka.

² According to Krishna Sastri the record "must have been a copy of a grant of the 5th-6th century A.D., put into writing in the 7th century."

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XV. For Simhavarman of this record, see *Suc. Sat*, pp. 170ff.; 202ff.; 402.

⁴ त is written below the line. See p. 426, note 1.

⁵ Read ०मग्न०. Note that the name of the *skandhārā* (camp) is omitted owing to the inadvertence of the scribe. Another record discovered at the same place was issued from vijaya-Tāmrāpa-sthāna.

⁶ Sastri: ०चाट्.

- 3 हित-सर्व-मर्यादस्य स्थिति-स्थितस्य[1]मितात्मनो महा-¹
 4 राजस्य प्रियवित[लै]क²-वीरस्य श्रीवीरवर्मणः प्रपौतो(ऽ*)प्य

Second Plate : First Side

- 5 [जि]त³-शक्ति-सिद्धि-सम्पन्नस्य प्रतो(ता)पोपन[त]-[रा]ज-मण्डलस्य [भ]गव-
 6 त्म(ज्ञ)क्ति-सम्भाव-सम्भावित-सर्व-कल्याणस्य(1*)नेक-गो-
 7 हिरण्य-भूम्य[1]दि-प्रदानैः प्रवृ[त्त]⁴-धर्म-सञ्च-
 8 यस्य प्रजापालन-दक्षस्य लोकपालाना['] पञ्च(म*)स्य लो-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 9 कपालस्य⁵ महात्मनो महाराज-श्रीस्कन्दवर्मणः पौ-
 10 त्रो देव-द्विज-गुरु-वृद्धोपसेविनो विवृद्ध-त्रिनयस्य(1*)-
 11 नेक-संग्राम-स(1*)हसावमद्वोपलब्ध⁶-त्रिजय-यज्ञ(1*)-प्रा-⁷
 12 काशस्य सत्यात्मनो युवमहाराज-श्रीविष्णुगोपत्या⁸ पुत्रः

Third Plate : First Side

- 13 कलियुग-दोषावस[न्न]-धर्मदूरण⁹-नित्य श[न्न]द्वो¹⁰ राज-गु-
 14 ण-शर्व¹¹-सन्दोह-विजिगिषु¹² धर्म-विजिगिषु¹³ भगवत्पादानुव्यातो¹⁴

1 Sastri : माह०.

2 Read पृथिवी०.

3 Read प्रपौतोऽभ्युक्षित०, as in other grants.

4 Read प्रवृत्त०.

5 Note that the passage indicates only four divine Lokapālas (cf. above, p. 193). Their number was later raised to eight or ten.

6 Read ०महोप०.

7 Read प्रका०.

8 Read ०गोपस्य.

9 Read धर्माद्विहरण.

10 Read सन्नद्वो.

11 Read सर्व.

12 Read विजिगीषुर्धर्म०.

13 Read ०गीषुर्भग०.

14 Read ०नुव्यातो.

- 15 बप्प-महाराज-पाद-भक्तः(*) परमभागवतो भारद्वाज-स-
 16 गोक्ष¹ विक्रामाक्रान्तन्यनृपतिश्च-निलयानां² यथावदाहृतानेकक्रतुनां³

Third Plate : Second Side

- 17 शतक्रतुनां कल्पनां⁴ वल्लभानां⁵ पल्लवानां धर्म-महाराज-श्री-सिं-
 18 द्विधर्म[1] कर्म-७१ ण्टे⁶ ओगोडुग्रामः कोडिकिग्रामो⁷ पूर्वतः न७१चडु-
 19 आ[मो] दक्षिणतः कडाकुटुब-ग्रामो⁸ प[श्चि]मतः⁹ पेणुकप ७१
 20 ग्रामे¹⁰ उत्तरतः एवं चतुरव[धि]-मध्ये पूर्व-भोग-विवर्जितः

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 21 कुण्डूर्व(1*)स्तव्याया काश्यप-गोसाय ऊन्दोविदिते¹¹ सर्व-शास्त्र-कुश-
 22 लाय देवशर्मने¹² ग्रहाण-निमित्त¹³ अस्मदायुर्बल-वि-

¹ Read भारद्वाज-सगीतो, गोत्र is engraved above the line.

² Read विक्रामाक्रान्तान्य-नृप-श्री०.

³ Read क्रतुनां. Some records, e. g., the Pikira grant of Simhavarman, read यथावदाहृतानेकान्यमेधानां. The Āśvamedha referred to is no doubt that performed by Kumāraviṣṇu, father of Viravarman. Cf. पल्लवानामश्वमेधयाजिनः महाराजस्य श्रीकुमारविष्णोः in the Oṃgoḍu grant of Skandavarman (II), *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 251. It is interesting that only the descendants of this Kumāraviṣṇu refer to the Āśvamedha.

⁴ Read शतक्रतुकल्पानां

⁵ The fuller form of this title appears to be श्री-पृथिवी-वल्लभ found in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas. It refers to the kings' claim to have been incarnations of Viṣṇu. For this interpretation, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 208, note; *Ind. Cult.*, II, pp. 131 f.

⁶ Read सिंद्धवर्मनामानः वयं and राष्ट्र. The letter here printed ७ (=r) is the *baṇḍira* or *śakaṭarepha* of the Telugu alphabet. Theoretically it is a cerebral r.

⁷ Read ओगोडु-ग्राम कोडिकि-ग्रामः.

⁸ Read ग्रामः.

⁹ Sastri : ०मातः.

¹⁰ Read ग्राम, and ०विवर्जितं (with the exception of lands previously granted).

¹¹ Read वास्तव्याय and ऊन्दोविदि.

¹² Read ०शर्मणे.

¹³ Read ग्रहचनिमित्तम् (on the occasion of an eclipse).

- 23 जयाभिवृद्धये सम्प्र[र]दाम [र] तदिमं¹ सर्व-परिहारा[रै](ः*)² प-
 24 रिहत्तव्य[म्]³ परिहारयितेव्यञ्च⁴ (।*) यञ्चेदं अस्मच्छा-⁵

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 25 शनमतिक्रामे(त्*) स पापः शारीरदण्डमहर्ति (।*) आशीञ्जता-
 26 षा⁶ श्लोका भवन्ति (॥*)
 भूमिदान-समन्दानां नं भूतो⁷ न भवि-⁸
 27 विष्यति (।*)
 तस्यैव हरणात्पाप(ः*) न भूतो⁹ न भविष्यति (॥*) 1
 28 स्व-दत्त(।*)¹⁰ परदत्तां ना¹⁰ यो हरेत् वसुन्धराम् (।*)
 गवां शत-

Fifth Plate

- 29 सहस्रस्य हन्तु-पिबति किस्त्रिषम् (॥*) 2
 बहुभिर्वसुदा¹¹ [द]त्ता बहु-
 30 भिन्नानुपाछितम्¹² (।*)
 यस्य यस्य यथा भूम तस्य¹³ त-
 31 स्य तदा फलम् (॥*) 3
 स¹⁴-विजय-राज्य-स(ः*)वत्सरं चतुर्थं वैशाख-शु[क्ल]-¹⁵
 32 पक्ष-पञ्चम्यां दत्तं(त्तम्) (।*) भट्ट[र]का[णां] स्व-मुखाश्रया लिखित[मि]दं-
 (दम्) (।*)

1 Read तदिदं.

2 रै is engraved on an erasure.

3 Read ०हर्तव्यं.

4 Read ०तव्यञ्च.

5 Read ०दम् अस्मच्छासन०.

6 Read अपि चात्रापाः.

7 Read ०न्दानं न भूतं.

8 Read भविष्यति.

9 Read भूतं

10 Read वा.

11 Read ०मुषा. द of दत्ता is engraved below the line.

12 Read ०पालिता.

13 Read यदा भूमिस्तस्य.

14 Better read स्व.

15 च was originally engraved for क्ल.

C—THE KADAMBAS
No. 68—Chandravalli Stone Inscription
of Mayūrasarman (c. 330-60 A.D.)

CHANDRAVALLI, Chitaldrug District, Mysore State.

M. H. KRISHNA, *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1929, p. 50; K. P. JAYASWAL, *History of India, 150-350*, pp. 220f.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the fourth century A.D.

*TEXT*¹

- 1 कदंबाणं मयूरशमण विनिम्बिभं²
- 2 तटाकं [कुट]³-तेकुड⁴-अभिर⁵-पल्लव-पुरि-
- 3 योतिक⁶-सकस्थ[न⁷]-सयिन्यक⁸-पुण्ड⁹-मोकत्रि[ण]¹⁰(॥*)

¹ From the eye-copy and indistinct facsimile in *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929. The reading is in many places doubtful. Jayaswal's reading and interpretation are in some parts impossible. He reads (lines 2-3) तटौ काञ्ची-वकुटाभीर-पल्लव-पुरी-यातिकेन सातहनीस्थ-सिन्दकपुरी-दमन-कारिणा, "who marched against Kāñchī and Trikūṭa—the Ābhīra and Pallava capitals—and who subdued the Sendraka capital at Sātāhanī, built the embankment." K. A. Nilakanṭha Sastri is wrong in thinking that the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūrasarman is a modern forgery. See *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, ed. Majumdar and Altekar, p. 238.

² In the space between lines 1 and 2, there are two symbols possibly representing the sun (a circle with a centre mark) and the moon (a crescent).

³ The reading is not beyond doubt. Krishna : दुम्.

⁴ Krishna : वेकुट ; but, in his eye-copy, there is no trace of a subscript *r*. As regards ड, compare the form of this letter with टा (of तटाकं) in the eye-copy.

⁵ Krishna : अभौर.

⁶ Krishna reads पारियातिक ; but his eye-copy has distinctly पुरियोतिक. If we however think that the subscribed *u* in पु and the *e*-sign (part of the *o*-sign) of यो are not actually the engraver's work, the word may be read प(॥*)रियातिक.

⁷ न is engraved above the line.

⁸ Krishna : सयिन्दक ; but the subscript of the third *akṣhara* looks like च in the eye-copy.

⁹ Krishna : पुनाट. See note 4 above.

¹⁰ For the existence of a people or locality called Mukari on the Ponji or Kāverī, cf. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 41, note.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

कदंबाणां (—कदम्ब-वंशीयेन) मयूरशर्मणा विनिर्मितं तटाकं (—पुष्करिणी) कुट्टं (= कुट्टित
= निजित)-सैकूटाभीर-पल्लव-पारियासिक-शकस्थान-सेन्द्रक-पुण्ड्राट-मौखरिणा ॥¹

No. 69—Tālagunda Stone-pillar Inscription of the time of Śantivarman (c. 455-70 A.D.)

TĀLAGUNDA, Shimoga District, Mysore State.

BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, XXV, pp. 27f.; RICE, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, pp. 200ff.;
KIELHORN, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 31ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed variety of Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class
of the fifth century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-24 सावासमक-विशेष or मिश्रगण-गीतिका²; Vv. 25-26 पुष्पिताया,
V. 27 वसन्ततिलका; V. 28 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 29 मन्दाक्रान्ता;
Vv. 30-31 वसन्ततिलका; V. 32 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 33 दण्डक-प्रचिता-सखवेग
(or ० चर्षव)³; V. 34 वसन्ततिलका.

TEXT⁴

सिद्धम् ॥⁵

¹ The Traikūṭas or Traikūṭakas belonged to Aparānta or the Northern Kāñkan. The Ābhīras of this period also belonged to the same region. A place called Ābīrwārā lies between Bhiṣa and Jhansi. Mayūraśarman's struggles with the Pallavas are referred to in No. 69 below. Pāriyātrikas lived about the Pāriyātra mountain (Western Vindhya and the Aravalli range). Śakasthāna possibly indicates the kingdom of the Śakas of Western India. The Sendraka territory lay in old Mysore. The Maukharis lived in Rajasthan although the reference may be to the Mukharis of the Tamil country, who of course may have been a branch of the Maukhari clan. Puṇḍra = Puṇḍrā was in the Southern part of old Mysore. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 241-46.

² "A species of *mātrāsamaka*, the name of which as yet is unknown" (Kielhorn). Venkatasubbiah takes it to be the Gītikā variety of the *miśragana* metres (see *Ind. Cult.*, V, p. 115). *Mātrā*: 15+15+15+15.

³ "A kind of *Daṇḍaka*, either called by the general name *Prachita* or specially *Chañḍavega* or *Arpava*" (Kielhorn). The verse has 30 syllables in a *pāda*.

⁴ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

⁵ This word stands in the left margin on the level between lines 1 and 2,

1 नमश्शिवाय ॥

जयति विश्वदे[व]-स[ं]घात-निचितैकमूर्तिस्सनातनः (1*)

स्थानुरिन्दु¹-रश्मि-विच्छुरित-द्युतिमज्जटाभार-भण्डनः ॥ 1

तमनु भूसुरा द्विज-प्रवरास्सामर्ग्यजुर्वेद-वादिनः (1*)

यत्प्रसादस्त्रायते नित्यं भुवन-त्रयं पाप्मनो भयात् ॥ 2

अनुपदं सुरेन्द्रतुल्य[व]पु × काकुस्थवर्मा² विशाल-धीः (1*)

भूपति × कदम्ब-सेनानी-बृहदन्वय-व्यो[म-चन्द्रमाः

2

N 3

अथ बभूव द्विज-कुलं प्रांशु विचरद्गुणेन्द्रंशु-मण्डलम् (1*)

श्रयार्थवर्त्म-हारितीपुत्रमृषिमुख्य-मानव्य-गोत्रजम् ॥ 4

विविध-यज्ञावभृथ-पुण्याम्बु-नियताभिषेकार्द्र-मूर्द्धजम् (1*)

प्रवचनावगाह-निष्गातं विधिवत्समिद्धाग्नि-सोमपम् ॥ 5

प्रणवपूर्व-षड्विधास्त्रय-नानर्थमानान्तरालयम् ॥³

अक्रुश-चातुर्मास्य-होमेष्टि-पशु-पार्वण-श्राद्ध-पौष्टिकम् (1*) 6

3 अतिथि-नित्यसंश्रितावसथं सवनस्तयावन्ध्य-नैत्यकम् (1*)

गृह-समीपदेश-संरूढ-विकसत्कदम्बैकपादपम् ॥ 7

तद्वपचारवत्तदास्य तरोस्सानाम्य-साधर्म्यमस्य तत् (1*)

प्रवृत्ते सतीर्थ्य-विप्राणां प्राचुर्यतस्तद्विशेषणम् ॥ 8⁴

एवमागते कदम्ब-कुले श्रीमान्बभूव द्विजोत्तमः (1*)

नामतो मयूरशर्म्मा⁵ति श्रुत-शील-शौचाद्यलंकृतः [॥] 9

4 यः प्रयाय पल्लवेन्द्र-पुरीं गुरुणा समं वीरशर्मणा (1*)

अधिजिगांसु-प्रवचनं निखिलं⁵ घटिकां विवेशाशु तक्कुंकः ॥ 10

1 Read स्थाणुः.

2 The correct form is काकुस्थ ; but काकुस्य is the form invariably found in the records of the Kadambas. 'The great lineage of the Kadamba leader of armies' seems to refer to the Kadambas as sprung from Mayūrasarma who is called *Senāpati* in verse 22 below and apparently served once as a general of the Pallavas. See p. 476 note 7 ; p. 479, note 4.3 Only one *danḍa* may be retained.

4 "Then as the family tended this tree, so there came about that sameness of name with it of these Brāhmaṇa fellow-students, currently accepted as distinguishing them."

5 Read निखिलं, घटिका (an establishment for holy and learned men devoted to religious and learned discourses ; something like a college) is the same as ब्रह्मपुरी of many inscriptions. तक्कुंक = याचक ; here मिचार्यी ; पल्लवेन्द्र-पुरी = काशी.

- तस्य पल्लवाश्वसंस्थेन¹ कलहेन तीव्रेण रोषितः (I*)
 कलियुगे(ऽ*)स्मिन्नहो बत² क्षत्रात्परिपेलवा विप्रता यतः (II*) 11
 गुरुकुलानि सम्यगाराद्धय शास्त्रामधीत्यापि यत्नतः (I*)
 ब्रह्म-सिद्धिर्यदि नृपाधीना किमतः परं दु × खमित्यतः [II] 12
- 5 कुश-समिद्धपत्सु गज्य-चरु-ग्रहणादि-दक्षेन पाणिना (I*)
 उद्ववर्ह दीप्तिमच्छस्त्रं विजिगीषमाणो वसुन्धराम् ॥ 13
 यो(ऽ*)न्तपालान्पल्लवेन्द्राणां³ सहसा विनिर्जित्य संयुगे (I*)
 अद्भुतवास दुर्गमामटवीं श्रौपर्वत-द्वार-संश्रिताम् ॥ 14
 आददे करान्बृहद्वाण-प्रमुखाद्द्वूनजमण्डलात् (I*)
 एवमेभिः पल्लवेन्द्राणां शृङ्ग-समुत्पत्ति-कारणैः ॥ 15
- 6 स्वप्रतिज्ञा-पारणोत्थान-लघुभि × कृतार्थैश्च चेष्टितैः (I*)
 भूषणैरिवावभौ बलवद्यात्ता-समुत्थापनेन च ॥ 16
 अभिययुक्षयागतेषु शृङ्गं काञ्ची-नरेन्द्रेष्वरातिषु (I*)
 विषम-[दे]श-प्रयाण⁴-संवेश⁵-रजनीष्ववस्कन्द-भूमिषु ॥ 17
 प्राप्य सेना-सागरं तेषां प्राहन्बली ज्येनवत्तदा (I*)
 आपदन्तान्धारयामास⁶ भुज-खड्गमात्स्त्र-[व्य]पाश्रयः ॥ 18
- 7 पल्लवेन्द्रा यस्य शक्तिमिमां लब्ध्वा प्रतापान्वयावपि (I*)
 नास्य हानिश्चेयसीत्युक्ता यम्मितमेवाशु वत्रिरे ॥⁷ 19

¹ ay पल्लवाश्वसंस्था refer to the *Asvamedha* performed by *Sivaskandavarman*? In that case, *Mayūrasārman* was *Sivaskandavarman*'s contemporary. For the possible contemporaneity of *Mayūrasārman* and *Sivaskandavarman*, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 184, 247.

² The third *pāda* has 16 or 17 *mātrās*.

³ अन्तपाल = frontier guard. श्रौपर्वत = the Nallamalai range. For the *Bāṇas*, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 247. Their kingdom comprised parts of the Chittoor, North Arcot and Anantapur Districts.

⁴ श in देश-प्र० may be considered to be a short syllable, *Kāñchi* (Conjeeveram near Madras) was the Pallava capital.

⁵ ज्ये was originally engraved; but the subscript व has been struck out.

⁶ ना seems to have been originally engraved.

⁷ Verses 19-20 suggest that *Mayūrasārman* became a general of the Pallava king. His feudatory position was probably analogous to that of the military governor of a province within the Pallava empire which extended up to the *Śrīparvata*.

संश्रितस्तदा महीपालानाराध्य युद्धेषु विक्रमैः (1*)

प्राप पट्ट-बन्ध-संपूजां कर-पल्लवैः पल्लवैर्दृताम् ॥ 20

भङ्गुरोर्मि-वल्गितैर्नृत्यदपरार्णवाम्भ × कृतावधिम् (1*)

प्रेहरान्तामनन्य-संचरण-समय-स्थितां भूमिमेव च ॥ 21²

8 विबुध-संच-मौलि-संमृष्ट-चरणारविन्देषुडाननः (1*)

यमभिषिक्तवाननुध्याय³ सेनापतिं मातृभिस्सह ॥ 22

तस्य पुत्र × कङ्कवर्मोग्र-समरो[द्धु]र-प्रा[?]शु-चेष्टितः (1*)

प्रणत-सर्व-मण्डलोल्लिखित⁴-सित-चामरो[द्धु]त-शेखरः ॥ 23

त[त्सु]त × कदम्ब-भूमिवधू-रुचितैकनाथो भगीरथः (1*)

सगर-मुख्य[स्त्व]यं कदम्बकुल-प्र[च्छन्न]-ज[न्मा] जनाधिपः (॥*) 24⁵

9 अथ नृप-महितस्य तस्य पुत्रः

प्रथित-यशा रघु-पार्थिवः पृथु-श्रीः (1*)

पृथुरिव पृथिवीम्रसद्य यो ऽ*रीन्

अकृत पराक्रमतस्त्वव[?]श-भोज्याम् ॥ 25

¹ Preharā and Muralā have been mentioned in the *Avantisundarikāthā* as rivers in which the elephants of Aparānta sported (Raghavan, *An. Or. Res.*, Madras University, V, pt. 2). The Muralā may be associated with the Murala people known from the Bheraghat inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 11) and Rājasekhara's *Bālabhārata* or *Prachandapāṇḍava* (N. S. P. ed., I, 7) as having come into conflict with Kalachuri Karṇa and Pratīhāra Mahipāla I respectively. Mallinātha (on *Raghu*, IV, 55) takes Muralā as a river in Kerala. The *Bhojanakutūhala* of Raghunātha (end of the 17th century) speaks of the waters of मलप्रहरा-भीमरथी-चटप्रहराणां (Gode, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XXII, p. 263). This seems to suggest that Preharā was another name of the Malaprabharā (Malaprabhā) or the Ghaṭaprabharā (Ghaṭaprabhā), both tributaries of the Kṛishṇā. The metre possibly requires the reading प्रहरा (see note 2 below).

² The third *pāda* has 16 *mātrās*. See note 1 above.

³ Kielhorn seems to have understood from this passage that Śaḍānana installed Mayūrasārman after meditating on the Senāpati with the Mothers. This may be wrong; here अनुध्याय means "having favoured", and not "after meditating on". Śaḍānana is here said to have favoured and installed the general (सेनापति) Mayūrasārman on the throne.

⁴ Read मण्डलोल्लिखित.

⁵ The third *pāda* has 16 or 17 *Mātrās*. ख in कुल-प्र° may however be considered as a short syllable. We may suggest मुख° for मुख्य°. Kielhorn : कुले.

प्रतिभय-समरेष्वराति-शस्त्रो-
 लिखित-मुखो ऽ* भिमुख-द्विषां प्रहर्त्ता (10)
 श्रुतिपथ-निपुण × कविः प्रदाता
 विविध-कला-कुशल = प्रजा-प्रियश्च ॥ 26

- 10 आतास्य चारु-वपुरब्द-गभीर-नादो
 मोक्ष-सिक्क-पटुरन्वयवत्सलश्च (10)
 भागौरथिन्नरपतिमृगराज-लीलः
 काकुस्थ¹ इत्यवनि-मण्डल-घुष्ट-कीर्त्तिः ॥ 27
 ज्यायोभिस्सह विग्रहो(ऽ*)धिषु दया सम्यक्प्रजा-पालनम्²
 दीनाभ्युद्धरणं प्रधान-वसुभिर्मुख्यद्विजाभ्यर्हणम् (1*)

- 11 यस्यैतत्कुल-भूषणस्य नृपतेः प्रज्ञोत्तरं भूषणम्³
 तम्भूषा × खलु मेनिरे सुर-सत्वं काकुस्थमसागतम् ॥ 28
 चर्माकक्रान्ता इव मृगगणा वृक्षर(1*)जिं प्रविश्य
 छाया-सेवा-मृडित-मनसो निवृत्तिं प्राप्नुवन्ति (1*)
 तद्वज्रयायो-विहत-गतयो बान्धवास्मानुबन्धाः
 प्रापुश्चाम्मन्ययित-मनसो यस्य भू[मिं] प्रविश्य ॥ 29

- 12 नानाविध-द्रविण-सार-समुच्चयेषु
 मत्त-द्विपेन्द्र-मद-वासित-गोपुरेषु (1*)
 संगीत-चल्लु-निनदेषु गृहेषु यस्य
 लक्ष्म्यङ्गना श्रुतिमती सुचिरं च रेमे ॥ 30
 गुप्तादि-पार्थिव-कुलाम्बुरुह-स्थलानि
 स्नेहादर-प्रणय-सम्भ्रम-केसराणि (1*)
 श्रीमन्त्यनेक-नृपपट्टद-सेवितानि
 यो(ऽ*)बोधयद्, हितृ-दीधितिभिर्नृपाङ्कः ॥ 31⁴

¹ See p. 475, note 2.

² Read पालनं, ज्यायस् = stronger.

³ Read भूषणं.

⁴ Kākusthavarman apparently gave his daughters in marriage to princes belonging to the Gupta and other royal families. His Harsi copper-plate grant is dated in the year 80 which is possibly to be referred to the era of his Gupta relatives. See *Suc Sāt.* pp. 255-56.

- 13 यन्दैवसम्पन्नमदीनचेष्टं
 शक्तिस्तयोपेतमथासनस्थम् (10)
 शेषैर्गुणैः पञ्चभिरप्यसादृशा-
 स्सामन्त-चूडामणयः प्रणेमुः ॥ 32
 सयिह भगवतो भवत्यादिदेवस्य सिद्धशालये सिद्ध-गान्धर्व-रक्षो-गणैस्सेविते¹
 विविध-नियम-होम-दीक्षा-परैर्ब्राह्मणैः² स्नातकैः³ स्तूयमाने सदा मन्त्र वादैश्शुभैः⁴ (10)
 14 सुकृतिभिरवनीश्वरैरात्म-निश्चयेयसं प्रेषुभिस्मातकर्ण्यदिभिश्चदयाभ्यर्चितैः⁵
 इदमुल्लसलिलोपयोगाश्रयं भूपति × कारयामास काकुल्यवर्मा तडाकम्महत् [॥] 33
 तस्यौरसस्य तनय[स्य] विशाल-कीर्तिः
 [पट्ट-सयार्पण-विराजित]-चारुमूर्तिः⁶ (10)
 श्रीशान्तिवर्मा-नृपतेर्वर-शासनस्थः
 कुब्जास्त्वकाव्यमिदमश्म-तले लिखे⁷ ॥ 34
 15 नमो भगवते स्थानकुन्दूर-वासिने महादेवाय (10) नन्दतु सर्व्व-समन्तागतो⁸ (5*)
 यमधिवासः⁹ (10) स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्य इति [॥]

¹ Read गन्धर्व, सयिह = सः इह.

² See p. 404, note 7.

³ Read ०र्चित०. This Śāntakarṇi is pictorially a king of the family represented by Viśṇupakṣa Chūṭukūānanda Śāntakarṇi of Kuntala. See *Sac Śāt.*, pp. 219-21. For the wrong belief about the existence of a Chūṭu family, see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 72.

⁴ This appears to suggest that, like his ancestor Mañiraśarman, Śāntivarman also received the *paṭṭabandha* (i.e. the position of a feudatory) from the Palavas. Possibly the Early Kādamba kings owed nominal allegiance to the Pallavas. Śāntivarman's younger brother Kṛṣṇavarman I became independent and performed the *Aśvamedha*; but he was defeated and killed by the Pallavas. See *ibid.*, pp. 258, 280ff.; *supra*, p. 461, note 3.

⁵ Kubja was thus both a poet and a calligraphist. No other work of this poet is known. The poet did not actually engrave the inscription, but wrote it on the stone to facilitate the engraver's work. This was also the custom often followed in engraving copper plates.

⁶ अधिवास = the temple; or, the place called Sthānakundūra (modern Tālagunda).
 सर्व्वसमन्तागतः = सर्वान् समन्तान् (= समस्तवासिनः, प्रत्यन्तवासिनः) प्राप्तः.

D—WESTERN GAṄGAS¹No. 70—Penukonda Copper-plate Inscription
of Mādhava

PENUKONDA (Penugonda), Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh.

FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 480; L. RICE, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 334f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the second half of the 5th century A.D.²

Metre: Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT³

First Plate

१ स्वस्ति (॥*)⁴

- 1 जितम्भगवता गतघन-गगनामेन पद्मनामेन (॥*) श्रीमत्त्वाङ्गवेय-कुलामक-
न्योम-भा-
- 2 सन-भास्करस्य स्व-भुज-जव-जय-जनित-सुजन-जनपदस्य दारुणारि-गण-विदारण-रणोप-⁵
- 3 ळब्ध-व्रण-भूषणस्य काश्यायन सगोत्रस्य श्रीमत्कोङ्कणिवर्म-धर्ममहाधिराजस्य पु-
- 4 तस्य पितुर्नवागत-गुणस्य नाना-शास्त्रार्थ-सम्भावाधिगम-प्रणीत-म]ति-विशेषस्य नीति-
शास्त्र-

¹ Later Eastern Gaṅga records appear to suggest a connection between the Eastern and the Western Gaṅgas. The Vizagapatam plates (Śaka 1040) of Anantavarman Choda-gaṅga and the Kendupatna plates (Śaka 1217 or 1218) of Narasimha II (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1103, 1116) refer to Ko'āhala as an ancestor of the Eastern Gaṅgas, and the former also to the foundation by Ko'āhala of a city called Kolāhala-tura in Gaṅgavāḍi (the popular name of the Western Gaṅga country in Mysore). It is however difficult to determine if there was actually any relation. The Eastern Gaṅga dynasty is not called Jāhnavēya-kula. The Kāṇvāyana-gotra is changed to Ātreya. But the presence of both the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas in the east coast shows that such relations are not improbable. Most of the early Western Gaṅga records are spurious and it is difficult to settle Early Western Gaṅga genealogy in the present state of our knowledge.

² Fleet ascribed the record to c. 475 A.D. See *Suc. Sā'*, p. 176

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV. On the seal is found the representation of an elephant to right.

⁴ १ = symbol for सिद्धम्. १ स्वस्ति is written in the left margin, १ on the level of line 1 and स्वस्ति on that of line 2.

⁵ Rice: विदारणोप०.

5 स्य वक्तृ-प्रयोक्तृ-कुशलय सम्यक्प्रजापालनमात्राधिगत-राज्य-प्रयोजनस्य श्रीमत्त्वा-¹

Second Plate : First Side

- 6 धव-महाधिराजस्य तस्य पुत्रस्य अनेक-युद्धोपलब्ध-व्रग-विभूषित-शरीरस्य नाना-
7 शास्त्रेतिहास-पुराग-तत्त्वज्ञस्य² श्री-पल्लव-कुलेन्द्रेण सिंहवर्म्म-महाराजेन यथार्हम-
8 भिक्षितस्य गङ्गा-राजस्य आर्यवर्म्मण³ पुत्रेण पितृ-पैतामहा(ह)-गुण-संयुक्तेन देव-
9 द्विजाति-गुरु-पूजन-तत्परेण धर्म्मभियास-कृत-मतिना स्व-बाहु-वीर्यार्जित-राज्य-विभवेन
10 गाङ्गेय-वंश-ध्वजेन स्व-वंश-क्रमागत-राज्य-प्रणीतेन पल्लवानां श्रीस्कन्दवर्म्म-महा-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 राजेन यथार्हमभिक्षितेन गङ्गानाम्माधव-महाधिराजेन श्री-सिंहवर्म्मणा⁴ ब्राह्म-
12 णाय वत्स-सगोत्राय तैत्तिरीय⁵-चरणाय कुमारशर्म्मणे यम-नियम-तपः(ः*)-
13 स्वाद्धाय-यजन-याजनाद्धायनाद्धरापन-शापानुग्रह-सामर्थ्याय अ-दान-प्रतिग्रहा-
14 य चैत्र-मास्याम्⁶ तिथौ पौर्णमास्याम् परुवि-त्रिषये⁷ परुवि-महातटाकाधस्तात्
कर्म्मटुव-क्षे-

Third Plate

- 15 त्रे पञ्चषष्टि-केदाराः सप्तविंशत्खण्डकवापाः⁸ ब्रह्मदेय-क्रमेणाज्जिः प्रदत्ताः (।*)
16 यो(ऽ*)स्य हर्त्ता स पञ्चमहापातक-संयुक्तो भवति ॥ अपि चात्र मनु-गीताः श्लोकाः (।*)
17 बहुभिर्बुधैः भुक्ता राजभिससगरादिभिः (।*)
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् (॥* 1

1 Read श्रीमन्मा०

2 Read तत्त्व०

3 Read आर्य्य०.

4 His second name was apparently given after his father's overlord. This Pallava king Simhavarman is identified with the *Kānchiśa* Simhavarman whose 22nd regnal year corresponds to Saka year 380 (458 A. D.) according to the Jain work *Lokavibhāga*. See *Suc. Śāt.*, p. 176.

5 Read तैत्तिरीय, .

6 Read ०मासि.

7 Paruvi is modern Parigi, 7 miles to the north of Hindupur in the Anantapur District, still noted for its tank. In early records, Paruvi is mentioned as the capital of the Bāpas, and, at the time of Choḷa Rājārāja I, it was the headquarters of the Parivaḷ nāḍu in the Nulambapāḍi or Nolambavāḍi district.

8 Read ०विंशति-ख०. The actual measurements of *Kedāra* and *Khaṇḍukavāḍpa* are not known. Cf. *Keyār*, a land measure in the Sylhet District where 12 K.=1 Hāl (*Halā*). *Khaṇḍukas* of various weights (between 40 and 1280 maunds) are known.

- 18 स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यन्दु × स्वमन्यार्थ-पाळनम् (I*)
 दानं वा पाळनं वेति दानाच्छेयो (I*) नुपाळनम् (II*) 2
- 19 स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् (I*)
 षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि घोरे तमसि वर्त्तते (II*) 3
- 20 इति सुवर्णकारार्थ्य-पुत्रेण अपापेन लिखितेयन्ताम्र-पट्टिका । (I*)
 [A Symbol for *Siddham* ?]

E—EARLY CHĀLUKYAS

No. 70.A—Badami Rock Inscription of Vallabheśvara (Pulakesin I)— Śaka Year 465 (=543 A.D.)

BĀDĀMI, Bijapur District, Mysore State.

R.S. PANCHAMUKHI, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 4-9.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-2 श्लोक (अष्टुप्).

TEXT¹

- 1 स्वस्ति (II*) शक-वर्षेषु चतुश्शतेषु पञ्चषष्टियुतेषु²
- 2 अश्वमेधादि-यज्ञानां यज्वा श्रौत-विधानतः (I*)
- 3 हिरण्यगर्भ-सम्भूतश्चलिक्रो³ वल्लभेश्वरः (II*) 1
- 4 धराधरेन्द्र-वातापिमजेयम्भूतये⁴ भुवः (I*)
- 5 अधस्तादुपरिष्टाच्च दुर्गमितदचीकरत् (II*) 2

¹ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*

² This portion in prose is followed by verses.

³ The other well-known forms of the family name is *Chalukya* and *Chālukya*. For the *Hiranyagarbha-mahādāna*, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 50 ff.

⁴ Pulakesin I made Vātāpi (modern Bādāmi) his capital; but the description of his son Kirtivarman I as the first maker of Vātāpi, as found in the Chiplun plates, would suggest that he had a large share in the construction of the city or fort,

F—PITRIBHAKTAS¹No. 70B—Bobbili Copper-plate Inscription of
Achandavarman—Regnal Year 4.

BOBBILI, Vizagapatam District, Andhra Pradesh.

R. K. GHOSHAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 33ff ; D. C. SIRCAR, *I.H.Q.*, XXIX, pp. 299-300 (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, pp. 1ff.)

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT²

First Plate: Second Side

- 1 १^३ स्वस्ति (॥*) विजय-सिद्धि(सिंह)पुरात्परमभागवत[:] पितृपादानुद्धयात[:]
- 2 कलिङ्गाभिपति-श्री-महाराजाचण्डवर्मा तिरित्थाणग्रामे सर्व-
- 3 समवेतान्कुटुम्बिनः भोजका[']श्च समाज्ञापयत्यस्येषो(ष) ग्रा[मो](५०)-
- 4 स्मभिरात्मन[:] पुण्यायुष्यशालामभिवृद्धये [आ]-समु[द्रा]द[दि]-शसि[शि]-तारकाक-
- 5 प्रतिष्ठमग्रहारं कृत्वा सर्व-कर-परिहारैश्च परिहृत्य षट्क(टुत्ति)श-

Second Plate: First Side

- 6 दग्रहार-सामान्यज्ञाग्रहार-प्रदेय[*] साम्ब(सांव)त्सरिकं स(प)गाग्रं(ग्र)-शतभु(द्व)-
- 7 यज्ञा[*]ग्रं⁴ चोपनिबन्धः(न्ध्य) [ति]रित्थाण-वाटकाग्रहार-ब्राह्मणानाम्

¹ For this dynastic name and the history of this family of rulers, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 74-81. The name of the donor of this grant and of his Śālaṅkāyana namesake was formerly read wrongly as *Chandavarman*. But see now *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, p. 3.

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII.

³ This is the Siddham symbol.

⁴ The word *shattrimśat* (literally, 'thirtysix') has been used in the sense of 'all' in accordance with an Indian convention. The reference is to the custom prevalent in the Kalīṅga region, according to which even holdings declared to be revenue-free were liable to pay annually a nominal rent called in some records *triṇḍaka* (cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1952, pp. 4ff.). That the *agrahāra-pradeya* (amount annually realisable from the *agrahāras* or free-holdings) was 200 *paṇas* is supported by another early inscription of the same region. *Paṇa* seems to mean either the small coin called *fanam* or a *paṇa* of cowries. The word *agra* may suggest payment in advance. Cf. the Brihatproshtha grant (lines 5-6): दन्त्यवागुभोगादुत्स

- 8 नाना-गा(गो)ल-सब्रह्मचारिणाम्¹ सम्प्रत्तः (।*) तदेवं ज्ञात्वा
 9 युष्माभिः पूर्वोचित-मर्यादया सर्वोपस्थान['] कर्त्तव्यम्
 10 मेय-हिरण्यद्यञ्चोपनेयम् (।*) भविष्यतश्च राज्ञो

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 त्वज्ञाम(प)यामि (।*) धर्म-क्रम-विक्रमागामन्यतम-योगा-
 12 दवाप्य महोमनुशासताम् प्रवृत्तकमिदन्दानम्(नं)
 13 सद्धर्ममनुपश्यद्भिरेषो(ऽ*)ग्रहामा(रोऽ)नुपाल्यः(।*)² अपि चात्
 14 व्यास-गीतानि(तान्) श्लोकानुदाहरन्तिः(न्ति ।)

बहुभिर्बद्धं³ दत्ता वसुधा

- 15 [व]सुधाधिपैः (।*)

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य⁴ तद[।*] फलं(लम् ॥) 1

Third Plate : First Side

- 16 [स्व-द]त्ताम्पर-दत्ताम्बा(त्तां वा) यत्तादृक्षस्व⁵ युधिष्ठिर ।⁶
 महीन्म(म्म)हिमतां श्रेष्ठ
 17 [दानाच्छेयो]^(ऽ*)नुपालनं(नम् ॥) 2
 षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गं वसति भू-
 18 मिदः[ः] (।*)
 आश्रेष्ठा चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति⁷ (॥*) 3
 19 स्वयमाज्ञापना (।*) देशाक्षपटलाधिकृतेन मातृवरस्य
 20 सुनुना रुद्रदत्तेन लिखितमितिः(ति ।) संवत्सरं चउतम⁸ ४ ग्रीष्म २ दि ५⁹ (॥*)

षट् विंशद्वयहारसामान्यङ्कत्वा भोगसम्बन्ध-निर्वचनीयस्यतः, "[the gift laed], having separated it from the Dantayavāgu division and having put it on a par with all other *agrahāras*, is given in such a way that its present relation to the subdivision should be always declared." The passage was misunderstood by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 5. See now, *ibid.*, XXX, p. 118, text line 15.

¹ Better read °ब्राह्मणेभ्यः....°ब्राह्मचारिभ्यः.

² I. e. "This *agrahāra*, which is a gift settled [by myself] should be maintained by those that keep true virtue in their mind out of the persons that rule the earth after having obtained possession of it by any one of the means such as right, inheritance and conquest". The passage was misunderstood by Hultzsch and later writers that followed him.

³ Read °बहुधा वा cr °बहुवो (vocative).

⁴ Read भूमिस्तस्य

⁵ Read °द्रव.

⁶ The punctuation is indicated by a small curve. It is thus not impossible to think that the *visarga*-like sign in lines 13-14 was really intended to indicate double *danḍa*.

⁷ Better read वसेत् ॥ 3 इति ॥

⁸ Read संवत्सरे चतुर्थे.

⁹ I. e. शेष-पक्षे द्वितीये दिवसे पञ्चमे चैव-शुक्ल-पञ्चमी-दिवसे.

G—EASTERN GĀNGAS

No. 71—Jirjingi Copper-plate Inscription of
Indravarman—Gaṅga Year 39 (=c. 535 A.D.)¹

JIRJINGI, near Tekkali, Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh.

R. SUBBA RAO, *J. A. H. R. S.*, III, pp. 47ff; D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.*, VII, pp. 229ff; R. K. GHOSHAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, pp. 286f.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre: Verses 1-2 रुष्टम् (श्लोक).

TEXT²

First Plate

1 १^३ स्वस्ति (॥*) अमरपुरप्रतिस्पर्द्धि-श्रीमहन्तपुराद्भगवतस्सकल-भु-

¹ Some scholars refer to the reckoning as the Gaṅga-Kadamba era which is a misnomer. The Kadambas of Kaliṅga used the era as feudatories of the Gaṅgas. The commencement of the Gaṅga era is still a disputed problem; but there can be no doubt that it started from about 496 A. D., either from that very year or from some date in the next two years. A definite clue is given by the Santa Bonna plates (dated in the Gaṅga year 520 in the reign of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman; *J. A. H. R. S.*, pp. 171f.) and the Mandasa plates (dated in शकाब्द(ब्दे) नवशतक-सप्तदश-सप्त(मिते) in the reign of Anantavarman, *ibid.*, V, pp. 272f) belonging to the Kadamba feudatory Dharmakheḍi, son of Bhīmakheḍi. Scholars have rightly taken Anantavarman of both the grants to be the same person. But the Śaka date has been interpreted differently, as $900 + \text{सप्त} + \text{रस} = 900 + 7 + 6 = 913$ by some and as $900 + 76$ or $900 + 67$ by others. The influence of Prakrit on the early Gaṅga records however seems to prove that सप्तदश is a mistake for Sanskrit सप्तदश (i.e. 17). As Anantavarman of the two records is apparently identical, Śaka 917=995 A.D. is a few years earlier than the Gaṅga year 520. The Gaṅga era thus started some years later than $995 - 520 = 475$ A.D.. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1474, refers to a lunar eclipse on the Mārgaśīrṣa pūrṇamāṣī in the Gaṅga year 128, i.e. $475 \text{ A. D.} + 128 + x = 603 + x$ A. D. Now, lunar eclipse on Mārgaśīrṣa-pūrṇimā after this date occurred in A.D. 606 and 607, 624, 625, 626 and 643, etc. There are also references to solar eclipses in the Gaṅga years 154, 304, 351, etc. (*ibid.*, Nos. 1477, 1432, 1484). If the date Mārgaśīrṣa-pūrṇimā, Gaṅga year 128, be equated with the 30th November, 624 A.D., all the other dates are fairly satisfactorily explained. We therefore arrive at 496-97 A.D. as the initial year of the Gaṅga era. See *Ind. Int.*, LXV, pp. 237f; *Ind. Cult.*, IV, pp. 508f. It is possible that the Gaṅga era started from the first regnal year of king Indravarman of the Jirjingi plates. Mirashi favours 498 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 326ff.).

² From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXV.

³ सिद्धम् expressed by symbol.

- 2 वनतलोत्पत्ति-स्थिति-प्रलय-हेतोः¹ परमेश्वरस्य² सतत-प्रणा-
 3 मावासः³ पुण्यसञ्चय-प्रभाव-निरस्ताशेषदुरितो गङ्गामल-कुल-
 4 गगनतल-सहस्ररश्मिः अनेक-चातुर्दन्त-समर-विजय-⁴
 5 विमल-विक्रेश-निस्त्रिंश-धारा-समाक्रान्त-सकल-सामन्त-
 6 नृपति-मण्डलाधिपतिः⁵ मकुट-निहित-रुचिर-पद्मराग-
 7 प्रभा-प्रसेक-परिवृद्ध-पिङ्गाङ्गीकृत-चरणयुगलः

Second Plate : First Side

- 8 अतुल-वल⁷-समुदयावास-विपुलविभव-सम्प्लता-
 9 मण्डप-च्छाया-विश्रान्तः⁸ सुहृत्साधु-वा(बा)-न्धवारि⁹-जनः
 10 माता-पितृ-पादानुद्धातस्त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति⁹-श्रीमहा-

¹ Dantapura is an old city, the early form of the name possibly being Dantakūra. Some scholars identify it with Ptolemy's Paloura, from Dravidian *pal* (tooth)+*ūr* (city). It is usually located at the site of modern Dantavaktra near Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh.

² Note that Siva Gokarṇeśvara installed in a temple on the Mahend agiri peak is mentioned in the later records of the family as the tutelary deity of the Eastern Gāṅga kings.

³ Read °मावास-पुण्य°. Parameśvara is Siva.

⁴ Chaturdanta is the name of Indra's Airāvata. As Indra is the guardian of the east, the reference may be to Indravarman's struggles with some eastern or north-eastern power. But the word is too often used in inscriptions to warrant such a suggestion.

⁵ Read निस्त्रिंश.

⁶ Read °पति-मकुट°.

⁷ Read वल. In this record, the sign for व has been usually employed for क which has been used only twice.

⁸ The punctuation mark after विश्रान्त is unnecessary.

⁹ The title त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति was later used by the Gāṅga king Vajrahasta III and a few of his successors. It was also used by the Somavamśi kings of South Kosala and the Kalachuris of the Chedi country. The unique instance of its use in a Chandella record is apparently due to the fact that the charter belongs to the Kauravas of Karkarāḍi who were at first feudatories of the Kalachuris and afterwards of the Chandellas. The epithets of their previous Kalachuri overlords were tacitly applied in that record to the name of their new Chandella suzerain. It is possible that त्रिकलिङ्ग originally indicated a particular territory between Kālīṅga and South Kosala, which may have been conquered by Indravarman who thus called himself त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति. The original home of the Somavamśis may have been in this country. The adoption of the title by the Kalachuris and the later Gāṅgas is possibly due to their success against the Somavamśis or their encroachment into Somavamśi territory. Tri-kālīṅga may also indicate the eastern, central and western parts of Kālīṅga, or Kālīṅga, Utkala and Kosala, or may be a technical name of Kālīṅga with Koṅgoda and Utkala or Kosala (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1956); but in that case it is

- 11 राजेन्द्रवर्मा ।¹ वोङ्गर-भोग-सम्बद्ध²-जिज्जिकग्रामे ।¹
 12 सर्व्वसमवेतान्कुटुम्बिन(ः*) समाज्ञापयत्यस्त्ययं ग्रामो-
 13 (ऽ)स्माभिर्विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्राय तैत्तिरीय-सब्रह्मचारिणे³

Second Plate : Second Side

- 14 रुद्रस्वामि-सूनवे अग्निस्वामिने उत्तनुजाय च रुद्रस्वामिने
 15 संविभज्यार्द्धनासमुद्राद्रि-शशि-तारकाकर्क-प्रतिष्ठमग्रहारं कृत्वा
 16 स्वपुण्यायूर्य्यशो-वल-वर्द्धनार्थं(ः*)⁴ माता-पित्तोश्च पुण्यावास-
 17 ये ।¹ सर्व्व-कर-परिहारैः(ः*) ।¹ परिहृत्य चायं ग्रामः
 18 प्रत्तः (।*) तदेवं भवद्भिः पूर्व्वोचित-मर्यादयोपस्थेयम्⁵ (।*)
 19 भविष्यतश्च राज्ञो विज्ञापयामि । धर्म-क्रम-विक्रमा-

Third Plate

- 20 णामन्यतम-योगादवास-भूमण्डलाधिराज्यैरपि मा⁶
 21 महीमनुशासद्भिः × क्रमागतं दानमी(मि)त्यनुपालनीयम् ॥
 22 अपि च श्लोकौ भवतः ॥
 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्तांम्वा⁷ ।¹ यन्नाद्रक्ष
 23 युधिष्ठिर (।*)
 मही(ः*) महिमतां श्रेष्ठ ।¹ दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपालनं(नम्) (॥*) 1

difficult to explain why other equally powerful Gaṅga kings do not use the title. Moreover, in the records of the Eastern Chālukyas of the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D., their kingdom Veṅgīdeśa is called *Tṛi akṣha-sahita* or *Tṛikaliṅg-ā'avi-yukta*. This suggests that Trikalīṅga was not far from the Veṅgī country. As the Kākatiyaś of the Telugu country do not use it, त्रिकलिङ्ग seems to be quite different from त्रिलिङ्ग (Telengana). Trilīṅga appears also to have been originally a district (in the southern part of the present Andhra country according to some authorities; see *Ind. Cult.*, VIII, p. 40), the geographical connotation of which afterwards expanded so as to include the whole of the Telugu-speaking area.

¹ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

² Read संबद्ध. Jirjika is modern Jirjīṅgi.

³ Read तैत्ति० and सब्रह्म०

⁴ Read पुण्यायु० and वल.

⁵ उपस्थेय = उपसेव्य, पूज्य (to be honoured).

⁶ This *akshara* is redundant.

⁷ Read ०त्तां वा.

- 24 षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः(*) ।
आच्छेत्ता चानुम-
- 25 न्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् (||*) 2
प्रवर्द्धमान-सं ३० (+*) ए¹ वैशाख-दि २० (+*) १ ।
- 26 लिखितमिदं महाराज्ञो² सान्धिविग्रहीक-देवसिद्धदेवेनेति ॥³

H—KINGS OF ŚARABHAPURA

No. 71A—Pipardūla Copper-plate Inscription of Narendra—Regnal Year 3

Pipardūla, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh.

D. C. Sircar and L. P. Pandeya, *I.H.Q.*, XIX, pp. 139ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed variety of the Central Indian Alphabet of the
5th or 6th century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-3 अक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT⁴

Seal

- 1 खड्गधारा-जित-भुवः शर[भात्मा]स-जन्मनः (।*)
नृपतेऽश्री-नरेन्द्रस्य शासनं रिपु-शामिनः[*] (||*)⁵ 1

¹ This date was originally read as year 389 by Subha Rao.

² Properly महाराजस्य. See *supra*. B., II, No. 9, notes.

³ Read ०गृहिक-दिवसिंह०. See p. 377 note 4.

⁴ See the facsimile in *I.H.Q.*

⁵ The sixth syllable of the first quarter is short. Śarabha, father of Narendra, was probably the same as the maternal grandfather of Goparāja who died in 510 A.D. (above, No. 38). Both the father and the son appear to have flourished about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. For the history of the kings of Śarabhapura, see the *Classical Age*, pp. 219ff. *Paramabhāgarata* Narendra also issued his Kuru plates in the year 24 of his reign from his residence at Tilakeśvara (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 263ff.) It is stated that the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* (apparently the Gupta emperor) granted a village to a Brāhmaṇa by a charter written on palm-leaf leaves which were destroyed by a conflagration in the donee's house. Narendra therefore issued the grant in favour of the original donee's son for the merit of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* to whom he may have then owed nominal allegiance.

First Plate : Second Side

- 1 १^१ स्वस्ति (॥*) शरभपुरास्महाराज श्री-नरेन्द्रः
- 2 नन्दपुर-भोगीय-शर्करापट्टके^२ ब्राह्मण-
- 3 दीनप्रतिवासि-कुटुम्बिनो बोधयति (॥*)
- 4 एष ग्रामो राहुदेवेन^३ स्व-पुण्याभिवृद्ध-
- 5 ये ब्राह्मण-वाजसनेय^४-आसेयसगोत्र-

Second Plate : First Side

- 6 स्वामिप्पाय^५ ताञ्जसासनेनातिच्छेदो मया-
- 7 पि च अ-वाट-भट-प्रावेष्ट्य इत्यनुमोदितो
- 8 यतो भवद्भिरस्य यथाकालं मेय-
- 9 हिरण्यादीनां प्रत्यायानानुपनयः
- 10 कर्त्तव्यः (॥*) भविष्यतश्च भोगपतीनभिनन्दयति

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 पूर्व-क्षेत्रनुपाकनाच्छेयसा सम्बन्धः आ-
- 12 ष्टेदाश्च प्रत्यपा(वा)य इत्यनुप्रपश्यन्निर्भवन्नि-
- 13 रस्य ग्रामस्यानुपालनं कर्त्तव्यम् (॥*)
- 14 व्यास-गीतौ चाह श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति ।

पूर्व-

- 15 कृत्वा द्विजातिभ्यो यज्ञाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (॥*)

Third Plate : First Side

- 16 महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठानामाच्छेयो(५*)नुपाकनम् (॥*) 2
- 17 षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गो वसति भूमिदः (॥*)
- 18 आच्छेत्ता चासुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके

^१ This is the symbol for Siddham.

^२ Possibly the names are preserved in modern Nandgaon and Sākra in the old Sarangarh State.

^३ Rāhudeva, the actual donor, was apparently a subordinate of king Narendra. According to the legal procedure of ancient India, when one granted land out of his *jāgīr* or of an area purchased from the king, the latter had to sanction the creation of a rent-free holding. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, pp. 50ff.

^४ Read •सुनिवासेय•.

^५ Sanskrit स्वाम्यायने.

19

वसे(त् ॥*) 3

प्रवर्द्धमान-त्रि(ह)तोय-वर्षस्य^१मार्गंशि-20 र-मास-दिवसे दशमे (॥*) उत्कीर्णा^१ श्रीदत्तेनेति (॥*)

J—VIGRAHAS

No. 71B—Sumandala Copper-plate Inscription of the
time of Prithivivigraha-bhattacharaka—Gupta
Year 250 (= 569 A.D.)

SUMANDALA, old Khallikot State, Ganjam District, Orissa.

S. N. RAJAGURU, *Manoramā*, I, i, pp. 17-24; D. C. SIRCAR *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, pp. 79ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

M e t r e: Verses 1-4 श्लोक (चतुष्टुम्).

TEXT²

First Plate: Second Side

- 1 १^३ स्वस्ति (॥*) चतुर्दधिमेललायां सप्तद्वीप-पर्वत-सरिस्पत्त[न*]-
- 2 भूषणायाम्त्र(यां व)पुन्धरायाम्त्र(यां व)र्त्तमान-गुप्त राज्ञे^१ वर्षशत-द्वये
- 3 पञ्चाशदुत्तरे कलिङ्गराष्ट्रमनुशासति श्री-पृथिवीविग्रह-
- 1 भट्टारके तत्पादानुध्यातः पद्मखोल्यां महाराजोभयान्वयो^३
- 5 व व,पदेयामुत्तम-तनुः सहस्ररश्मि-पाद-भक्तो महाराज-धर्म्मरा-
- 6 जः कुशली परक्वलमार्गं^४-विषये वर्त्तमान-भविष्यत्साम[न्त]-

¹ Read उत्कीर्णा [पट्टिका] or उत्कीर्णे [शासनं].² From the original plate and impressions.³ This is the Siddham symbol.⁴ This shows that, even though the Guptas had been ousted before this date from Bihar and U. P. by the Maukharis, they were continuing their hold on Bengal and Orissa. There are two conflicting Jain traditions giving the duration of Gupta rule as 231 years and 251 years and pointing to its extinction respectively about 550 A.D. and 574 A.D. The first of these may refer to the extirpation of the Guptas from Bihar and U.P. and the second from Bengal and Orissa. See *Jadunath Sarkar Presentation Volumes*, ed. H. R. Gupta, II, pp. 343ff.⁵ The name of the ancestor (father ?) of Dharmarāja is *Ubhaya* which may be the contraction of a name like *Ubhayachara*.

Second Plate : First Side

- 7 महाराज-राजपुत्र-कुमाराभातजोपरिक-तदायुक्तक-दाण्डवासिक¹-स्थान[1]-
 8 न्तरिकानन्याङ्ग(न्यांश्च) वल्लभजातोयानाज-पादोपजीविनो व्य[व]हारिविषे(ष)-
 9 यिकाङ्ग(कांश्च) यथाहंस्मानयस्यादिशति च (।*) विदितमस्तु वो य[य]।-
 10 साभिः माच-कृष्णस्येकादश्यामुत्तरायणे एतद्विषय-
 11 [द्विष्टा²र्त्ता] कमुण्डाकग्रामस्यन्दनवाटक-सहितो (S.) ग्रहारीकृत्य होम्व(स्व)काय-
 12 हारीय-ब्राह्मगोपाध्याय-मदूस्वामि-प्रमुखानां नाना-गोस्त्र-चरणा-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 13 नां वृत्ताद्धयनवतां ब्राह्मणानां ना माचन्द्रावर्क-सम-काल-स्थित्या ताम्र-[प]-
 14 टाभिलिखितः सर्व-कर-पीडा-वर्जितः सोद्देशः सोपरिकरः मा[ता]-
 15 पित्तोरात्मनश्च पूष्याभिवृद्धये प्रतिग्रहेण प्रतिपादितः (।*)
 16 तदेषास्मद्वृत्तिर्द्धर्म-गौरवात्परिपालनीयेति । उक्तञ्च धर्म-
 17 शास्त्रे ।

व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः (।*)

यस्य यस्य य-

दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम् ।) 1

- 18 षष्टिम्वाष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति

Third Plate : First Side

- 19 भूमिदः (।*)

आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं(के) वसेत् ।(।*) 2

मा भूदक-

³ल-शङ्का वः पर-दत्तेति पार्थिवाः (।*)

- 20 स्व-दानात्फलमानन्त्यं पर-दा-

नानुपाळनं(ने) ।(।*) 3

- 21 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्बा(त्तां वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) ।

स्व-विष्ठा-

1 The same as °पाशिक,

2 Read संवत् 10.

3 Another *la* was written and rejected before this letter.

22 यां कृमिभूत्वा पितृमिस्सह पश्यते ।(1*) 4

लिखिताधिकरण-

23 क-द[1]सुकेन । लक्षणस्वामिना¹

24 तापितमिति ॥²

¹ The name may be *Lakshmana*°.

² This inscription has to be read along with the Kanās plate of Lokavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka (Gupta year 280=599 A.D.), the Soro (Gupta year 280=579 A.D.) and Patiakella (Gupta year 283=602 A.D.) plates of Śambhuyāsas of the Māna dynasty and Modgala gotra and the records of Śaśāṅka and his feudatories. The Vighrahas originally owed allegiance to the Guptas but later ruled independently over Orissa (comprising Northern Kalinga and the old Utkala country). Their kingdom became known as Tosali probably after their capital at modern Dhauli. Soon the Mānas, probably living in the Mānbhūm-Mayurbhanj region and belonging to the Oḍra tribe, ousted the Vighrahas and established their rule over Orissa which became famous as Oḍra from this time. The Māna rule was extirpated from Orissa by the Gaudas. The word *tāpita* refers to heating the plates for affixing the seal.

CHAPTER IV

INSCRIPTIONS OF COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA

A—Burma

No. 72—Maunggun Gold-plate Inscriptions

MAUNGGUN, Prome District.¹

MAUNG TUN NYEIN, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 101.

Language: Pāli.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 6th century A.D.²

Metre: Verse 1 चार्या.

TEXT³

No. 1

1 १ (१)⁴

ये धम्मा हेतु-पभवा तेस(*) हेतु तथागतो भाह (1*)

तेसञ्च यो निरोधो एव-वादि महासमनो ति (1*) 1⁵

इति पि सो भगवा अरह⁶

¹ The ancient name of Prome was Sirikhattara = Srikahetra.

² Maung Tun Nyein believed that the characters used in these plates were in vogue during the first century A.D. This is certainly wrong. Elsewhere however he says, "The alphabet corresponds to a large extent with that used in the inscriptions at Pagan of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and several of the letters also resemble those of the South Indian class of alphabets."

³ From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, V.

⁴ The decipherment of the first sign in No. 1 and the first two or three signs in No. 2 are not quite beyond doubt. Maung Tun Nyein only gives two *danḍas* at the beginning of the inscriptions. His Nos. 1 and 2 are here represented as Nos. 2 and 1, respectively.

⁵ Read हेतु and वादी. This is the most popular Buddhist formula. Sometimes in Sanskrit we have अवयव in place of वाद, महासमनो = बुद्ध, एववादी = holding this doctrine. हेतुपभवा धम्मा = conditions originated from a cause. The formula refers to the fundamental tenets of the doctrine of the Buddha; for its interpretation, see *infra*, No. 73, verse 2; for the four noble truths which are related to the formula, see *infra*, p. 495, note 1

- 2 सम्मा-संबुद्धो विज्जाचरणसम्पन्नो सुगतो लोकविदु अनुत्तरो पुरिस-दम्म-सारथि सत्था देवमनुस्सानं बुद्धो भगवा ति (1.)
- 3 स्वाख्यातो भगवता धम्मो मन्दिट्टिको अकालिको एहिपस्सिको ओपणायिको¹ पञ्चत्तं वेदितव्वो विज्जूहीति (11.)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवाः तेषां हेतुं तथागतः आह ।

तेषां च यः निरोधः एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥ इति ॥

इति अपि (= एवमपि = एतस्मात् कारणात्) सः भगवान् अहं न्, सम्यक्संबुद्धः, विद्या-चरणसम्पन्नः सुगतः, लोकविद्, अनुत्तरः, पुरुष-दम्य-सारथिः (= नररूपाणां वृषाणां नियन्ता¹, शास्ता देवमनुष्याणां, बुद्धः भगवान् इति विश्रुतः । । स्वाख्यातः (= सुष्ठु व्याख्यातः) भगवता धर्मः — सान्दट्टिकः (= दृष्टिगोचरः), अकालिकः (= सार्वकालिकः), एहिपस्सिकः (= असङ्चितः²), औपनयिकः (= निर्वीण-सम्पादकः), प्रत्युक्तं (= सांक्ष्येण वेदितव्यः विज्ञैः इति ॥

No. 2

- 1 [१^१ स्वस्ति ?] (1.)

ये धर्मा हेतु-प्रभवा तेसां हेतुं तथागतो आह (1.)

तेसञ्च यो निरोधो एवं-वादि महसमनो ति (11*) 1

चत्तारो बुद्धिपादा

- 2 चत्तारो सम्मपधाना चत्तारो सति-पट्ठाना चत्तारि अरिय-सञ्ज्ञानि चतु-वेसरज्जानि पञ्चिन्द्रियाणि पञ्च चक्खूनि छ
- 3 असद्धारणानि³ सत्त वोज्झङ्गा अरियो अट्ठङ्गिको मग्गो नव लोकुत्तरा धम्मा दस ब्रह्मणि चउहस बुद्ध-कोनि⁴ अट्ठारस बुद्ध-धम्मानि (11*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ ये धर्माः हेतुप्रभवाः तेषां हेतुं तथागतः आह ।

तेषां च यः निरोधः एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥ इति ॥

¹ Read ओपनयिको,

² It has been corrected to असाधारणानि [ज्ञानानि]. If this suggestion is accepted, they would no doubt refer to the six *abhijñās* (supernatural knowledge of an Arhat) which are (1) the different magical powers, (2) the divine ear, (3) knowledge of the thoughts of others and (4) of former existences, (5) the divine eye, and (6) the knowledge that causes the destruction of human passion.

³ Read अट्ठङ्गिकी,

⁴ Read ०यीनि

[तेन च महाश्रमणेन व्याख्यातानि]—चत्वारि ऋद्धिदानि, चत्वारि सम्मक्खधानानि, चत्वारि स्मृत्युपस्थानानि, चत्वारि आर्य-सत्यानि, चत्वारि वैशारद्यानि, पञ्च इन्द्रियाणि, पञ्च चक्षूषि, पञ्च अवधारणानि [ज्ञानानि], सप्त बोध्यङ्गानि, आर्यः आष्टाङ्गिकः मार्गः, नव लोकोत्तराः धर्माः, दश बलानि, चतुर्दश बुद्ध्योनयः, अष्टादश बुद्ध-धर्माः ॥¹

No. 72A—Vesālī Stone Slab Inscription of the time of Nīticandra

VESĀLĪ, near Mrohaung, Akyab District, Arakan.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 108-09.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the first half of the 6th century A.D.

Metre : Verse 1 चर्या.

¹ The 4 *iddhipādas*, by which *idhi* is attained, are *chando* (determination), *viriyam* (exertion), *chittam* (preparation of the heart) and *vimaṃsā* (investigation). The 4 *sammā-padhānas* are exertion (1) to prevent sinful conditions arising, (2) to put away sinful states already existing, (3) to produce meritorious states not yet in existence, and (4) to retain meritorious conditions already existing. The 4 *satipaṭṭhānas* are meditation (1) on the impurity of the body, (2) on the evils of sensations, (3) on the evanescence of thought, and (4) on the condition of existence. The 4 sublime truths are (1) *dukkham* (suffering), (2) *dukkha-samudayam* (cause of suffering), (3) *dukkha-nirodham* (cessation of suffering), and (4) *dukkha-nirodha-gāminī paṭipadā* (the path leading to the cessation of suffering). For a Buddha's 4 *vesārajñas* (subjects of confidence or fearlessness), see p. 423, note 5. The five *indriyas* (qualities) are *saddhindriyam* (faith), *viriyin* (energy), *satin* (recollection), *samādhin* (contemplation) and *paññin* (wisdom). The 5 *chakkhus* (kinds of vision) are *maṃsa-chakkhu* (human eye), *dibba* (divine eye), *paññā* (eye of wisdom), *samanta* (eye of universal knowledge), and *buddha* (the eye of a Buddha). Six *asādhāraṇas* are noticed above, p. 491, note 3. The 7 requisites for attaining the supreme knowledge of a Buddha are recollection, investigation, energy, joy, calm, contemplation and equanimity. For the sublime eightfold path, see *supra*, Bk. II, No. 101, notes. The *lokuttaradhammas* (transcendent conditions) are the 4 *maggas* (noble paths), the 4 *phalas* (fruits of the path) and Nirvāṇa. The ten *baḷas* or forces belonging to a Buddha consist of his comprehension in ten fields of knowledge; sometimes they are given as consisting in the knowledge of the *pañcikasamuppāda*. The 14 *buddha-yonis* (requisites for the attainment of Buddhahood) are however not enumerated in the lexicons; but a Buddha's *nāna* is sometimes referred to as 14 in number. The 18 *buddhadhammas* (conditions or attributes of a Buddha) are the same as the *āveṇika-dhammas* (p. 423, note 7) which are (1) seeing all things, past, (2) present and (3) future; (4) propriety of actions of the body, (5) speech, and (6) thought; (7) firmness of intention, (8) memory, (9) *samādhi*, (10) energy, (11) contemplation, (12) and wisdom; (13) freedom from fickleness, (14) noisiness, (15) confusedness, (16) bustiness, (17) heedlessness and (18) inconsiderateness.

TEXT¹

- 1 वे धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथान[त]
- 2 आह (१०)
- 3 तेषां च जो निरोधो ध) एवंवादि की) [म]हाश्रमण[ः] (॥*) 1
- 3 श्री[नीतिचन्द्र]स्य चन्द्रवत्पङ्क्ति[नास्य]² देवी(ण्याः) सावीता-
- 4 चन्द्रा(श्रि)या-नाम-परे(र)[मो]पासिकस्य³
- 5 देवय⁴-धर्मो(५*)यम्⁵ सर्वसत्त्वा(रवा)नां(ना)ममुक्त(स)म्⁶

No. 72B—Vesālī Stone Slab' Inscription of Virachandra

VESĀLĪ, near Mrohaung, Akyab District, Arakan.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 9-10

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Late Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the close of the 6th century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुप् (शीघ्र)

TEXT¹

- 1 सत्यधर्मान(नु)रागेण कृतं स्वार्थेण(न) भूमुजा (१०)
- 2 [प]रायघटनोद्योग-सम्यक्कि(ह्नि)हित-चेति त)सा (॥*) 1
- 3 श्री-वीरचन्द्रदेवेण(न) महोमण्डलमण्डनं(नम् १)
- 4 धर्माभिगतसराज्येण(न) बुद्धसूपशत(तं) [कृतं(सम्)] (॥*)

See the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII.

Probably प्राच्यसागस्य is intended.

³ Read ०सिक्कायाः.

This is the Pall form of Sanskrit द्विच.

Omit the final म् which is redundant.

The word प्राच्य seems to have broken away after this.

B—MALAYSIA

No. 73—Fragmentary Stone Inscription
of Buddhagupta

NORTHERN DISTRICT, Wellesley Province, Malay Peninsula.

R. L. MITRA, *J. A. S. B.*, XVII, ii, p. 71; J. W. LAIDLAY, *ibid.*, XVIII, p. 247, Plate X; H. KERN, *Verspreide Geschriften*, III, pp. 255 ff.; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, Part II (Greater India Society Bulletin, No. 5), p. 7; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J. R. A. S. B.*, L., I, pp. 14ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A D.

M e t r e: Verse 1 चार्षा ; V. 2 अनुष्टुप् (शोक).

TEXT¹ये धर्म्मा हेतु-प्रभवा तेषां(१*) हेतु(१*) तथागतो² (1*)

तेषां(१*) च यो निरोध एव(१*)वादी महाश्रमणः(१*) (11*) 1

अज्ञानाधीयते कर्म जन्मनः कर्म कारगम् (1*)

ज्ञानाच्च क्रि(ची?)यते कर्म कर्माभावाच्च जायते (11*) 2

महानाविक[स्य] बुद्धगुप्तस्य रक्तमृत्तिका³-वास⁴.....

¹ From the partial facsimile in *J. R. A. S. B.*, L., I. and transcripts. The inscribed stone seems to have been the upper part of a column. Kern assigned the inscription to *circa* 400 A. D. on palaeographic grounds.

² Read अवकाशोर्वा; and तथागतो अवदत् to suit the metre. The formula is also found in the Keda inscription (*India and Java*, loc. cit.).

³ Scholars have rejected Kern's identification of this place with Chi'-tu (meaning 'red earth' in Chinese) which is usually located in Siam. It is now generally believed that रक्तमृत्तिका is to be identified with the Vihāra called Lo-to-mo-chi (=Pāli *Raktamattikā*=Sanskrit *Raktamṛttikā*) which Huen-tsang found near Karpasutara, the capital of king Śiśāka of Gaṇḍa. Huen-tsang's Lo-to-mo-chi has been identified with a place called Rāṅgāmāṭi (literally, 'red earth'), 12 miles to the south of Murahidāṭi, West Bengal. See R. C. Majumdar, *Suparṇadīpī*, I, pp. 82f. A clay seal of the Raktamṛttikā monastery has been recently unearthed from a site near Rāṅgāmāṭi.

⁴ The reading intended is possibly वासन्वस दागम्, महानाविक=captain of a महानी or ship.

C—BORNEO

Nos. 74-75—Kutei Yūpa Inscriptions of Mūlavarman

Muara Kaman (on the Mahakam river), KUTEI State, East Borneo, now in Malaysia.

KERN, V. G., VII, pp. 62, 64; VOGEL, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volken-kunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volken-kunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, LXXIV, pp. 167-232; LXXVI, p. 431; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, Part II, p. 18; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J. R. A. S., L.*, I, pp. 38ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Late Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 4th century A. D.

M e t r e: Verses 1-3 and 1-2 ऋग्वृत् (श्लोक).

TEXT¹

No. I

- 1 श्रीमतः श्रीनरेन्द्रस्य
- 2 कृण्डुङ्गस्य महात्मनः (1*)
- 3 पुत्रोऽ*खवर्म्मो² विख्यातः
- 4 वहु-कर्त्ता यथा रुमान्³ (11*) 1
क्ष शु
- 5 तस्य पुत्रा महात्मानः
- 6 तस्यैव इवाग्नयः (1*)
- 7 तेषान्तयाणां प्रवरः

¹ From the eye-copies in V. G., VII. Out of the 4 Yūpa inscriptions, we give the text of two only. For the text of another of the four, see p. 499, note 1. Kern proposed 400 A. D. as the approximate date of the Kutei inscriptions. The un-Sanskritic name of Mūlavarman's grandfather suggests that these were indigenous princes of the Malay race, who adopted Indian culture and religion. The equation Kūṇḍuṅga = Kauṇḍinya is probable.

² Read °वर्म्मो विख्यातो. Note also that the record does not observe the rules of *sandhi* at the end of the first and third *pādas* in line 5 (°त्मानस्त्रय°), line 7 (वरक्षयो°) and line 11 (यपोयं रि°). The fifth syllable is often long (cf. V. 1, *pāda* 3; V. 2, *pāda* 3; V. 3, *pāda* 1) though it is required to be short according to some authorities.

³ Read वंश्च and यथांशु°.

- 8 तपो-बल-वमान्वितः (॥*) 2
 मूलवर्मा राजेन्द्रो
 10 यष्टा बहुसुवर्णकम्¹ (॥*)
 11 तस्य यज्ञस्य यूपो(ऽ*)यम्(यं)
 12 द्विजेन्द्रैस्सम्प्रकल्पितः (॥*) 3

No. 2

- 1 श्रीमतो नृप-मुख्यस्य
 2 राज्ञः(ः*) श्री-मूलवर्मणः (॥*)
 3 दानं² पुण्यतमे क्षेत्रे
 4 यद्वत्स्यप्रकीर्णरे³ (॥*) 1
 5 द्विजातिभ्यो(ऽ*)निकल्पेभ्यः⁴
 6 विंशतिगोसहस्रिकम् (॥*)
 7 तस्य पुण्यस्य यूपो(ऽ*)यम्(यं)
 8 कृतो विप्रैरिहागतैः[ः*] (॥*) 2

N.B.—The following three more Yūpa inscriptions, recently discovered at Kutei, are now preserved in the Djakarta Museum (*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Deel LXXXIII, 1946, pp. 370 ff.).

A.—जयत्यतिब्र[ह्मः*] श्रीमान्श्री-मूलवर्म-भू[पतिः*] (॥*)

यस्य लिखितानि दानान्यस्मिन्महति [स्थानके] (॥*)

जलधेनुहृत्तथे[नुं*] कपिलादानन्तथैव तिलदानम्* (॥*)

वृषभैकादशमपि यो*](ऽ*)दत्ता(दद्) विप्रेषु राजेन्द्र[ः*] (॥*)

¹ बहुसुवर्ण has been taken to mean a सोम sacrifice. One would expect to have in it a महादान like कल्पवृक्ष and गोसाहस्रिक of the other two Yūpa inscriptions of Mūlavarmā. But it is not found in the general list of the 16 mahā-dānas. The inscription (V. G., VII, p. 60) referring to the Kalpavriksha reads श्रीमहिराजकोत्तैः राज्ञः(ः*) श्रीमूलवर्मणः पुण्यम् । यस्मिन् विप्रमुख्यः(ख्या) ये चान्ये साधवः पुरुष(ः*) ॥ बहुदानगोवदानम् सकल्पवृक्षं समृद्धि-दानम् । तैवाण्युपयोगायाम्(र्गा) यूपो(ऽ*)यं स्थापितो विप्रैः ॥ (Metre : आर्या).

² Kern : जा(?)त.

³ Read दत्तं वप्र०. Vaprakeśvara was apparently the name of a god (Śiva?), which was also applied to the locality where his temple was situated.

⁴ Read •कल्पेभ्यो विंशति-गोसा•.

Kern : •कल्पस्य विंशतिर्गो•. The 5th syllable should have been short and 6th long according to some.

- B.—श्रीमूलवर्मणा राज्ञा यद्वत्तन्त्रिक-पञ्चतम् (१*)
 स सुदीप-मालया सार्द्धं धूपोऽयं लिखितस्तयोः (॥*)
- C.—श्रीमूलवर्मणा राजेन्द्रः(ः*) सम(व*)जित्य पार्थिव[दान्] (१*)
 करदां(दान्) नृपतींश्चक्र यथा राजा युधिष्ठिरः (॥*)
 चत्वारिंशत्सहस्राणि स ददौ वप्सुकेश्वरे (१*)
 वा * * * * * त्रिंशत्सहस्राणि पुनर्ददौ (॥*)
 * * * * * मालां स पुनर्जाव-दानं प्रि(ष्टु)यन्विषम् (१*)
 आकाशदीपं धर्मात्मा पार्थिवेन्द्रः(ः*) स्वके पुरे (॥*)
 * * * * * महारमना (१*)
 धूपो(ऽ*)यं स्था[पितो] विमोक्षनादेशादिहा[गतैः*] (॥*)

Jaladhenu and *ghṛitadhenu* are apparently names of gifts like *Ratna-dhenu*, etc., mentioned in the list of the sixteen *Mahādānas* (see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 50). *Akāśadīpa* (a lighted lamp attached to the top of a pole) is raised in honour of Viṣṇu or Lakṣmī in the month of Kārttika. See the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* quoted in the *Sabdakalpadruma*, s.v.; also Apte's *Sans. Eng. Dictionary*, s.v.

D—JAVA (Indonesia)

No. 76—Jambu Rock Inscription of Purnavarman

JAMBU Rock, West Java.

KERN, V.G., VII, p. 6; VOGEL, *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java*, Publications van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, Deel I, 1925, pp. 15-25; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, p. 25.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 5th or 6th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 चत्वारः.

TEXT¹

- 1 श्रीमान्दाता² कृन्ञो नरपतिरसमो य=पुरा [ता]रुमाया (*)*³
नाम्ना श्री-पूषर्षवर्मा प्रचुर-रिपुशराभेद्य-विख्यात-वर्मा (।)*⁴

¹ From the eye-copy in *V. G.*, VII. The characters which are box-headed are almost identical with and only a little more developed than those used in the records of Mūlavarman. A close affinity between the script of these records with the alphabet (wrongly called *grantha*) used by the Pallava kings in their records has been noticed; but the contemporary epigraphs of the Pallavas, Kadambas, Western Gaṅgas and others are written in the same Late Southern Brāhmī or Early Telugu-Kanāḍa. If Mūlavarman's records are to be assigned to c. 400 A. D., the records of Pūrṇavarman may be assigned roughly to the second half of the 5th century A. D. Kern suggests the date 450 A. D. It is not known whether Pūrṇavarman was an Indian, or an indigenous prince of the Malay race who adopted Indian culture and religion as well as a Sanskrit name.

² Kern : *स्यात्.

³ Read *माया. Tārumā (also called Tāruma) was apparently the capital of Pūrṇavarman. Some scholars believe that the Ci-tarum river has preserved the name of Tārumā.

⁴ There is a pair of foot-prints engraved near the inscription. Cf. the Ci-arutōn Rock inscription (*V. G.*, VII, p. 5) engraved near the representation of foot-prints. It runs :

विष्णुनास्त्रावनिपतेः श्रीमतः पूषर्षवर्षः ।
तारुम-नगरेन्द्रस्य विष्णोरिव पद-द्वयम् ॥

The king was apparently deified and his foot-prints were worshipped by the people, as those of the Buddha and of Vishṇu were worshipped in India. According to Vogel (*Op. cit.*, pp. 16-21), the foot prints marked certain places hallowed by the presence of Pūrṇavarman. He suggests that the Ci-arutōn rock marks the spot of the king's cremation and that the foot-prints of the dead king were credited with a magical power to protect his followers and to hurt his enemies. Stutterheim (*B. K. N. I*, LXXXIX, pp. 288f.) believes that the foot-prints are a symbol of the king's supremacy over the land. It is also interesting to note that the Kebon Kopi rock has the representation of two elephant's foot-prints and the following verse inscribed near them :

* * जय-विशालस्य तारुमिन्द्रस्य ह[स्ति]नः ।
* * [एरा*]वताभस्य विभातीदस्यद-द्वयम् ॥

All the three records lie close to one another in the hilly country called Buitenzorg which was up till the Japanese occupation of Java during World War II the residence of the Governor General of Dutch East India. The lost letters of the verse may be conjecturally restored as मु=व and रात्रः. The reference seems to be to another king of Tārumā, whose name was Hastin.

- 2 तस्येदम्पादविम्ब¹-द्वयमग्निगरोत्सादने नित्यदक्षम्
भक्तानां यन्दिपानाम्भवति² सुखकर(*³) शस्यभूतम्⁴ रिपूणाम् (॥*) 1

No. 77—Tugu Rock Inscription of Pūranavarman —Regnal Year 22

TUGU ROCK, to the east of Tanjong Priok (the port of Batavia), West Java; now in the Batavia (Jakarta) Museum.

KERN, *V. G.*, VII, p. 131f.; VOGEL, *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java*, p. 32; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, Part II, p. 26

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th or 6th century A. D.

Metre : Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT⁴

- 1 पुरा राजाधिराजेन गुरुणा⁵ पीन-बाहुना (॥*)
[खा]ता स्यातां पुरी(*⁶) प्राप्य
2 चन्द्रभागा⁷र्णव(*⁸) ययौ ॥ 1
प्रवर्द्धमान-ह्वाविडुहत्सर⁹ श्री-गुणौजसा (॥*)
नरेन्द्र-ध्वज-भूतेन

¹ The word *rumba* (*bimba*) here means 'a representation'.

² Read यन्दिपा०.

³ Read भूतं.

⁴ From the partial copy in *V. G.*, VII, and transcripts.

⁵ गुरु has been taken in the sense of 'the father'. चन्द्रभागा, name of the canal excavated by the king's father, and गोमती, that of the other excavated by the king himself, possibly point to a North Indian element in the Indian influence on the old culture of Java. The first was named after the Chandrabhāgā=modern Chenāb (in the Punjab) whose older name was Aśikni. गोमती (line 4) was named after either the river Gomatī=modern Gumāl, the western tributary of the Indus, or Gomatī=modern Gumtī which joins the Ganges on its left bank below Banarās. The title *Rājādhirāja* also exhibits North Indian influence.

⁶ Read •विश्वे ययौ. The 5th syllable is required to be short according to some.

- 3 श्रीमता पूर्य^१वर्धना ॥ 2
 प्रारभ्य फाल्गुन^१-मासि खाता कृष्णाष्टमी-तिथौ (॥*)
 चैत्र-शुक्ल-त्रयोदश्याम् दिनैस्मिद्वैकविंशकैः[*]^३ (॥*) 3^४
- 4 आयता षट्पञ्चणे धनुषा[*] स-शतेन च (॥*)
 द्वाविंशे^५ नदी रम्या गोमती निर्मलोदका ॥ 4
 श
 पितामहस्य राजर्षेर्विदार्यं शिविरावनि[म्] (॥*)
- 5 ब्राह्मणैर्गोसहस्रेण^६ प्रयाति कृतदक्षिणः^७ ॥ 5

E—CHAMPĀ (South Annam)

No. 78—Vo-canĥ Rock Inscription

VO-CANH (pronounced *Vo-kañh*), Khánh-Hoà District of Annam, North Viet-nam (former French Indo-China).

A. BERGAINE, *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge*, No. XX, pp. 16-18 (196-98); FINOT, *B. E. F. E. O.*, XV, No. 2, p. 3; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Champā*, Book III, pp. 1f.; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J. R. A. S. L.*, I, pp. 45f.; D. C. SIRCAR, *J. G. I. S.*, VI, pp. 57f.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XVII, pp. 107f.; G. COEDÈS, *ibid.*, XVI, pp. 484ff.

¹ Better read फाल्गुने.

² Read ०दश्यां.

³ Read ०विंश०.

⁴ This verse shows that the मास recognised was चैत्र as in South India, and not पूर्णिमान्त as in the North.

⁵ Read ०विंशे०. 1 *dhanus* = 4 *hastas* or cubits: 6122 *dhanus* = 24488 cubits = 12244 yard = a little less than 7 miles. Note that the canal of this length was excavated in 21 days.

⁶ गोसहस्र is the name of a महादान.

⁷ Read दक्षिणे. The meaning seems to be that the canal was consecrated by a gift of *go saharra* to the Brāhmaṇas. ख्यातां पुरीं प्राप्य in line 1 may indicate that the canal started from the capital city.

⁸ The ancient kingdom of Champā roughly corresponded to the southern portion of the modern region of Annam in the eastern part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The name may have been an Indianised form of the original name of the indigenous people who are

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. (but actually of a little later date).¹

Metre: Verses 1-2, can not be determined, but may be some metre like शिखरिणी; Vv. 3-4 वसन्ततिलका; V. 5 मादृल-विकौडित.

TEXT²

1-5

6 प्रजानाङ्गुणा

7 प्रथम-विजय (॥*) 1-2

— — — — —
— — — — —

8 — — — — [पौ*] ण्णम(१*)स्याम् (पूणमस्याम् ?) ।

आज्ञापितं सदसि राज-वरेण [लोकाः ?]

[सामन्त ?] राज-गग-

now called Cham, the Indianization having been influenced by the name of the Indian city of Champā, capital of the Aṅga janapada (modern Monghyr-Bhāgalpur region). In India, the name of the capital is often applied to the country.

¹ Scholars have assigned the record to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. on grounds of palaeography. In our opinion, the theory is untenable. In the above period not Sanskrit but Prakrit was generally used in Indian inscriptions. Classical metres like वसन्ततिलका were popular in India from the Gupta period and were rarely used in Indian inscriptions before the fourth century A.D. The draft of lines 14-15 of the record appears to be an imitation of inscriptions of the Gupta period. We are therefore inclined to think that the inscription is not earlier than the first half of the 4th century. As regards the early script, cf. *supra*, No. 9, notes. As to the conservatism of the Indo-Chinese scribes, Blagden has rightly pointed out (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 131) that the anchor-shaped subscript y is found in the Pyu inscriptions (c. 12th century, though their palaeography may be a few centuries earlier) of Myazeli (Burma), although the form had become obsolete in India after the 4th century A.D. The late date of the Vocañh inscription proposed by us has been supported by Émile Gaspardone in the *Journal Asiatique*, CCXLI, 1953, pp. 477-85. It has been suggested that the date is not much earlier than the 5th century A.D.

² From transcripts. The inscribed rock is called Nha Trang.

- 9 वागमृतं पिबन्तु ॥ 3
 श्री-मार-राज-कुल-व[श - विभूषणे*]न
 श्री-मार-लो[क*]-[न]-
- 10 [पतेः*]² कुल-नन्दनेन ।
 आज्ञापितं स्वजन-सज्जन-सङ्घ²]-मध्ये
 वाक्यं प्रजा-हि-
- 11 तकरं करिणो¹र्वरेण ॥ 4
 लोकस्यास्य गतागति(ती¹) वि
 — — न (विविचता¹) सिंहासनाद्रासने
- 12 पुत्रे भ्रातरि नान्त्य²चर²के स्वसमीकरणच्छन्देनप्तेषु (०समके
 राजच्छदावासिषु¹) (1*)
 यत्किञ्चिद्रजतं सु-
- 13 वर्णमपि वा सस्थावरजङ्गमं
 षोष्ठागारक[तो ध¹]नं प्रियहिते सर्वं¹ विस्-
- 14 दं मया ॥ 5
 तदेवं मयानुज्ञातं भविष्यैरपि राजभिरनुमन्तव्यं¹(व्यम्) (1*)
- 15 विदितमस्तु च मे भृत्यस्य वीरस्य

¹ The passage may indicate the family of king Śrīmāra or the family of the illustrious king Māra. The name of the king responsible for the record is lost. He appears to have been a descendant of a king named Māra. Māra has been identified by some scholars with Kiu Lien who began to rule in 192 A. D. Coedès identifies him with Fan-She-man of the Chinese annals, who was the king of Fou-nan (an ancient kingdom comprising Cambodia and the adjoining regions) about the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. The identifications are doubtful; but even if any of them be accepted, the present record should be placed considerably later, as it belongs to a descendant of Māra and not to Māra himself.

² The restorations in the first half of verse 4 are not ours. One may also suggest, e.g., कुलवर्द्धिषडामनेन. The emendations and restorations suggested by us are conjectural.

No. 79—Cho Dinh Rock Inscription (No. 2) of Bhadravarman

NHÂN-THÁP,¹ near CHO DINH, Phu-yen District, to the north of Cape Vareilla in Annam, North Viet-nam, former French Indo-China.

BARGAIGNE, *Inscriptions Sanscrites*, No. XXI, p. 26 (236); FINOT, *B.E.F.E.O.*, II, p. 186; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Champā*, Book III, pp. 3f.; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J.R.A.S.B., L.*, I, p. 48.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Box-headed Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A.D.

TEXT²

- 1 नमो देवाय (1*) भद्रेश्वरस्वामि-पाद-प्रसादात् अग्नये त्वा जुष्टं करिष्यामि³ (1*)
- 2 धर्ममहाराज-श्रीभद्रवर्षणो⁴ यावच्चन्द्रादित्यौ तावत्पुत्र-पौत्रभ्योऽयति (1*)
- 3 पृथिवि⁵-प्रसादात्का(त्)र्म्म-सिद्धिरस्तु⁶ ।

¹ Cho-Dinh is the name of a market place in the neighbourhood of the village.

² From the facsimile in *J.R.A.S.B., L.*, I. Scholars have referred these inscriptions to circa 400 A.D. on palaeographical grounds. The actual date may be a little later, but certainly not earlier. Some scholars identify Bhadravarman with Fan-Hou-ta (380-413 A.D.) known from the Chinese sources.

³ I.e., I shall make thee agreeable to fire, i.e., I shall sacrifice thee (referring to some unknown object).

⁴ धर्ममहाराज, etc., are peculiar titles used (in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.) in South Indian inscriptions, especially those belonging to the Vākāṭakas, Early Pallavas, Early Gaṅgas and Early Kadambas. This fact and that Prakrit was ousted by Sanskrit from South Indian epigraphy about the latter half of the 4th century A.D. indicate that our record cannot be placed earlier than the beginning of the 5th century. पुत्र-पौत्रं भोक्ष्यति=[Agni] will protect the sons and grandsons.

⁵ Usually पृथिवी. This reference to the Earth as a goddess is interesting.

⁶ कर्मसिद्धि refers to the successful completion of the sacrifice or to the attainment of the result due to the sacrifice.

No. 80—My-son Stelae Inscription of Bhadravarman

My-son, Quang Nam District of Annam, North Viet-nam, former French Indo-China.

FINOT, *B. E. F. E. O.*, II, p. 187 ; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Champā*, Book III, p. 4.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 चार्यो(?) ; V. 2 उपजीति.

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 [सि]द्धं(इम्) (॥*) नमो महेश्वर[म्] उमाच्च प्र[ति] ?]
- 2 - ब्रह्माणं विष्णुमेव च नमो² (॥*)
पृथिवी(*) वायुरा(मा?) काशमप[?] ?]
- 3 ज्योतिश्च³ पञ्चमं(मम्) (॥*) 1
नमस्कृत्वाहमिच्छामि⁴ सर्वं(*) विशेषैरनुध्यातं(तुम्)⁵ (॥*)
दुस्कृ-⁵
- 4 र्म्मं व्यपोह[न्तु] सुकृतो नयुतन्तुदा⁶ (॥*) 2
भद्रेश्वरस्वामि-प. १(*) दानुध्या[ते*] न चास्माक[?] महारा[जेन*]
- 5 भद्रवर्चणा मानुष्यमध्वानं ज्ञा[त्वा*] भद्रेश्वराय⁷ अक्षयी(या?) नीवी दत्ता (॥*)
यथा [पूर्वेण*]
- 6 सुलङ्घ-पर्वतो दक्षिणेन महापर्वतः पश्चिमेन कुचक-पर्वत⁸ उत्तरेण [महानदी*]

1 From the transcript in *Champā*.

2 Read नमः ॥

3 Read ०येति,

4 Read ०मिच्छे,

5 Read दुस्कर्म्म०.

6 Read व्यपोहितुं सुकृतं नयच तनितुं तथा.

7 Bhadrēśvara is the same as Bhadrēśvarasvāmin, apparently a Sivaliṅga founded by and named after Bhadravarman. मानुष्य अध्वन् = मानवी गति (= परिणाम) = man's way leading to death.

8 Finot suggests कुचोक्त which is an indigenous word meaning 'august'.

- 7 परिमाणभ्यन्तरा स-कुटुम्बि-जना भूमि¹ दत्ता (1*) जनपद-मर्यादा षड्भागो(5*)पि²
[अस्माकं १]
- 8 स्वामिना दशभागानुगृहीता देवस्य देय[1*] इ[1*]त (1*) तदेव(*) यथाभि-
लिखितमकुर्व[तो*]³
- 9 देवस्य जन्म(नः*) प्रभृति⁴ धर्म-प्रसवो यः तत्फलं भद्रवर्ष्मणः (1*) यदि
कश्चिद[1*]क्रम्य हर[ति*]
- 10 विनाशयति वा मुक्तदोषा[ः*] कुटुम्बिनः तस्योपरि अधर्म[ः*] स्यात् (1*) चातुर्वर्धं
राजा[नं*]
- 11 राजमातृ⁵ वा⁶ सह कुटुम्बिभिः विज्ञापयामि ममानुकम्पार्थं यन्मया दत्तं मा
विनाशय[त*] ॥⁷

Second Side

- 1 यदि विनाशयथ जन्मनि जन्मनि वो यस्तु कृतं तन्मम स्यात् (1*)
- 2 यच्च मम दुष्कृतं तद्युष्म[1*]कं स्यात् (1*) अथ सम्यक्परिपालयथ तद्युष्माकमेव
- 3 धर्म[ः*] स्यादिति भूयो विज्ञा(प*)यामि (1*) य इह प्रभवति
देव-बलि-कारकाः [ते]-
- 4 [षा*]धर्म न कारयितव्यं स्यादोर रक्षरतं वा राजकुलकार्यमनुष्ठेयं
- 5 [अ*]थ गु[१]रो[१]स्माकं राजा[नो]... .. यत्किञ्चित्.....फलाद्येषु पदेषु
पदितव्यमिति (1*)

¹ Read भूमिर्दत्ता. Better supply इति before परिमाण.

² Read षड्भागपि, i.e., even the sixth part of the produce received by the State according to custom prevailing in the kingdom (was reduced by the king to the tenth part and was made payable to the god).

³ Possibly we have to suggest मकुर्वतीऽपि.

⁴ I.e., from the creation of the god, i.e., so long as Bhadrāsvaraśvāmin has been established.

⁵ Better read च.

⁶ चातुर्वर्ध=Brāhmana versed in the four Vedas, who may receive the district as an honorific grant. राजमातृ=king's officer who may be appointed a governor of the district; cf. महामातृ, ममानुकम्पार्थं=cut of compassion for me.

- 6 ¹... ..
 7 कुशकायतनाः बहुल-रत्न-च²
 8 ³... .. अयञ्च स्वरतो धर्मभव
 9 पाळयति तस्यैव धर्म[ः*] (1*) यो न तु पाल(य*)ति अभिनाशयतु⁴
 अय विनाशयति
 10 तस्य भद्रेश्वरस्वामि⁵ जानाति ॥

F—KAMBUJA⁶ (CAMBODIA)No. 81—Neak Ta Dambang Dek Stone Inscription
of the time of Jayavarman⁷

NEAK TA DAMBANG DEK attached to the village of KHVOO, Prei Sandék District, Treang Province, Cambodia.

G. COFFÈS, *J.G.I.S.*, IV, pp. 117-21 ; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, pp. 1 ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed Brāhmī of the Southern Class of about the 5th century A.D.⁸

Metre: Verse 1 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; verse 2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्) ; verses 3-5 शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

¹ About 27 *aksharas* are lost.

² About 16 *aksharas* are lost.

³ About 18 *aksharas* are lost.

⁴ Read ०शयति.

⁵ Read स्वामी. Possibly we have to suggest परिणामं before तस्य.

⁶ Usually spelt as *Kambuja*.

⁷ Little is known about this early king of the ancient kingdom of Fu-nan from any other source. He has been regarded as the father of prince Guṇavarman of the Prasat Pram Loven inscription (No. 82 below). But see below, p. 511, note 3.

⁸ The characters resemble those in the records of the Early Kadambas (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 22-32; VII pp. 33-34; etc.). Note also the script of such other records as the Nagardhan plates of Svāmīāśa (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, pp. 1 ff.), Kesaribeda plates of Arthapati-bhaṭṭāraka (*ibid.*, I, p. 12ff.), etc., etc.

TEXT¹

- 1 युञ्जन्योगमतर्कितङ्गमपि यः(*) क्षीरोद-शै(श)ड्या-गृहे
- 2 शेते शेष-भुजङ्ग-भोग-रचना-पर्यङ्क-पृष्ठाश्रितः (1*)
- 3 [कु]क्षि-प्रान्त-समाश्रित-त्रिभुवनो नाभ्युत्थिताम्भोरुहो
- 4 [राज्ञी] श्री-जयवर्म्माणो(§*)प्रमहिषीं स स्वामिनीं रक्षतु ॥ 1
- 5 [कु]लप्रभावती-नाम्ना प्रभावात्कुलवर्द्धिनी (1*)
- 6 दृष्टिरेकेव या दृष्टा² जयेन³ जयवर्म्मणा ॥ 2
- 7 विप्राणां भवनं⁴ कुहूश्चनगरे प्रा — — — — —
- 8 कृत्वा यां प्रतिमां सुवर्णं-रचितां — — — — — (1*)
- 9 कार्याणां व्यसने⁵ निमग्न-मन[सा] — — — — —
- 10 भोगे(§*)सस्यपि नैव भोग⁶-रहिते[व] — — — — — [11*] 3
- 11 शक्रस्यैव शची नृपस्य दयिता स्वाहे[व सप्तार्चिषः]
- 12 रुद्राणीव हरस्य लोक-विदिता सा श्री[रिव श्रीपतेः] (1*)
- 13 भूयस्सङ्गतमिच्छती नृपतिना श्री — — — — —
- 14 लौल्यं वीक्ष्य मुनि श्रियाश्च⁷ बहुभा(घा) च[र] — — — — — [11*] 4
- 15 राज्ञश्च श्री-जयवर्म्मण-प्रियतरा — — — — —
- 16 कृत्वा बन्धुजनञ्च सौख्य-सहितं वि — — — — — (1*)
- 17 ज्ञात्वा भोगमनित्य-बहु-द-समं स — — — — —
- 18 आरामं स-तटाकमालय-युतं — — — — — [11*] 5

¹ From the facsimile in *J. G. I. S.*, IV. Majumdar's text is an erroneous copy of the transcript published by Cordès.

² The meaning is that king Jayavarman regarded the queen as precious an object as the single eye is to a one-eyed man.

³ The word *jaya* here means 'victorious'. But the intended reading may be जयिना.

⁴ The word *vyasana* here means 'division.' The activities of the queen were classified under the heads *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* which were attended to in specific hours.

⁵ Others have read *bhāga*.

⁶ As the name of Jayavarman cannot be accommodated here in accordance with the metrical necessities, an expression associating the king with Śrī is expected at this place.

⁷ The plural number suggests that the reference is to the royal fortunes of the kings who were Jayavarman's enemies.

3 The reference may be to a king named Viravarmā in both lines 9 and 11.

- 8 ॥ पद्म — — — — यो भुवि — — सर्व-
— — — — रिपुगगास्व — जा — येन (1*)
- 9 स — — — — वतश्च जगत्यनेका
— — — — घनै ऽ परितापिताश्च ॥ 8
- 10 ॥ तस्यावनी — — — — तेर्गुणवर्म्मानामा
— — — — ण्डुद्धिरभून्महारमा (1*)
- 11 से — — — — सङ्गम-चारु-काञ्ची
येने — — — दयिता जनिता मनोज्ञा ॥ 6
- 12 ॥ यः श्रीमता विजयविक्रमविक्र[मेण]
कौण्डिन्य-वश-(वंश)-शशिना वसुधाधिपेन (1*)
- 13 जम्बात्त-भोजक-पदे¹ नृप-सूनु — —
बालो(ऽ*)पि [स]न्नधिकृतो गुण-शौर्य-योगात् ॥ 7
- 14 ॥ तेनेदमात्म-जननी कर-संग्र — —
[सं*]स्थापितं भगवतो भुवि पादमूलम्² (1*)
- 15 यस्यैव रूपमतुल-द्युति येन — —
— — स नेच्छति परि प्रतिमा ऽ पृथिव्याम् ॥ 8
- 16 ॥ अस्याष्टमे(ऽ*)ङ्घ्रि विचित्ररूपवेद-वेद-
वेदाङ्गविद्धिरमर-प्रतिमैर्द्विजैर्द्वैः (1*)
- 17 संस्कारितस्य कथितं भुवि चक्रतीर्थ-
स्वामीति नाम विदधुः श्रुतिषु प्रवीणाः ॥ 9
- 18 ॥ स्थानं यो गुणवर्म्मेणा गुणवता श्रद्धावता त्यागिना
पुण्यञ्जित — — — — कृतमिदं श्रीचक्रतीर्थस्य ह (1*)
- 19 तद्भक्तो(ऽ*)धिवसेद्विशेषदपि च वा तुष्टान्तरात्मा जनो
मुक्तो दुष्कृत-कर्मणस्स परमङ्गच्छेत्पदं वैष्णवम् ॥ 10
- 20 ॥ दत्तं यद्गुणवर्म्मेणा भगवते धर्म्मार्थिना शक्तितो
विप्रैर्भागवतैरनाथ-कृपणैस्तत्कर्मकारैस्तथा (1*)
- 21 तत्सर्वैरुपयुज्यतां समयतो यैरन्यथा भुज्यते
युज्यन्तां नरके यमस्य पतितास्ते पञ्चभिः पातयैः ॥ 11

¹ Jambātta was apparently the name of a locality. जम्बात्तभोजकपद = the status of the
fief-holder of Jambātta.

² Pādamūla means here 'a temple'. The inscription records the construction of a
temple of Vishṇu called Chakratīrthasvāmin.

- 22 ॥ अभिवर्द्धयत ह यो महात्मा
 भगवद्भ्यमिदं गुणाह — — (1*)
 स तु यत्कुशलं लभेत विष्णोः
 परमं प्राप्य पदं महद्यशश्च ॥ 12

No. 83—Ta Prohm Stone Inscription of Rudravarman¹

TA PROHM temple, Bati Province.

COEDÈS, *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXI, pp. 8ff.; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Inscriptions of Kambujá* pp. 4-7.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Southern Brāhmī of about the 5th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 पद्यो; verses 2-11 शार्दूलविक्रीडित.

TEXT²

- 1 जितं विजित-वासना-सहित-सर्व-दोषारिणा
 निरावरग-वृद्धिनाधिगत-सर्व[था सम्पदा] (1*)
- 2 जिनेन करुणात्मना परहित प्रवृत्तात्मना
 दिगन्तर-विसर्पिं निर्मल-बुद्धि-शोभायिना] (11*) 1
- 3 उद्धृत्य विभवाम्बु-राशि-प*तितं लोकं निरालम्बनं
 निर्वाण-स्थलमुत्तमन्निरुपमं संप्राप्य — — — (1*)
- 4 यस्याद्यापि च कुर्वते परहितं श्रीधातवदेशेचिता-
 इशास्तुस्तस्य हितोदयाय जगतां स — — — — (11*) 2
- 5 यस्योरकृष्टतया कृशा(S*)पि न गुणः कश्चित्स संप्रेक्षितो
 यच्चूडामगिर्वाच्छरस्तु जगतां स्थातुं न — — — (1*)
- 6 एकस्थानखिलाच्चराधिप-गुणानुचच्छतेवेक्षितुं
 धात्वा निर्मित एक एव स भुवि श्रो-रुद्रवर्मा-[नृपः*] (11*) 3
- 7 सर्वं सच्चरितं कृतं नृपतिना तेनातिश्रमार्थिन्या
 — — — श्ररि — निसर्ग — बले चि — — — — (1*)

¹ He is supposed to have been a son of Jayavarman of the Neak Ta Dambang Dek inscription (No. 81 above.).

² From the facsimile in *B.E.F.E.O.* Majumdar's transcript is an erroneous copy of Coedès' text.

- 8 लोकानुग्रह-साधनं प्रति न च क्षतव्रतं खण्डितं
मेधाधाय हि मा — — — — — (II*) 4
- 9 तत्पिता जयवर्ष्मणा नृपतिनाध्यक्षो धनानां कृत-
इश्री-रुद्राह — — — पि — — — — — (I*)
- 10 विप्रस्य द्विज-नायकस्य तनयइश्रीदेहमात्रोदिते-
स्सद्वर्त्माननि — — — — — (II*) 5
- 11 बुद्ध[] धर्ममथार्थ-सङ्गमखिलैस्सवैस्सवैर्गुणैस्सङ्गतं
यइश्रेष्ठं श — — — — — (I*)
- 12 यश्चोपासक कर्म सर्व्वमकरोत्पापाञ्जित्त[शयः*]
— — नो वि — — — — — (II*) 6
- 13 आधारपयसामिवाखिल-जलैपुण्यैर — — — — —
सर्व्वं काम — — — — — (I*)
- 14 यश्चाभूत्कुशलः(*) क्रियासु सकलास्त्वादान-दा — — — — —
— — — — — (II*) 7
- 15 तस्याशेष-विशेषगैक-निलयस्याजन्मनोनु — ते
भाट्यार्या सद्दशी — — — — — (I*)
- 16 अक्लेशाशुषु[वे च*]सा दुहितरं सिद्धिं क्रियेवोत्तमा
— — — — — (I*) 8
- 17 आचारानतिवर्त्तिनी स्व-तनयां तन्तु प्र — — — — —
— — — — — (II*)
- 18 — — — — — मस्त्रिरुपमं वर्णोत्तमं प्रा — — — — —
— — — — — (II*) 9
- 19 को विद्वान्द्विजस[त्त*]मे — ल — — — — —
— — — — — (I*)
- 20 इत्येवं द्विजमण्डले सुव — — — — —
— — — — — (II*) 10
- 21 षट्समय — — — — —
क — — — — — (I*)
- 22 ते — — — — द्विजस्य — — — — — स धर्मात्म[ना*]
— — — — — (II*) 11

SUPPLEMENT

BK. I, No. 23-A—Gujarra Minor Rock Edict I of Asoka

GUJARRĀ, Datia District, Madhya Pradesh.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 205ff.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Early Brāhmī of the 3rd century B.C.

TEXT¹

- 1 देव'नं]पिय[स] पियदसिनो असोकराजस' (1*) अ'ढ]तियानि' स[']वछरानि
उपासके(5*)[स्सि] (1*) साधिके स[']वछ[रे] य च मे संघे य[र]ते' ती [अह]' बा-
- 2 ढ['] च परकंते ती [आ]हा (1*) एतेना अंतरेणा जंदूदीपसि देवानंपीय[स]
[अ]मिसदेवा संतो मुनिस मिसदेवा कटा (1*) परकमस इयं फले (1*) नो
[च इ]यं महतेना ति व
- 3 चकिये पापोतवे (1*) खुदाकेण पी परकममीनेना धंमं चरमीनेना पानेसू संयतेना
विपुले पी स्वगे चकिये आराधयितवे (1*) से एताये
- 4 अठा[ये] इयं सावणे (1*) खुदाके चा उडारे चा धंमं चरंतू[यो]गं युंजं तु' (1*)
अंता पि चा जानंतू किंति च' चिलथि[ति]के' धंमच ...⁷

¹ See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI.

² The personal name of the king occurs only in the Maski and Gujarrā versions of the Minor Rock Edict.

³ A word like सतिरेकाषि, found in the other versions of the edict, has been inadvertently left out by the scribe.

⁴ Other versions have उपेत, उपगत and उपयात in place of यात in the sense of 'intimately associated'. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 287ff.

⁵ This refers to the commingling of pious men with the gods. Cf. उपविश्यासने युञ्जायोगमात्मविशुद्धये (गीता 1.1.12), योगिनी यतचित्तस्य युञ्जती योगमात्मनः (गीता 1.1.12), etc.

⁶ Read चिलथितिके च.

⁷ Possibly चिलथितिके च धंमचरणं मिया (= चिरस्थितिकं च धर्माचरणं स्यात्).

- 5 ... [सि]ति¹ [च] एनं [वा] धमं चर['] अति[यो] (1*) इयं [च] सावन विबुधे[न]²
[२००] (+*) ५० (+*) ६ (1*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शनः अशोकराजस्य [श्रावणम् इदम्] । [सातिरेकान्] अर्घतृतीयान्
संवत्सरान् [व्याप्य अहम्] उपासकः अस्मि । साधिकं संवत्सरं [व्याप्य] यत् च मया संघः
यातः इति अहं वाढं पराक्रान्तः इति आह । एतेन अन्तरेण जम्बुद्वीपे देवानांप्रियस्य
अमिश्रदेवाः सन्तः मनुष्याः मिश्रदेवाः कृताः । [मम] पराक्रमस्य इदं फलम् । नो च इदं
महता इति एव शक्यं प्राप्नुम् । क्षुद्रकेण अपि पराक्रममाणेन धर्मं चरता प्राणेषु संयतेन
विपुलः अपि स्वर्गः शक्यः आराधयितुम् । तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इदं श्रावणम् । क्षुद्रकः च उदारः
च धर्मं चरतां, योगं युञ्जताम् । अन्ता अपि च जानन्तु—किमिति—चिरस्थितिकं च
धर्माचरणं [स्यात्] । [जनः] वर्धयन्ते च एनम् एव धर्मं चरन् अतीव । इदं च श्रावणं
व्युषितेन २५६ (— द्वे षट्पञ्चाशदधिकरात्रिंशते व्याप्य व्युषितेन मया विधोषितम्) ।

Bk. I, No. 23-B—Ahraura Minor Rock Edict I of Asoka

AHRAURĀ, Mirzapur District, U P.

D C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, pp 239ff.; cf. A. K. Narain, *Bhārati*, Varanasi, Part I, No. 5, 1961-62, pp. 97-105; V. V. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-47.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Early Brāhmī of the 3rd century B.C.

TEXT³

- 1⁴ पियो⁵ (1*) साति⁶
2⁷ [सा]धि[का] ...⁸

¹ Probably वट्टिमिति (= वर्धयन्ते).

² विबुध = विबुल्य = Sanskrit व्युषित; cf. Pa'i-P akrit वुल्य = Sanskrit वषित. See I.H.Q. XXXVIII, pp 222ff.

³ See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*

⁴ About 22 aksharas are lost here.

⁵ The intended word may be देवानंप्रियो.

⁶ The intended word may be सातिरेकानि.

⁷ About 20 aksharas are lost here.

⁸ About 3 aksharas are lost. The intended reading is साधिकानि षट⁹.

- 3 ¹च वाढं पलकंते (1*)
- 4 ²च पलकंते (1*) एतेन
- 5 [अ]तले ³मिसंदेवा कटा (1*)
- 6 पलकमस इ] ⁴[स्वन] व [स]क्य पापोतवे (1*) खुदकेन पि
- 7 पलकममीनेना विपुले पि स्वग [स]क्ये आलाधेतवे (1*) एताये अठाये
- 8 [इ]यं सावने (1*) खुदका च [उडा ला च प[ल]कमंतु (1*) अंता पि च जानंतु (1*)
- 9 [च]ीळीतिके च पलकमे होतु (1*) इयं च अठे वहिमति विपुलं पि च
- 10 वहिमति दियदि[यं अ]वळधिया वहिमती (1*) एस सावने विवुये[न]
- 11 [दु]वि मपंना-लाति-सति अं मं[चे] बुधस सळीले आलोदे ति ।⁵

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

... .. [देवानां]प्रियः । सातिरेकाणि]

साधिकान् [अर्धतृतीयान् संवत्सरान् यत् [अहं] उपासकः (= बुद्धोपासकः) अस्मि (1*) नो]] च [अहं] बाढं पराक्रान्तः [अभवम्] । एतेन अन्तरेण जम्बुद्वीपे अमिश्रदेवाः मनुष्याः मिश्रदेवाः कृताः । [मम] पराक्रमस्य [हि] इदं फलम् । नो हि इदं महत्त्वेन एव शक्यम् आराधयितुम् । क्षुद्रकेण अपि पराक्रममानेन विपुलः अपि स्वर्गः शक्यः आराधयितुम् । एतस्मै अर्थाय इदं श्रावणम् । क्षुद्रकाः च उदाराः च पराक्रमन्तु । अन्ताः अपि च जानन्तु । चिरस्थितिकः च पराक्रमः भवतु । अयं च अर्थः वर्धिष्यते विपुलम् अपि च वर्धिष्यते द्विकार्धम् अवरधिकात् वर्धिष्यते । एतत् श्रावणं व्युषितेन द्वे षट्पञ्चाशद्वाविंशते (= द्विपञ्चाशद्वाविंशतव्युषितेन मया घोषितं) यत् (= यतः) मञ्चं बुद्धस्य शरीरं (= देहावशेषः) आरूढम् इति (— यदा बुद्धस्य देहावशेषः मञ्चारूढः अभवत् तत्कालतः) ।

¹ The lost aksharas may be restored as °तियाणि संवत्सरानि अं उपासके सुमि (1*) नो.

² The lost aksharas may be restored as संवत्सरे साधिके अं सुमि इदं सच उपेत वाढं.

³ The lost aksharas may be restored as °म जंबुद्वीपसि अमिसंदेवा संत सुमिसा.

⁴ The lost aksharas may be restored as °यं फले (1*) नो ह्ययं मह°.

⁵ The stop is indicated by an oval sign which has joined the right leg of त. This passage, not found in any other version of the edict, says that Aśoka set out on a tour of pilgrimage lasting at least for 256 days after the relics of the Buddha had been installed on the platform [for worship] apparently by himself.

Bk. II, No. 42-A—Mathurā Buddha Image Inscription
of the time of Kanishka I (78-102 A.D.)—Regnal Year 14¹

MATHURĀ, Mathurā District, U. P.

D. R. SAHNI, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp. 96 ff.; H. LÜDERS, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (ed. K. L. Janert), pp. 116 ff. (No. 81).

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Northern Class exhibiting resemblance with characters of the 3rd century A. D.²

TEXT³

- 1 महाराज-देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य स[']वत्सरे १०¹(+*)४ पौष-मास-दिवसे १०
अस्मिन् दिवसे प्रवारिक-ह[स्ति]स्य]
- 2 अर्थ्यं संघिला भगवतो पितमहास्य सम्यसंबुद्धस्य स्वमतस्य⁵ देवस्य पूजार्थं
प्रतिमं प्रतिष्ठा-
- 3 पयति सर्व-दुःख-प्रहानार्थं ॥⁶

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराज-देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे १४ (= चतुर्दशे) पौषमास-दिवसे १० (- दशमे) ।
अस्मिन् दिवसे प्रवारिक'-हस्तिनः भार्यो संघिला भगवतः पितामहस्य⁵ सम्यक्संबुद्धस्य
स्वमत[वि]रुद्धस्य देवस्य पूजार्थं प्रतिमां प्रतिष्ठापयति सर्वदुःखप्रहानार्थम् ॥

¹ Sahni and Lüders both read the first symbol in the date in line 1 as 10. Various other readings have been proposed by scholars who have apparently not examined impressions of the inscription, but depended on the defective facsimile published. My doubts about the reading of the date were removed by the examination of an impression.

² The inscription uses the eastern type of ख, स (looped) and ह as well as the western type of क and म. स found in the present inscription and ख, स and ह of the eastern type are generally found in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. For a similar palaeographical variety, see above, p. 277; cf. note 2 at that page.

³ See facsimile in the work cited.

⁴ There is an unnecessary horizontal stroke below क

⁵ The intended word may be स्वमतविरुद्धस्य (above, p. 295 and note 4).

⁶ The stop is indicated by a slightly carved horizontal stroke.

⁷ *Prāvārika* means a maker of or dealer in *prāvāra* (cloaks for the Buddhist monks).

⁸ The Buddha is called *Pitāmaha* in Lüders' List, No. 910, and in an inscription from Kosam (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 147-48).

**Bk. II, No. 72-A—Devnimorī Stone Casket Inscription
of the time of Rudrasena I—Saka year 127 (= 205 A.D.)**

DEVNIMORĪ, near Sāmājī, Sabarkantha District, Gujarat.

R. N. MEHTA and S. N. CHOWDHARY, *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Baroda, XII, pp. 173 ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Middle Brāhmī.

Metre : Verse 1 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक) ; verses 2-6 चायां.

TEXT¹

(around the body of the casket)

1 नमस्सर्वज्ञाय ॥

ज्ञानानुकम्पा-कारुण्य-प्रभाव-निधये नमः (1*)

सम्यक्संबुद्ध-सूर्याय परवादितमोनुदे ॥ 1

सप्ताविंशत्यधिके² कथिकनृपाणां³ समागते (ऽ*) वृक्षते (1*)

2 भ(भा)द्रपदपंचमदिने नृपतौ श्रीरुद्रसेने च (॥*) 2

कृतमवनिकेतुभूतम्महाविहारश्रये महास्तूपं (पम् ।)

सत्त्वानेकानुग्रह-निरताभ्यां शाक्यभिक्षुभ्यां (भ्याम् ॥) 3

3 साध्वनिवर्म्मनाम्ना सुदर्शनेन च विमुक्तन्ध्रेण (1*)

काम्मान्तिकौ च पाशान्तिकप लौ शाक्यभिक्षुकावत्⁴ (॥*) 4

दशबलशरीरनिलयशुभशैलमयस्त्वयं वराहेण (1*)

(at the bottom of the casket)

4 कुट्टिम-क(कृ)ता कृतो (ऽ*) यं समुद्रकस्सेन-पुत्त्रेण ॥ 5

महासेन-भिक्षुरस्य च कारयिता विश्रुतः समुद्रस्य (1*)

5 सुगतप्रसादकामो वृद्धार्थन्धर्मसङ्घाभ्यां (भ्याम्)⁵ ॥ 6

¹ From the photographs published in *Journ. Or. Inst.*

² The correct form of the word is सप्त°.

³ The reference is to the era of the Kathika kings, the word Kathika meaning 'a preacher of the Buddhist faith'. Apparently the Ku-hāna kings of Kanishka's house, who were celebrated for their patronage of Buddhism and were the overlords of the Saka Mahākshatrapas, are alluded to. The Saka era was the continuation of the regnal reckoning of Kanishka I.

⁴ भिक्षुक = भिक्षु (monk). The two monks Agriverman and Sudāsana built the Mahāstūpa, attached to the Mahāvihāra, at Pāsāntikapāḥḥī (modern Devnimorī). They were also the कामान्तिक or supervisors of the construction.

⁵ The casket was made, for putting the relics of the Buddha under the Stūpa, by Sena's son Varāha, the maker of the kuṭṭina (pavement), on behalf of the monk Mahāsena who wanted prosperity for himself as well as the Dharma and Saṅgha.

Bk. H, No. 88-A—Silver Coin of Vāśiṣṭhī-
putra Śātakarni (c. 159-66 A.D.)¹

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, pp. 247 ff.; cf. DINKAR RAO, *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 9ff.; A. S. ALTEKAR, *ibid.*, pp. 13 ff.

First Side

Bust of the king to right; his frizzled hair tied with a ribbon, crest-jewel (off-ring a side view and looking like a flower to front) above the forehead; legend in two parts above the back of the head and to the front of the bust; the right part beginning from XII and ending at IV reads:

रञ्जी वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य (Sanskrit राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य),

and the left part beginning at VIII and ending at XII reads:

सिरि-सातकर्णिस्य (Sanskrit श्रीशतकर्णैः)

in the normal Prakrit language and the Middle Brāhmī script of the Southern Class.

Second Side

Ujjayinī symbol surmounted by a crescent to the left and six-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent to the right; wavy line below and rayed sun between the two crescents above; continuous circular legend (in Dravidianised Prakrit and modified Middle Brāhmī) around, starting from and ending at XII.

अरद्वयस्य वाहिदि-माकणस्य तिरु-हातकर्णिस्य² (Sanskrit राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीशतकर्णैः).

¹ This ruler was the brother and successor of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puṣṭināvi (c. 130-59 A.D.) and was also called Vāśiṣṭhīputra Vāśrī-Śātakarni on some of his coins. The coin under study belongs to the silver currency of the Śātavāhanas, which was imitated from the coinage of the Śakas of Western India and was meant for circulation in areas previously under the Śakas, e.g., the Nasik-Poonā region and the Konkan. Formerly only coins of this type issued by Vāśrī-Śātakarni were known, though the first word in the legend on their reverse (अरद्वयस्य) could not be satisfactorily read (cf. Rapson's *Catalogue*, pp. xci, 45).

² The palaeography and language of the legend exhibit considerable Dravidian influence अरद्वय = Tamil *aravan*, 'king'; वाहिदि = वासिष्ठी; माकण = Tamil *makan* (also spelt *mākan* in early times); Tamil तिरु = Sanskrit श्री. Note the change of श and स to ह and of स to व. The forms of the letters म, व and ह are different from those in the ordinary Middle Brāhmī of the South.

Bk. II, No. 90-A—Nāgarjunikonḍa Inscription of
Vijaya-Śātakarṇi—Regnal year 6

NĀGĀRJUNIKONḌA, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.

H. SARKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, pp. 273-74.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 3rd century A.D.

TEXT¹

- 1 नमो भगवतो अगपोण्डस (I*)
- 2 रजो गोतमिपुत्तस सिरि-विजय सा-
- 3 तकणिस सव ई गि-प ४ दिव वेसा-
- 4 ख-पुनिम² (II*)

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः भगवते अग्रपुण्डलाय (= अग्रपुरुषाय बुद्धाय) । राज्ञः गौतमीपुत्रस्य श्रीविजय-
शातकर्णेः संवत्सरे ६ (= पक्षे) ग्री[ष्म]-प[क्षे] ४ (= चतुर्थे) दिव[से] वैशाख-पूर्णिमायां
[कारितम् इदम्] ॥

1 From official notices. The importance of the inscription lies in the facts that it is the only epigraph of king Vijaya-Śātakarṇi so far discovered and that, according to its evidence, the Buddhist establishment at Nāgarjunikonḍa owed its origin to the later Śātavāhanas and not to the Ikshvākus as is usually believed. The city of Vijayapurī in the Nāgarjunikonḍa valley was probably built in the year Vijaya corresponding to 213-14 and named after Vijaya-Śātakarṇi who was possibly the reigning monarch at the time.

2 The date shows that the summer season began on Caitra-badi 1 and that the months were *pūrṇimānta* as in North India. The mention of the month is interesting.

Bk. II, No. 102-A—Nāgarjunikonda Pillar Inscription

of the time of Virapurushadatta—

Year Vijaya (273-74 A.D.)

NĀGARJUNIKONDA, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.

J. PH. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 63-64; D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.*, XXXV, pp. 1 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Middle Brāhmi of the Southern Class.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिधं (॥*) महाराजस असमेधयाजिस अनेकहिरणकोटि[पदा]यिस
- 2 सिरि-चंतमूलस पुतस रंजो माढरिपुतस इत्ताकुन सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस
- 3 वस-सताय² सवच्छ['] विजय[']³ वास-पखं प्रथमं १ दिवस बितियं सग-गतस
- 4 रंजो अगिहोतागिठोम-वाजपेयसमेध-याजिस हिरणकोटि-गोसतसहस-
- 5 हलसतसहस-पदायिस सवथेमु अ[प]तिहत-संकपस वासिठि-पुतस
- 6 इत्ताकुस सामि-सिरि-चंतमूलस सह(हो)दराहि मताहि म[ह]देविहि अनतसिरिय⁴
- 7 खंदसिरिय विद्धवोधिंसिरिय⁵ मितसिरिय⁶ समुसिरिय⁷ नागवसुसिरिय
- 8 मंगुसिरिय⁸ खंदकोटिसिरिय महिसरसिरिय कोन्दमतिसिरिय⁹ मुलमिरिय
- 9 अयकोटुसिरिय मडुविसिरिय¹⁰ नागसिरिय काममिरिय¹¹ गोळमिरिय

¹ See the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV² Vogel: वससनय.³ Vogel: विंसयं = Sanskrit विंशकम् (twentieth) Vijaya is the name of a year of Jupiter's sixty-year cycle In the second half of the third century A. D., when Virapurushadatta flourished, the year Vijaya corresponded to 373-74 A.D. Cyclic years became very popular in South India in later days Cf. above, p. 521, note 1⁴ Vogel: सुनीतिसिरिय (?).⁵ Vogel: विभटविसिरिय.⁶ Vogel: मिससिरिय.⁷ Possibly समुदमिरिय was intended⁸ Vogel: नागसिरिय.⁹ Vogel: रोटुमतिसिरिय.¹⁰ There seems to be a punctuation mark after this, probably suggesting that the ladies mentioned before this were the *sahodarās* of Śāntamūla I.¹¹ The reading may also be रामसिरिय.

- 10 खलिसिरिय¹ बोधिसिरिय² खदसिरिय सतिलसिरिय³ पेरजतिसिरिय⁴
 11 पण्डितसिरिय सिवनागसिरिय समुदसिरिय⁵ बापिसिरिय नदिसिरिय
 12 अयसिरिय कन्हसिरिय⁶ सिवनागसिरिय अभतरिकाहि⁷ च
 13 सरसिकाय [कु]सुमलताय च छाया⁸-थभो ।

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य अश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-प्रदायिनः श्रीशान्तमूलस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः माठरीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य वर्षशताय (=वर्षशतायुष्कामनया) संवत्सरे विजये वर्षापक्षे प्रथमे १ दिवसे द्वितीये (=श्रावणकृष्णद्वितीयायां) स्वर्गगतस्य राज्ञः अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमवाजपेयाश्वमेधयाजिनः हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य ऐक्ष्वाकवस्य स्वामिश्री-शान्तमूलस्य सहोदराभिः मातृभिः (=माता विमातृभिः च) महादेवीभिः (=पत्नीभिः) अनन्तश्रिया स्कन्दश्रिया विन्ध्यबोधि-श्रिया मित्रश्रिया समुद्रश्रिया नागवसुश्रिया मङ्गुश्रिया स्कन्दकोटिश्रिया महीसारश्रिया कुन्दमतिश्रिया मूलश्रिया आर्यकोटिश्रिया मृद्वीश्रिया—नागश्रिया कामश्रिया गोलश्रिया खलिश्रिया बोधिश्रिया स्कन्दश्रिया सतिलश्रिया पेरुजातीश्रिया पण्डितश्रिया शिवनागश्रिया समुद्रश्रिया—बप्पीश्रिया नदीश्रिया आर्यश्रिया कृष्णश्रिया शिवनागश्रिया आभ्यन्तरिकाभ्यां (=अन्तःपुररक्षिणीभ्यां) च सरसिकाया कुसुमलताया च छायास्तम्भः (=स्वर्गगतराज्ञः मूर्तिसनाथः स्मृतिस्तम्भः) [समुत्थापितः] ॥

1 Vogel : वेलिसिरिय.

2 Vogel : एधिसिरिय.

3 Vogel : सतिलिसिरिय.

4 Vogel : पर°.

5 There seems to be a punctuation mark here probably suggesting that the preceding names are of ladies who were the mother and step-mothers of Śāntamūla I.

6 Vogel : रतुसिरिय.

7 Vogel : सुभतरिकाहि which is meaningless.

8 Vogel : इयं The word *ekhāyā-stambha* (memorial pillar bearing the representation of the person in whose memory it is raised) occurs in many of the pillar inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunikonda. See *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 25.

Bk. II, No. 104-A—Nāgarjunikonda Pillar Inscription
of the time of Rudrapurushadatta—Regnal year 11

Nāgarjunikonda, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.

D. C. Sircar and K. G. Krishnan, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 20 ff.

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the middle of the 4th century A. D.

TEXT¹

- 1 महाराजस अश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-गोस-
- 2 तसहस-हलसतसहस-प्रदायिनः स्वामि-सिरि-चंतमूलस
- 3 प्रसुन्हाय महाराजस स्वामि-सिरि-वीरपुरि[सदतस]
- 4 सुन्हाय महाराजस [स्वामि]-सिरि-एहवलचंतमूलस
- 5 पत्तीय रजो वासिठीपुतस इखाकूनं सिरि-रुद-
- 6 पुरिसदतस मातृ² महादेवीय महाखतप-धूतय बह-
- 7 फल-सगोताय³ सिरि-वंमभटाय संवत्सर एकारं १० (+ ॐ) १
- 8 वासापखं पथमं १ दिवसं अठमं ८ सम-गताय छाय-
- 9 खंभो⁴ ॥

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य अश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस-हलशतसहस-प्रदायिनः
स्वामिश्री-शान्तमूलस्य प्रसुपायाः महाराजस्य स्वामिश्री-वीरपुरुषदत्तस्य स्नुपायाः महाराजस्य

¹ See the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV.

² Since the paternal *gotra* of the mother of Vāsishṭhīputra Rudrapurushadatta was Vāsishṭha, Varmabhaṭā whose paternal *gotra* was Bṛihatphala, was apparently the king's step-mother.

³ Varmabhaṭā, queen of Bhavala Śāntamūla, was the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa who was apparently a Śaka king of Ujjayini. It is to be noted that Bhavala's father Virapurushadatta also married a princess of the same house (cf. Bk. II, No. 99). Another interesting fact is that the Śakas of Western India, after their Hinduisation, claimed to belong to the Bṛihatphala or Bṛihatphalāyana *gotra*.

⁴ Varmabhaṭā's representation on her memorial pillar shows her in the *udichya-veśa* i.e., the dress of the foreign settlers of Uttarāpātha.

स्वामिश्री-एहवलशान्तमूलस्य पत्न्याः राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीरुद्रपुरुषदत्तस्य मातुः
(= विमातुः) महादेव्याः महाक्षत्रप-दुहितुः बृहत्फलसगोत्रायाः श्रीवर्मभट्टायाः [रुद्रपुरुषदत्तराज्ये]
संवत्सरे एकादशे—११—वर्षापक्षे प्रथमे—१—दिवसे अष्टमे—८ (= श्रावणकृष्णाष्टम्यां)
स्वर्गतायाः छायास्तम्भः [उत्थापितः] ॥

Bk. II, No. 104-B—Nāgarjunikonda Stone Inscription of Abhira Vasushena — Year 30 (= 278 A.D.)

Nāgarjunikonda, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.

D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 197 ff.

Language : Admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit.

S c r i p t : Middle Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

TEXT¹

मीढ्वं ॥²

- 1 नमो भगवतो देवपरमदेवस्य पुराणपुरुषस्य नारायणस्य³ (1*) रज्ञो वासेष्ठीपुत्रस्य
आभीरस्य वसुपेणस्य संवत्सर [३०]⁴ वा-पा [३]
- 2 [दि]वस १ महाग्रामिकेन⁵ महातलवरेण महादण्डनायक(के)न कौशिकसगोत्रेन
पेरिविडेहाणां शिवसेवेन संजयपुरीण⁶-यो(न*)राजि(ज)भि
- 3 आव[न्त]केन शकेन रुद्रदामेन वानवासकेन च विष्णुरुद्रशिवलानन्द-[सात]-
कर्णिना [स्था]ना(न)तो(ऽ*)पि न चालितो एष भगवां रु'वरभवो आष्ट'(अष्ट)-
(भु*)जस्वामि⁷

¹ See facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV.

² This is in the left margin

³ The passage shows that Nārāyaṇa was already identified with the god Viṣṇu.

⁴ The year seems to be referable to the era of 248 A.D., which is believed to be an Abhira institution. It appears that Vasushena occupied the Ikshvāku capital which remained in his possession for some years between the death of Virapurushadatta and the accession of Bhavala.

⁵ Mahāgrāma was a Pargana or group of villages.

⁶ Sañjayapurī may be identified with modern Sanjan in the Thana District of Maharashtra, where certain Yavana or Greek princes appear to have been ruling.

⁷ Aṣṭabhujaśvāmin (a form of Viṣṇu) is known from a conch-shell inscription found at the same place as the present record. रु'वरभव = possibly उदुवरभव.

- 1 [सेड]गिरिय¹ स्थापितो ।(*) पर्वतस्य च प्राकारो चितापितो ।(*) वापि च महा[न]दा सोधिता ।(*) तडागानि च २[सेड]गिरियं मुडैराय च खानितानि ।(*) तलवनानि च
- 5 रोपितानि ।(*) यो च ब्राह्मणार्थं मित्रार्थं च प्राण(म*)पि न परि(त्य*)क्षति गुणतश्च सर्वोत्तिथि [सर्व-सख] कृतज्ञ[ः]
 सत्यव्रत जलुगणावमर्द्रि² ।(*)
 रुजु[र्वट]-न्यासन-प्रेम-नि-
- 6 [ष्टो]
 यो [धाम्]मिक साधु-जनाभिनंदि ।।(*)
 [उल्लेख]श्चास्य³ सैवक-वर्धमान[को] ।(*) भरद्वाज-सगोत्रेण अमात्येन तिव्यसर्मेण भगवच्छक्त्याः कृतं ।(*) स्वस्ति गोव्रातेभ्यः ।³

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवपरमदेवाय पुराणपुरुषाय नारायणाय । राज्ञः वासिष्ठोपुत्रस्य आभीरस्य वसुपेणस्य संवत्सरे ३० (=विंशे) व[र्षा]-प[क्षे] ३ (=तृतीये) दिवसे १ (=प्रथमे) (=भाद्रपदकृष्णप्रतिपदि) महाग्रामिकेण (=महाग्राम-शासकेन, राज्यांश^१) महातलवरेण महादण्डनायकेन कौशिकसगोत्रेण पेरिविडेहानां (=पेरिविडेहाख्यकुलजेन) शिवशेपेन सञ्जयपुरीणयवनराजैः आवन्तकेन (=अवन्तिदेशवास्तव्येन ; यद्वा—उज्जयिनीनगरी-वास्तव्येन) रुद्रदाम्ना वानवासकेन (=वनवास-वास्तव्येन) च विष्णुरुद्रशिवलानन्द-शातकर्णिना स्थानतः अपि न चालितः एष भगवान् उदुम्बरभवः (=उदुम्बरकाष्ठनिर्मितः) अष्टभुजस्वामी शेटगिरौ स्थापितः । पर्वतस्य च प्राकारः चिलितः । वापी च महानन्दा सोधिता । तडागे च २ (=तडागद्वयं च) [तैः] शेटगिरौ मुडैरायां च खानिते । तालवनानि च रोपितानि । यः च ब्राह्मणार्थं मित्रार्थं च प्राणम् अपि न परित्यक्ष्यति (=विगणयति) गुणतः च—

सर्वोत्तिथिः सर्वसखः कृतज्ञः

सत्यव्रतः शलुगणावमर्द्रो ।

ऋजुर्वटन्यासनप्रेमनिष्ठो

यो धार्मिकः साधुजनाभिनन्दी ॥

उल्लेखकः च अस्य [स एव] सैवक-वर्धमानकः (सैवककुलज^२) । भारद्वाजसगोत्रेण अमात्येन तिव्यशर्मणा भगवच्छक्त्या कृतं (=रचितः श्लोकः) । स्वस्ति गोव्रातेभ्यः ॥

¹ Sēḍagiri mentioned twice in the line is apparently the present Siddhaldhārī hill bordering the Nāgārjūnikoṇḍī valley. It is mentioned in Bk. II, No. 86, text line 3.

² Sanskrit उल्लेखक which is probably used in the sense of 'the engraver'.

³ This peculiar *maṅga'a* meaning 'Let there be good to the hinds of cows' become a catchword only after Vasudeva's time, and Vasudeva was an Ābhīra, i.e. a member of the cowherd clan.

APPENDIX

1. Shar-i-kuna (Kandahar) Greek-Aramaic Minor Rock Edict of Asoka

This important record, definitely proving the inclusion of wide areas of Afghanistan in Asoka's empire, has been published by U. Scerrato and others in *Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Asoka* Rome, 1958, and by D. Schlumberger and others in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, pp. 1 ff. See also *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIII, pp. 333ff. ; XXXIV, p. 1ff.

The Greek and Aramaic versions of the edict, apparently meant for Asoka's Yavana and Kāamboja subjects respectively, may be rendered into Prakrit (as used in the Shālbāzgarhī and Mānsehra edicts) as follows :

GREEK VERSION PRAKRITIZED

दशवषभिषितेन रज प्रियद्रशिन् जनस्मि धम्मनुशस्ति प्रवटित । तत्त च तु तेन मुनिश
बढतरं धम्मयुत्त कट् प्रण च वडित हितसुखेन सव्वपुठवियं । रज च प्रणरंभो परित्तित्त सव्वेहि
च मनुशेहि लुडकेहि च सव्वेहि केवटेहि च रजो परित्तित्त त्रिहिंस भुत्तनं । येपं च नसि
संयमो ते पि च संयत्त भुत्त यत्त तेन तेन शक्कं । ते पि च मत्त-पित्तुप्प वुट्ठेषु च सुश्रुपंति यद्विशं
नो भुत्तपूर्वं । एवं च करमिन् ते पच्च हितसुखेन वडिंशंति वडं च वडिंशंति ॥

(Sanskrit *Chhāyā*—दशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना जने धर्मानुशस्तिः प्रवर्तिता ।
ततः च तु तेन मनुष्याः बाढतरं धर्मयुताः कृताः प्राणाः च वर्धिताः हितसुखेन सर्ववृथिव्याम् ।
राज्ञा च तु प्राणालम्भः परित्यक्तः सर्वैः च मनुष्यैः लुब्धकैः च सर्वैः केवर्तैः च राज्ञः परित्यक्ता
त्रिहिंसा भूतानाम् । येषां च तु न आसीत् संयमः ते अपि च संयताः भूताः यथा तेन तेन
शक्यम् । ते अपि च माता-पितृषु वृद्धेषु च सश्रूषन्ति यादृशं नो भूतपूर्वम् । एवं च कुर्वाणाः
ते पश्चात् हितसुखेन वर्धिष्यन्ते बाढं च वर्धिष्यन्ते ॥)

ARAMAIC VERSION PRAKRITIZED

दशवषभिषितेन रज प्रियद्रशिन् स्मिक्केन नो तद् धम्मनुशस्ति प्रवटित । तत्त अपयस
हिन्नि जत्त सर्वस्मि च जनस्मि तेन दुप्पट्ठिभग निवटित । अस्ति पि संति च मिन्नि च
सव्वपुठवियं । एत्त च पि भुत्तं । सुपठय च रजो नो स्मिक्कस लहुक्कं अरभियत्ति । तत्त च
इशन् सव्व-मनुश न अरंजंति । एवं ये च केवट ते पि च नियमेन संयत्त । एवं पि येपं च
नसि संयमो ते पि च संयत्त भुत्त । सव्वे च मत्तपित्तुप्प सुश्रुपंति वुट्ठेषु च सुश्रुपंति यद्विशं

तस तस कटवं आरोपितं । धर्मयुतनं च खो परत्न नस्ति विचरण । सत्रे च मनुष
धर्मचरणेन अभुनत च अभुनमिषति चेव ॥

(Sanskrit *Chhāyā*—दशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना स्वामिकेन नः तदा
धर्मानुशस्तिः प्रवर्तिता । ततः अपायस्य हानिः जाता सर्वस्मिन् च जने तेन दुष्प्रतिभागाः
निवर्तिताः । अस्ति अपि शान्तिः च प्रीतिः च सर्ववृथिव्याम् । एतत् च अपि भूतम् ।
सूपार्थाय च राज्ञः नः स्वामिकस्य लघुकम् आलभ्यते । तस्य च दर्शनात् सर्वे मनुष्याः
न आलभन्ते । एवम् अपि ये च कैवर्ताः ते अपि च नियमेन संयताः । एवम् अपि येषां च
न आसीत् संयमः ते अपि च संयताः भूताः । सर्वे च मातापितृषु शुश्रूषन्ति वृद्धेषु च
शुश्रूषन्ति यादृशं तस्य तस्य कर्तव्यम् आरोपितम् । धर्मयुतानां च तु खलु परत्न न अस्ति
विचारणा । सर्वे च मनुष्याः धर्मचरणेन अभ्युन्नताः च अभ्युन्नमिष्यन्ति च एव ॥)

In connection with the edicts of Aśoka, reference may be made to the Sālihūṇḍām (Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh) stone slab inscription reading धर्मगञ्जो अमो कसिरने (= धर्मगजस्य अमो कसिरने) in Brāhmī characters of about the second century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 85-86). The reference seems to be to a Buddhist structure believed to have been originally built by the Maurya emperor Aśoka who flourished in the third century B.C.

That Aśoka's was an inspiring name in later ages is indicated by the Ban Map Makham inscription (dated Saka 1089=1167 A.D.) of Mahārāja Aśoka or Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Dharmāśoka, identified with king Āḍityarāja of Haripuñjaya (modern Lamphun and Chiang Mai in Northern Siam). See *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, No. 2, pp. 136 ff. Note also Dharmāśoka mentioned in Kumāradevi's Sarnath inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 319 ff.).

2. Some Inscriptions of the Kushāṇa Age

The most important of the recently discovered inscriptions of the Kushāṇas is the one found at Surkh-Kotal near Baghlān on the Kunduz river in Northern Afghanistan (ancient Bactria). Written in the Tokhārian (Bactrian) language and Greek characters, it refers to Kanishka (I) in relation to a shrine called 'the Kanishka-Nikator sanctuary' and is dated in the year 31 of the Kanishka reckoning or Saka era, which would correspond to 109 A.D. The inscription was published by André Marieq in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, pp. 345-446 (with Plates), and commented on by W. B. Henning in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXIII, 1960, pp. 47 ff.

A Sanchi inscription of the year 22 of apparently the Kanishka era speaks of a *Rājan* probably named Vaskushāṇa (Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, I, pp. 278, 386, No. 829) who may be the same as Vāsishka or a local ruler under Kanishka I, while a Mat (Mathurā) inscription mentions a *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra* whose name may have been Vamataksha (A.S.I.A.R., 1911-12, p. 124 ; *Ind. Cult.*, VIII, pp. 191 ff.). Vamataksha was a *Kushāṇaputra* (scion of the Kushāṇa clan; cf. *Sibiputta* and *Bhojaputta*, above, p. 17, note 2) and probably one of the successors of Vāsudeva I.

A Buddha-pāda slab of the first century A.D. from Kosam speaks of the celebrated Ghoshitārāma which is known to have been situated at Kauśāmbī, the location of the ancient city at Kosam thus being settled beyond dispute (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 14 ff.). The inscription reminds us of another inscribed Buddha-pāda slab from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, which belongs to the third century A.D. (*ibid.*, XXXIII, pp. 247 ff.).

Two other inscriptions belonging to the age of the Kushāṇas were published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXI, pp. 229 ff., and XXXII, pp. 82 ff. The first of these is the Kailvan (Patna District, Bihar) stone bowl inscription of the time of king Ārya-Viśākhamitra, dated in the year 108 apparently referable to the Kanishka era and corresponding to 186 A.D. The inscription points to the expansion of the use of the Kanishka reckoning to Bihar. Its language and palaeography suggest that the era in question started in the first century A.D. rather than later. The word *Ārya* prefixed to the king's name reminds us of a similar epithet of Khāravela and other rulers.

The second epigraph is the Velpuru (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) inscription of the time of *Mahārāja* Hāritiputra Mānasada called *Aira* (*Ārya*) and *Gālaveya* (i.e. belonging to the Gālava-gotra). The inscription has been assigned to the first half of the second century A.D.

3. Two Vaishnava Inscriptions

There is an inscription in one line on the flat shaft of the *gadā* (mace) held by a four-armed standing male figure of stone at Burhikhār near Malhār in the Bilāspur District, Madhya Pradesh. The figure, known locally as Chaturbhuṣi Bhagavān, holds the *cakra* (discus) in the upper left hand and the top of the *gadā* by the upper right, while the palms of the lower two hands are folded in the *añjali* pose. He wears *kuṇḍalas* in the ears and the conical crown, called *karāṇḍa-mukuta*, usually found on the heads of subordinate deities. The image has characteristics of the god Viṣṇu; but the *añjali* pose clearly suggests that it is not Viṣṇu but

a *parivāra-devatā* or attendant of the god. The line of writing, in Brāhmī characters of about the close of the first century B.C., begins in the upper part of the *gadā* and comes downwards.

The inscription reads—पराव[ति]य [द]न भारद्वयि^१कारित ति (Sanskrit प्रजावत्याः दानं भारद्वय्या कारितम् इति)। The image was the gift of Prajāvati, but was caused to be made by Bhāradvājī. Its importance lies in the fact that it points to the existence of a Vishṇu temple at Burhikhār before the beginning of the Christian era. The inscription was published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Culture and Heritage Number, 1956, pp. 221-24 and Plate; cf. also *Proc. I.H.C.*, Waltair Session, 1953, pp. 39-41.

The other Vaishṇava epigraph is the Umāchal rock (on the Kāmākhyā hill near Gauhati, Assam) inscription of the time of *Mahārājādhīrāja* Surendravarman, probably identical with the Bhauma-Nāraka monarch Mahendravarman (c. 470-95 A.D.) of Prāgyotisha. It records the construction of a *guhā* or cave-temple for the god Balabhadrasvāmin (*i.e.* Balarāma). The importance of the inscription, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXI, pp. 67 ff., is that it points to the prevalence of the independent worship of Balarāma as late as the close of the fifth century A.D.

4. Jayrampur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Gopachandra—Regnal Year 1

This inscription was discovered at Jayrampur under the Bhogarai Police Station of the Balasore District, Orissa. It has been published with facsimile by Mr. S. N. Rajaguru in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, XI (1963), No. 4, pp. 203 ff. Unfortunately the published transcript and illustration of the epigraph are both useless, the former being full of palpable misreadings and wrong emendations. The essential parts of the record pointing to the inclusion of Daṇḍabhukti in Gopachandra's empire appear to read as follows in a slightly emended form.

स्वस्ति । चतुर्दशसल्लिपीमान्तायाम् ..पृथिव्यां चतुःसमुद्रातिक्रान्तयशसाम^१...
...च्छ्रीमतो धनचन्द्रात् ...श्रीगिरिदेव्या वर्गाश्रमव्यवस्थाहेतु साक्षाद्धर्म इवोपात्तजन्मा^२ ..
रारोपिताधिराज्यः^२...धोपगताशेषराजमण्डलः^२ परममाश्चरो^२ महाराजाधिराजश्रीगोपचन्द्रे

¹ The genitive plural seems to refer to the members of a dynasty

² If these words refer to Gopachandra, they should properly be in locative singular. Otherwise either they would refer to Vijayavarman or गोपचन्द्रे should be गोपचन्द्र .

राज्यं प्रशासति प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे प्रथमे फाल्गुनमासे विंशतितमे दिवसे श्वेत-
 बालिकावीथिसमुपागतान्वर्त्तमानभविष्यत्कालीयान्कात्तकृतिकौपरिकुमारामात्यराजानकविजय-
 वर्मा विषयपति-तदायुक्तकानन्यांश्च राजपादप्रसादोपजीविनो यथार्हं मानयित्वा शिरोभिश्च
 प्रगम्यास्मदधिवास-विंशत्यग्रहार-ताम्रपट्ट-पटशासन-हिरण्यलाभ-सामुदयिक-ग्रामवाटकेभ्यो महा-
 महत्तर-प्रधान-अधिकरगञ्ज विज्ञापयन्ति¹ । अस्तु वस्संविदितम् । प्रार्थिता वयं
 श्रीमहासामन्तमहाराजाच्युतेन युष्मद्वीथ्यां साधुभिरनेकैराचन्द्रार्ककालीन-ताम्रपट्ट-पटशासन-
 स्थित्या सता मूल्येन ग्रामश्वेतवास्तुनि युष्मत् क्रीत्वा देवद्विजमठविहारावसथेभ्योतिसृष्टान्यति-
 सृज्यमानानि वीथ्यैव सम्यक्प्रतिपात्यमानानीति समीक्ष्य...ममापि धर्मनिमित्तमुत्साहो जातः ।
 सोहमिच्छे रत्नचैत्योद्भव ख्यापिताशेषलिभुवनप्रतापमाहात्म्यातिशयभगवदार्यावलोकितेश्वराद्व्या-
 सित-श्रीबोधिपद्रक-महाग्रहारे विहारकरणाय तस्मिंश्च बल्लिचरुगन्धपुष्पप्रदीपादिक्रिया-
 प्रवर्त्तनायार्थसङ्गस्य च यथाकालं हविष्यपिण्डपातशयनासनग्लानप्रत्ययभैषज्य-परिष्काराया-
 तिस्रष्टम् । तदर्थं श्वेतबालिका-ग्रामं क्रयेण दातुं ताम्रशासनीकृत्येति । यतोस्माभिर्युक्तमयं
 प्रार्थयति स च ग्रामः समुद्रोपसर्पितप्रत्यन्त...परमभट्टारकस्यापि धर्मषड्भागोपचयो... पुस्तपाल-
 भोगिभटावधारणया अवष्टृत्य दण्डमुक्त्यधिकृत-श्वेतबालिकावीथिव्यवहारि...श्वेतबालिका-
 ग्रामस्सकलसमुद्रयः क्रयेण विषयाधिकरण-महामहत्तर-गृहस्वाम्यादिभिः यत्...महत्तरधर्मस्वामि-
 महत्तरदेवस्वामि-महत्तरेन्दुस्वामि...क्रीत्वा मातापितोरात्मनश्च सर्वसत्त्वानाञ्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये...
 महायानिकेभ्यो भिक्षुसङ्घाय प्रतिपादितः । यत् सर्वदायवर्जितः प्रतिवर्षञ्चाख्यपिण्डकं
 चूर्णिर्गकाशतर्क² देयमुपनिबद्ध्य श्रीमहासामन्ताच्युतस्य दत्तः । अस्य च ग्रामस्य सीमालिङ्गानि
 ...एतच्च शासनं तापितं पुस्तपालभोगभट्टेन लिखितं कायस्थमानदत्तेनेति । संवत्सरे
 १ फाल्गुन-दि २० । ...चिल्लुकेन ।

¹ If the subject is विजयवर्मा, it should be विज्ञापयति.

² The annual tax fixed at 100 *chūrnikās* (*purāṇas*) is called *ārya-piṇḍaka* (lump sum payable by the Buddhist establishment or by Achyuta on its behalf).

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Addenda et Corrigenda

N.B.—The readers may not find great difficulty in rectifying minor misprints and inaccuracies. From the beginning up to p. 208, wherever the name 'Bombay State' occurs, it should now be either 'Maharashtra' or 'Gujarat'.

Page 17, foot-note 2.—

Add—The Erragudi version has *Satika-puto* for *Satiyaputo* or *Sātiyaputo*. The name Satika = Satiya = Sātiya has been regarded as the same as Sadaka (Sātaka = Sātika = Sāntika) of *Sadakana Kalalāya-Mahārathi* of the coins from the Chitaldrug District, Mysore (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXV, p. 73, note).

„ 22, text line 4.—

Add note—Pāli *pettanika* means 'one who enjoys fortune or power inherited from his father,' so that *Raṭhika-petenika* and *Bhoja-petenika* of Aśoka records may be the Raṭhika and Bhoja peoples described as 'hereditary' and distinguished from the ordinary *Raṭhika* (*Rāshṭrika*, the governor of a *rāshṭra* or Pargana) and *Bhoja* (*Bhojaka*, usually a *Jā'girdār*). The official designation *Raṭhika* occurs in the Erragudi MRE and the Raṭhika and Bhojaka peoples in the Hathigumpha inscription. Cf. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 3rd ed., p. 30.

„ 41, text lines 13-14.—

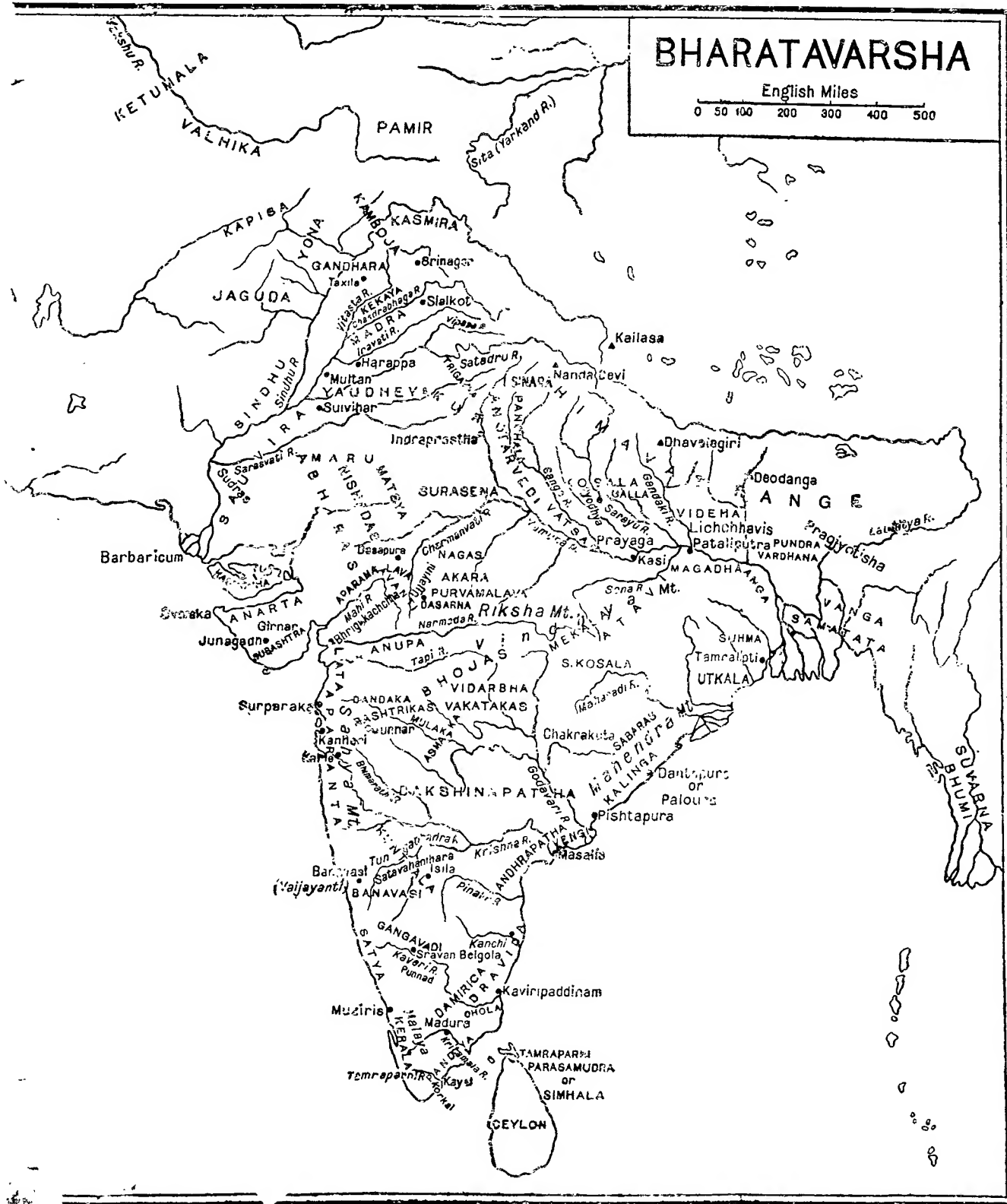
Add note—Ludwig Alsdorf understands the sentence as *evam = eva yaḥ paśyēt yushmākam, tena vaktavyaḥ any-ānyaḥ* —'paśyata, evam cha evam cha Devānāmpriyasya anuśastiḥ' (*Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Litteratur—Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, 1962, No. 1, p. 237).

- Page 43, line 11.— Read—*yushmabhyah*
 „ 50, note 1.— Add—*Vyūṭha* = *vyūṭha* = *viūṭha* stands for Sanskrit *vyushita* and not for *vyuṣṭa* (see p. 516, note 2).
 „ 63, note 3.— Add—As shown by K. L. Janert, the correct reading of the word is *nisidiyā* = Sanskrit *nishadyā*, for which see p. 218, text line 15. For Janert's paper, see *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Goettingen*; I—*Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, 1959, No. 4, pp. 47ff.
 „ 65, line 15.— For—*niḥślishtakāḥ* (= *sopānāni*), read—*nishadyāḥ* (= *upāśrayāḥ*)
 „ 67, foot-note 1.— Add—See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 436 ff.
 „ 81, line 6.— Read—*Z.D.M.G.*
 „ 82, foot-note 5, line 4.— Read—*madhu*
 „ 107, foot-note 3.— Add—Since, in the joint representation of Agathokleia and Strato, the former is shown to the left of the latter, it is now suggested that Agathokleia was the queen of Strato.
 „ 136, line 9.— Omit—*C.*
 „ 144, text line 2.— Read—*Kaṇishkasya*
 „ 145, text line 2.— Read—*trepitakasya*
 „ 146, foot-note 4, line 2.— Read—*vahārisya*
 „ 147, line 2. Omit—*C.*
 „ 150, foot-note 3, line 2.— Read—*Rājatar.*
 „ 160, foot-note 5, line 2.— Read—(Skanda-Kumāra)
 „ 170, foot-note 2.— Add—Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihatsamhitā*, XV.1, explains *charaka* as *chakradhara* probably meaning the bearers of the Vaishṇava emblem of the discus.
 „ 173, line 11.— Read—*Rudradāman I*
 „ 178, foot-note 4, line 3.— Read—Dist.) according to the *Raghuvamśa*, VI. 43 ; cf. verse 37.

- Page 217, foot-note 6.— *Add*—Allan thinks that the reading is doubtful and that no Magadhan king named Brihaspatimitra is mentioned in the inscription. See his *Catalogue of Coins* (Ancient India), p. xcvi.
- „ 229, foot-note 9, line 3— *Read*—*Āṅguttara*.
- „ 245, line 9.— *Read*—BRS
- „ 251, line 12.— *Read*—*Namilgayayā*
- „ 262, line 19.— *Add*—For some recent suggestions on the reading and interpretation of a few passages, cf. B. Ch. Chhabra in *Ind. Cult.*, XIV, pp. 141-50; V. Raghavan in *Journ. Or. Res.*, XVI, pp. 159-62; S. V. Sohoni in *A.B.O.R.I.*, XXXIX, pp. 34-36.
- „ 265, foot-note 2, line 14—*Read*—*Āryāvarta*
- „ 266, foot-note line 1.— *Read*—*Yamunā-Kolang*.
- „ 267, foot-note 6.— *Add*—Even if the identification is accepted, it scarcely proves that Śrīgupta, founder of *Stūpa* in Varendrī, had his home in North Bengal as is sometimes supposed (cf. *Hist. Beng.*, I, pp. 69-70) because his kingdom may have included the neighbouring tracts to which his family, may have belonged.
- „ 282, line 5.— *Read*—409-10 A.D. + x.
- „ 283, line 4.— *Read*—No. 1543
- „ 295, foot-note 7.— *Add*—See No. 26-A (pp. 317-18).
- „ 328, foot-note 1, line 2.—*Read*—since Bhadra
- „ 329, foot-note 1.— The sentence “Nalanda seals”, etc., should be transferred to foot-note 7.
- „ 346, foot-note 5.— *Add*—A Nāgārjunikoṇḍa sculpture representing the performance of penances by a *tapasvinī* has been wrongly interpreted as a *Satī* burning herself (*Or. Hist. Res. Journ.* XI, pp. 201 ff.).






































- Page 368, text line 14.— Read—*kulyavāpena*
 „ 378, line 3.— For—No. 48, read—No. 47
 „ 384, line 3.— For—Stone, read—Rock
 „ 386, foot-note 1, line 4.—Read *śāśvatāḥ*
 „ 387, line 10.— Read—*khedaṁ*
 „ 388, foot-note 1.— Add—See *J.I.H.*, XLII, i, pp. 127 ff.
 „ 426, line 17.— Read—Bhamodṛā
 „ 430, foot-note 1.— Add—See No. 63A (p. 456).
 „ 456, line 12.— Read— B—The Pallavas
 „ „ line 13.— Read—63-B
 „ „ foot-note 4, line 5.—For—*ibid.*, read *Suc. Sāt.*
 „ 490, line 4.— For—J, read—I
 „ „ line 5.— Read—Prithivivigraha
 „ 502, line 3.— Read—Pūrṇavarman
 „ 507, line 1.— Read—Stele
 „ 515, foot-note 1.— Add—For a fragmentary pillar inscription
 of Aśoka from Amarāvati, see *Ep. Ind.*
 Vol. XXXV, pp. 40 ff.





Specimens of Conform Winged (Bk. I, No. 15) — A

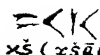

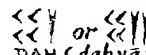

B



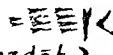

  
    
   [ (once Art II Sus. d)] 
       
     
      (*B III 79 bis. S. L. 5. I 51*)
   

WORD-DIVIDER






IDEOGRAMS

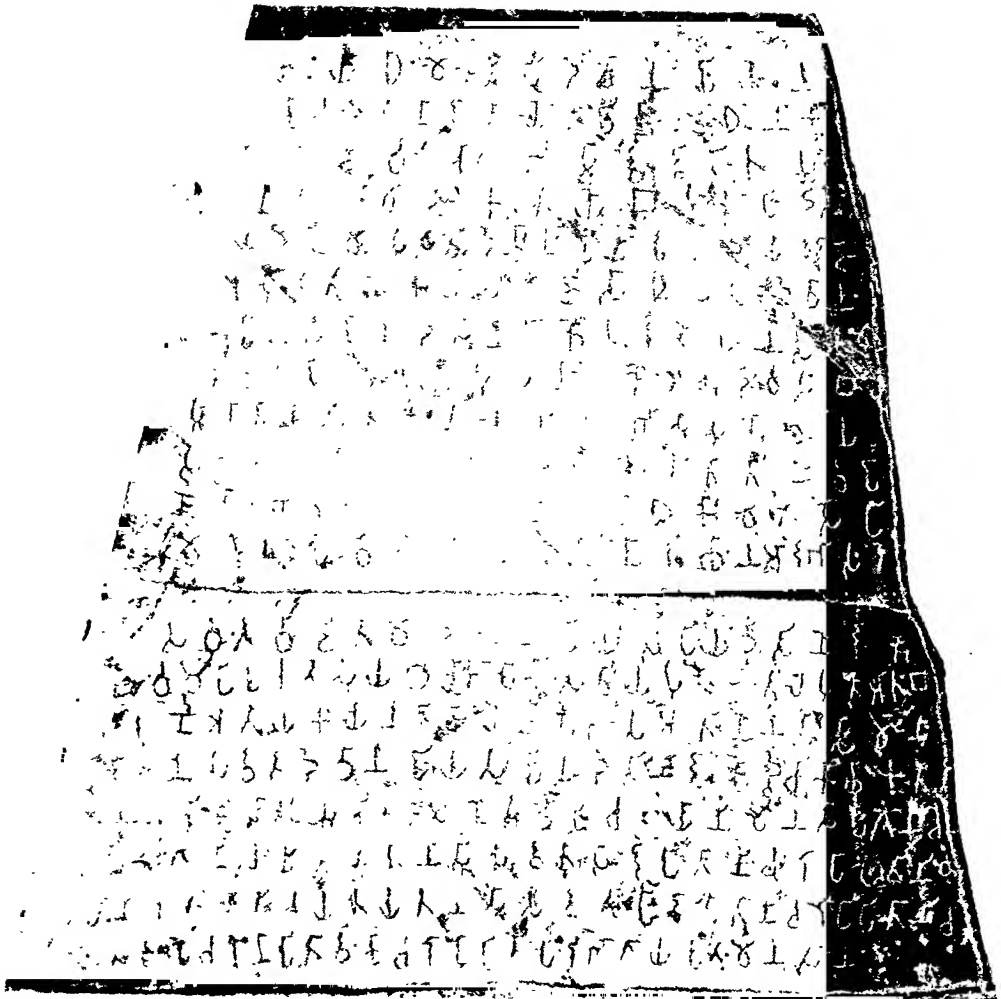
   or 
xš (xšāyaθiya-) BU (būrī-) DAH (dahyāu-) BG (baga-)

 or  or  or 
AM (a(h)uramazdāh-)

NUMERALS

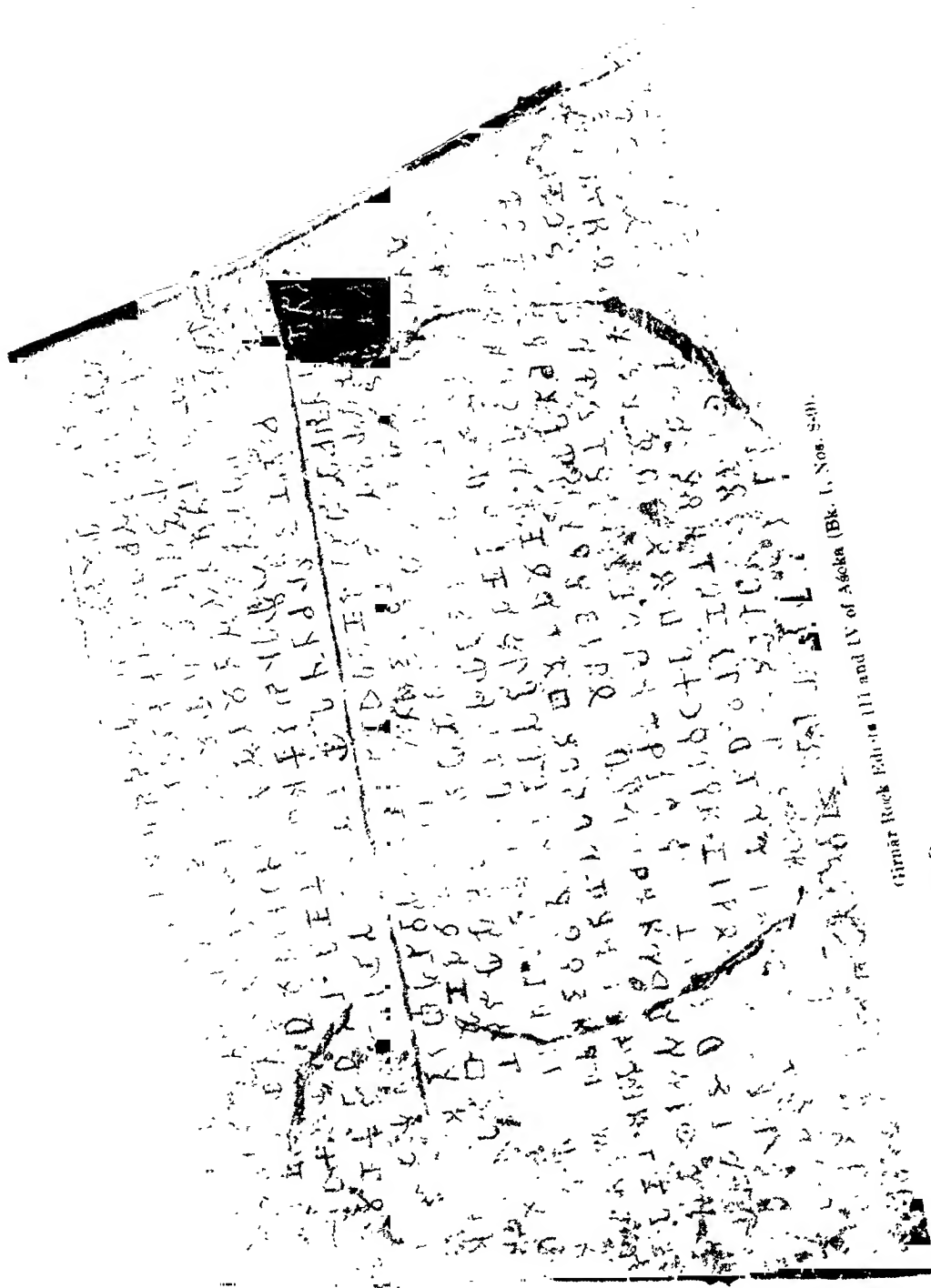
              
              

Specimens of Cuneiform Writing (Bk. I, No. 1.5).—B.



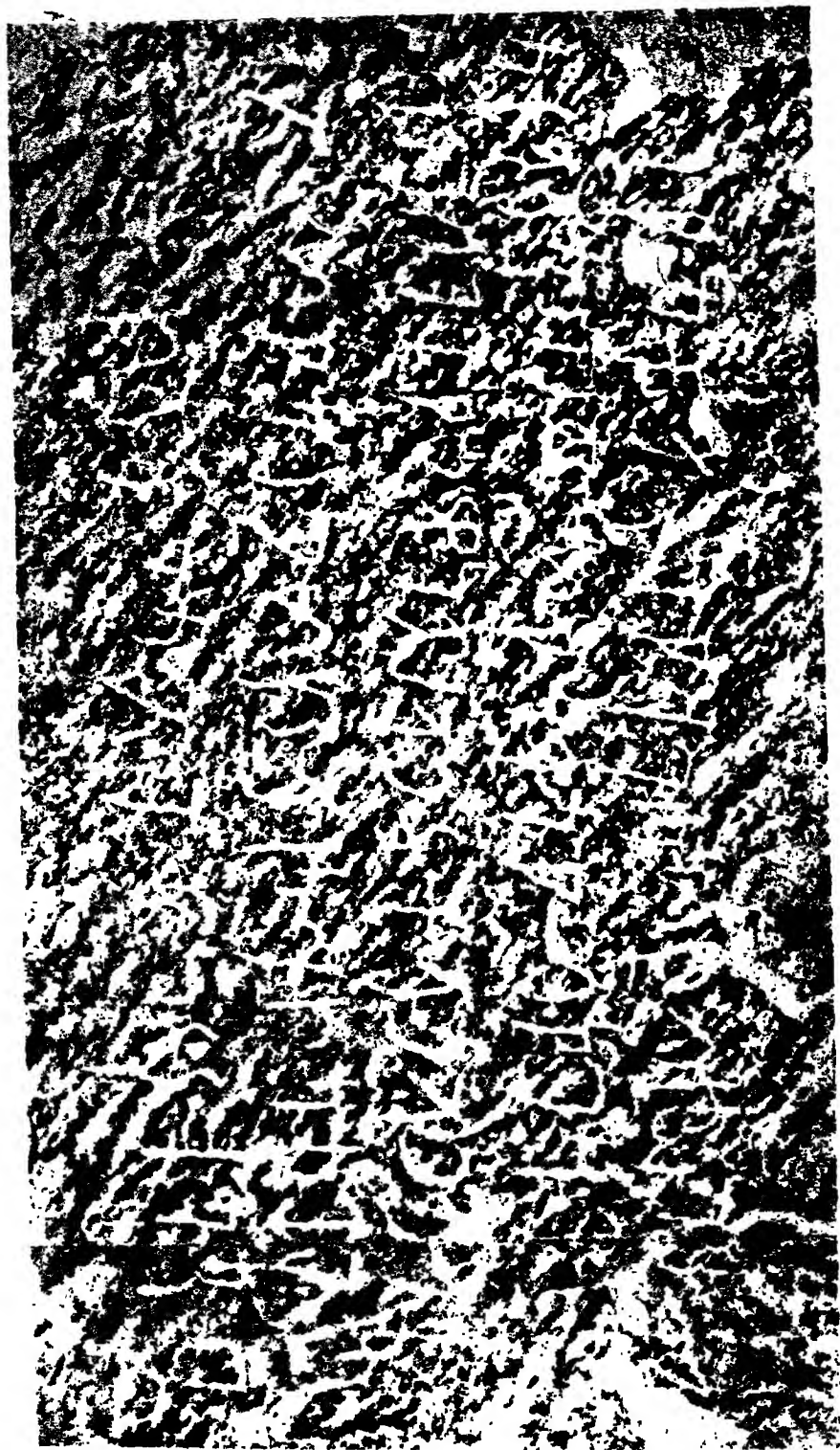
Girnar Rock Edicts I and II of Aśoka (Bl. I, Nos. 6-7).

Courtesy Arch Surv Ind (Corp. Ins Ind., I).

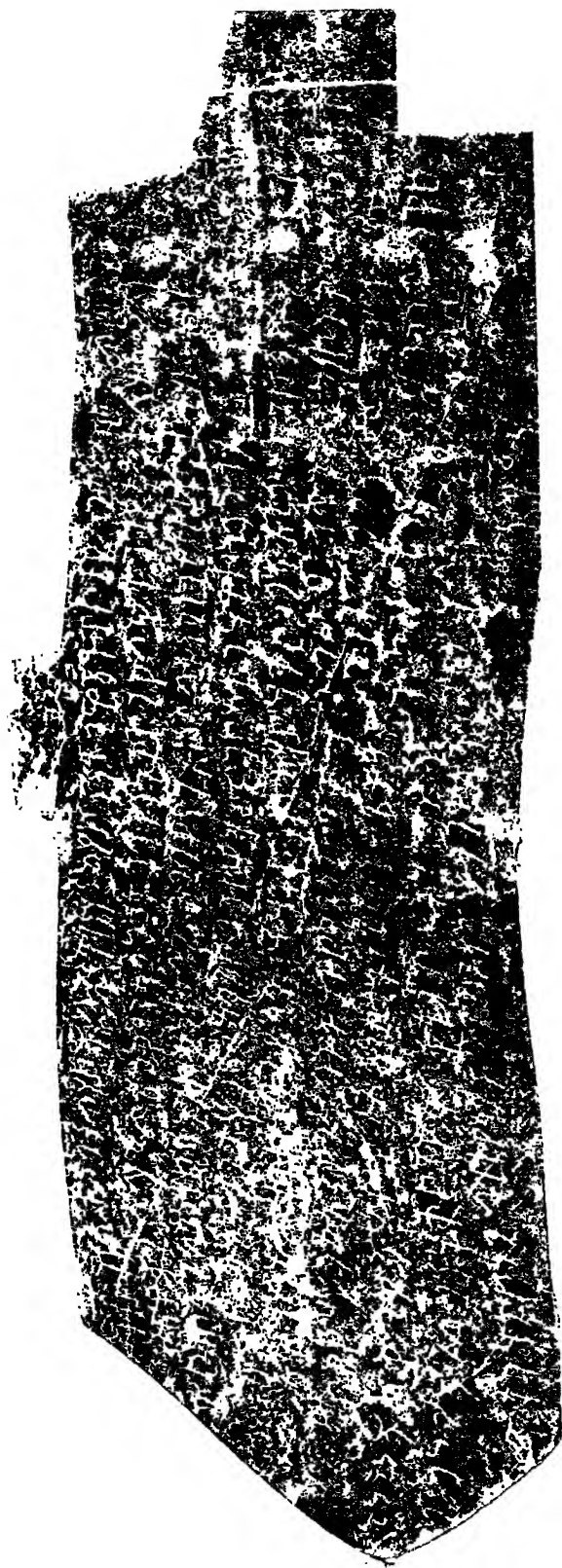


Gimmar Rock, Edin. III and IV of Agoka (Bk. I, Nos. 5-10).

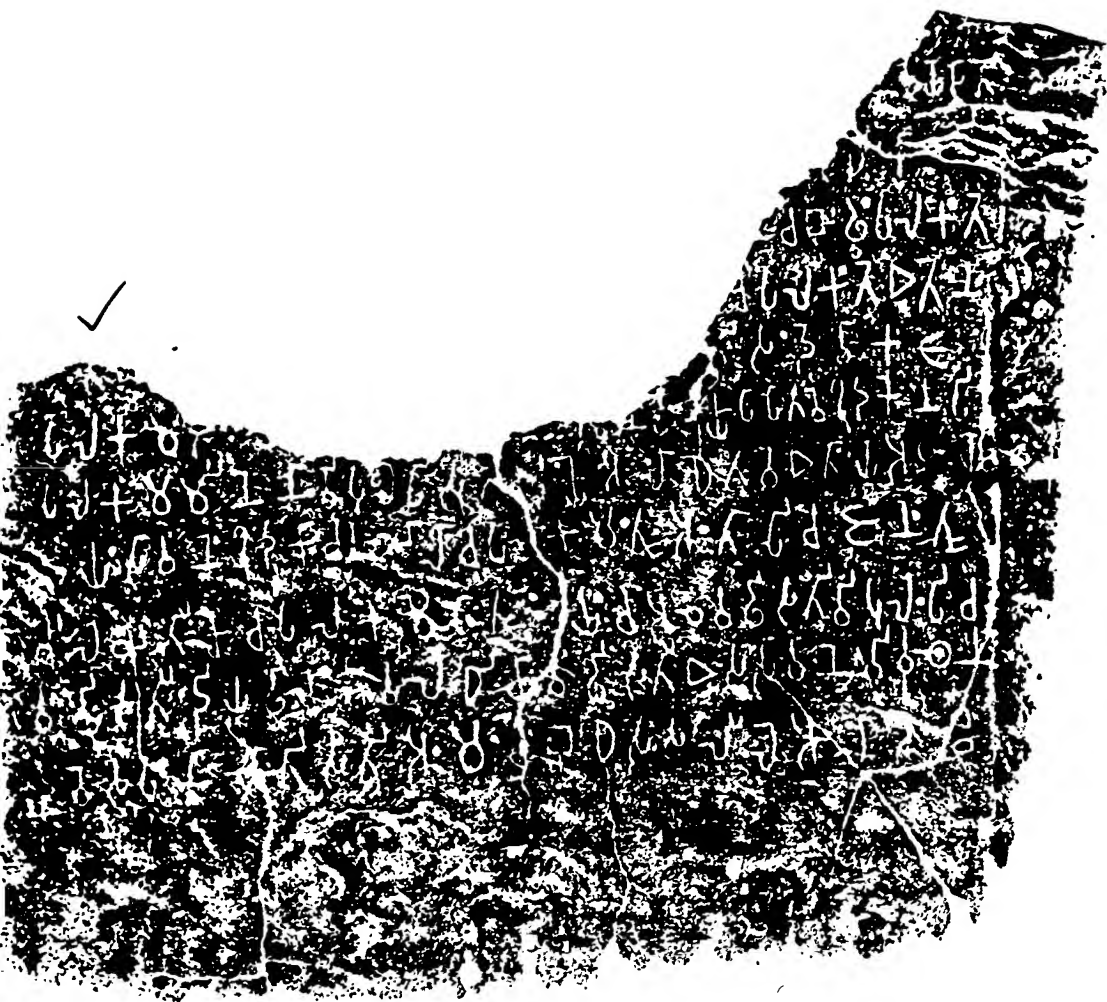
Courtesy: Arch. Surv. Ind. (Corp. Ind., Dc)



Szállbázgarai Rock Edict VII of Aśoka (Blk. I, No. 12)



Shahbāzgarhī Rock Edict XII of Aśoka (Bk. I, No 17)

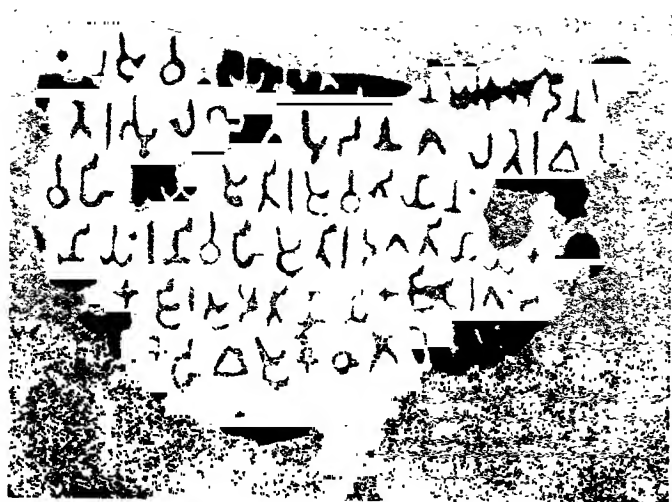


Abhaurā Minor Rock Edict of Asoka (Bk. I. No. 23.B).

Courtesy Arch. Surv. Ind. and Vāṅmīya Sāhitya Parishad.



(Photographic Print)



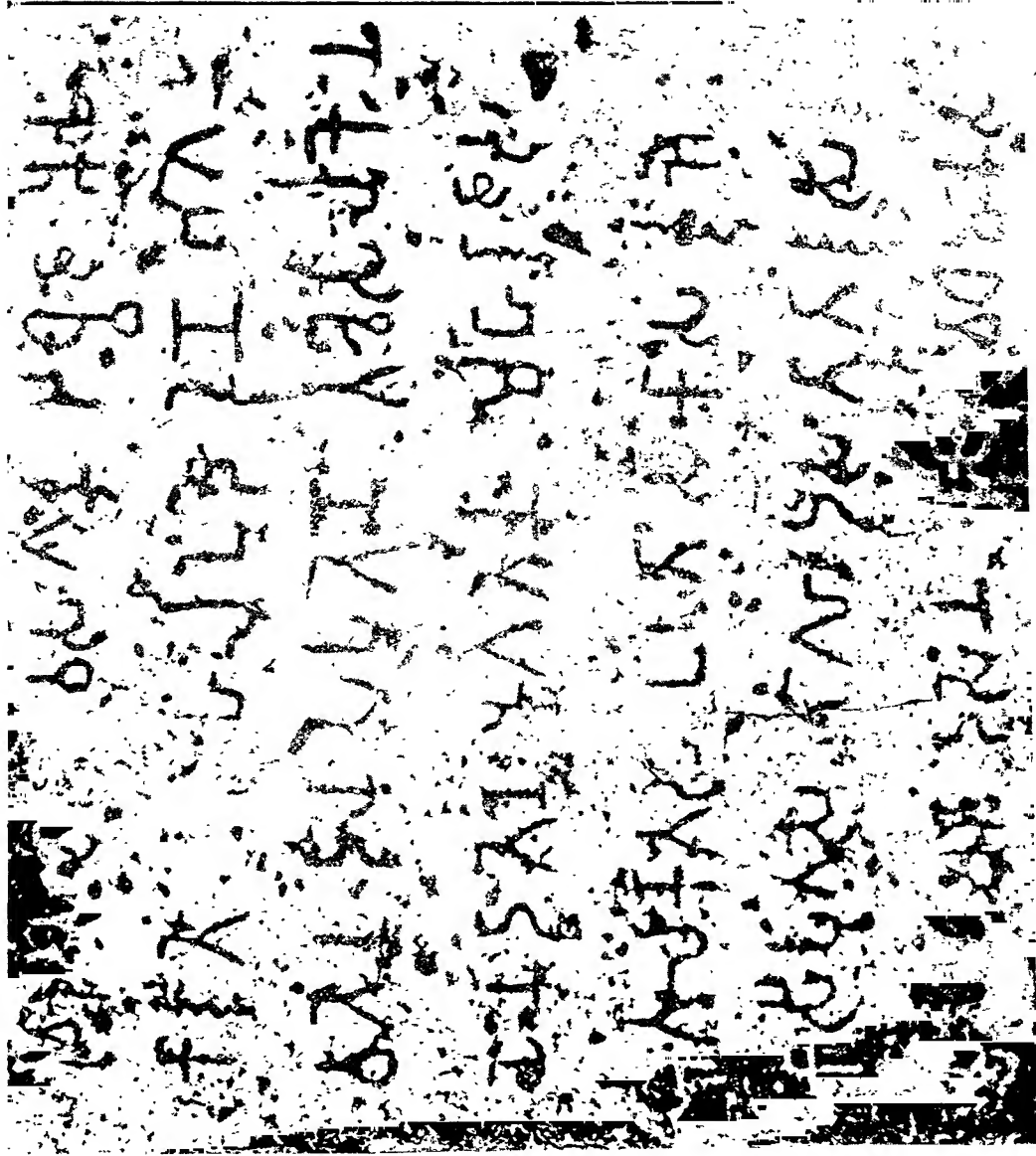
(Rubbing)

✓ Mahasthān Stone Plaque Inscription (Bk. I. No. 45).



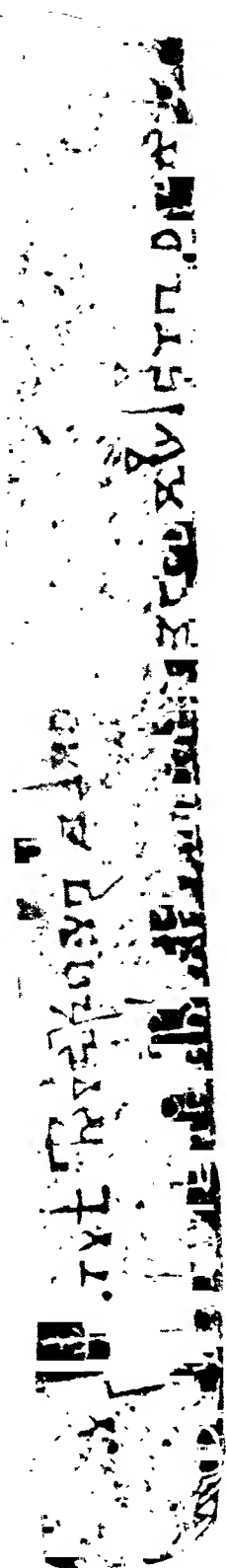
✓ Pictish Vase Inscription (Bl. L. No. 46).

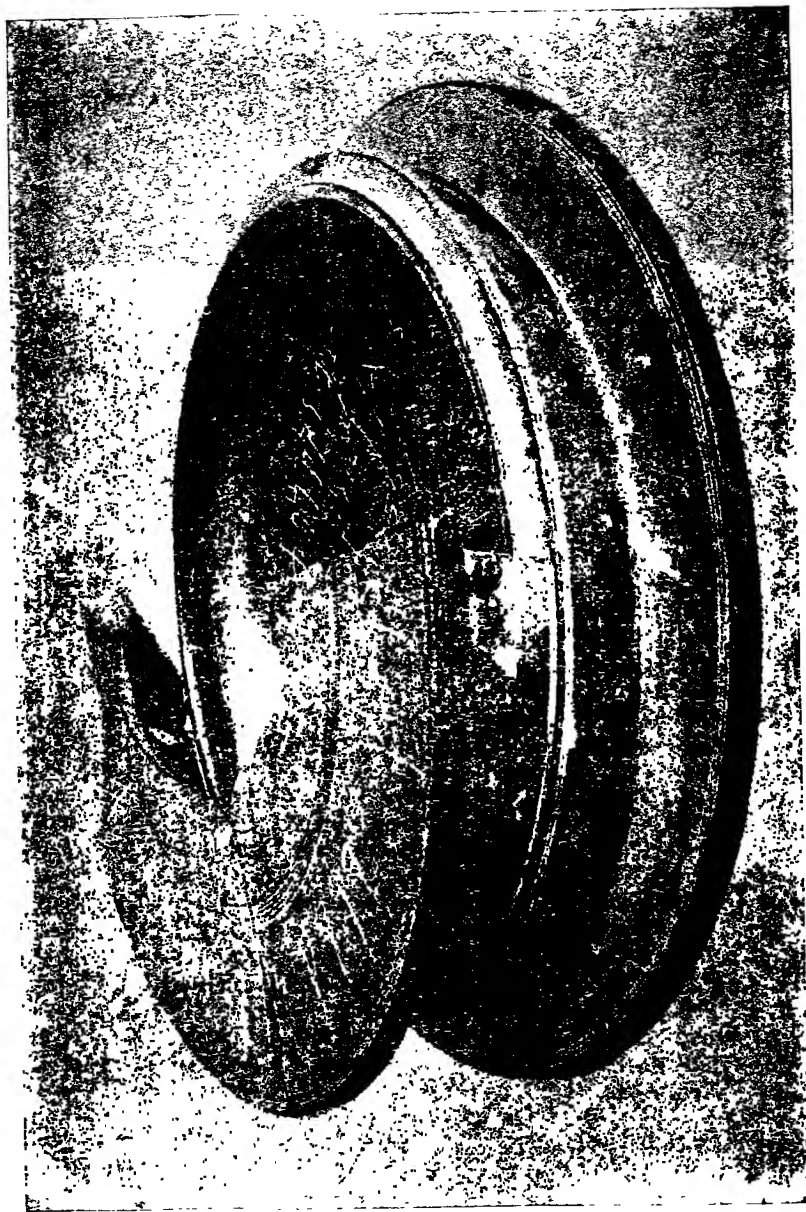
From *Journ. Dep. Lot.*, IV.



Resnagar Pillar Inscription (Bk II, No. 2).

Ayodhyā Inscription of Dharmadeva (Bl. II, No. 9).





Shinkot (Bajaur) Relic Casket (Bk. II, No. 14).

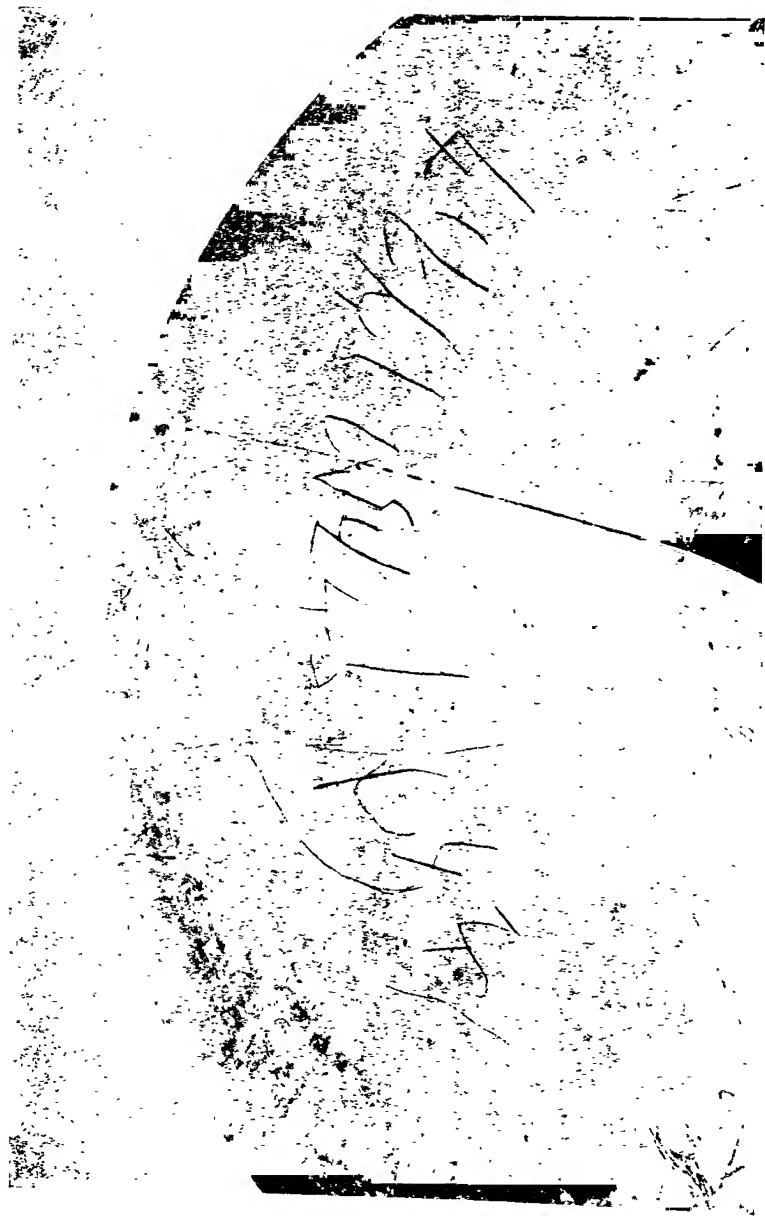
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXIV).



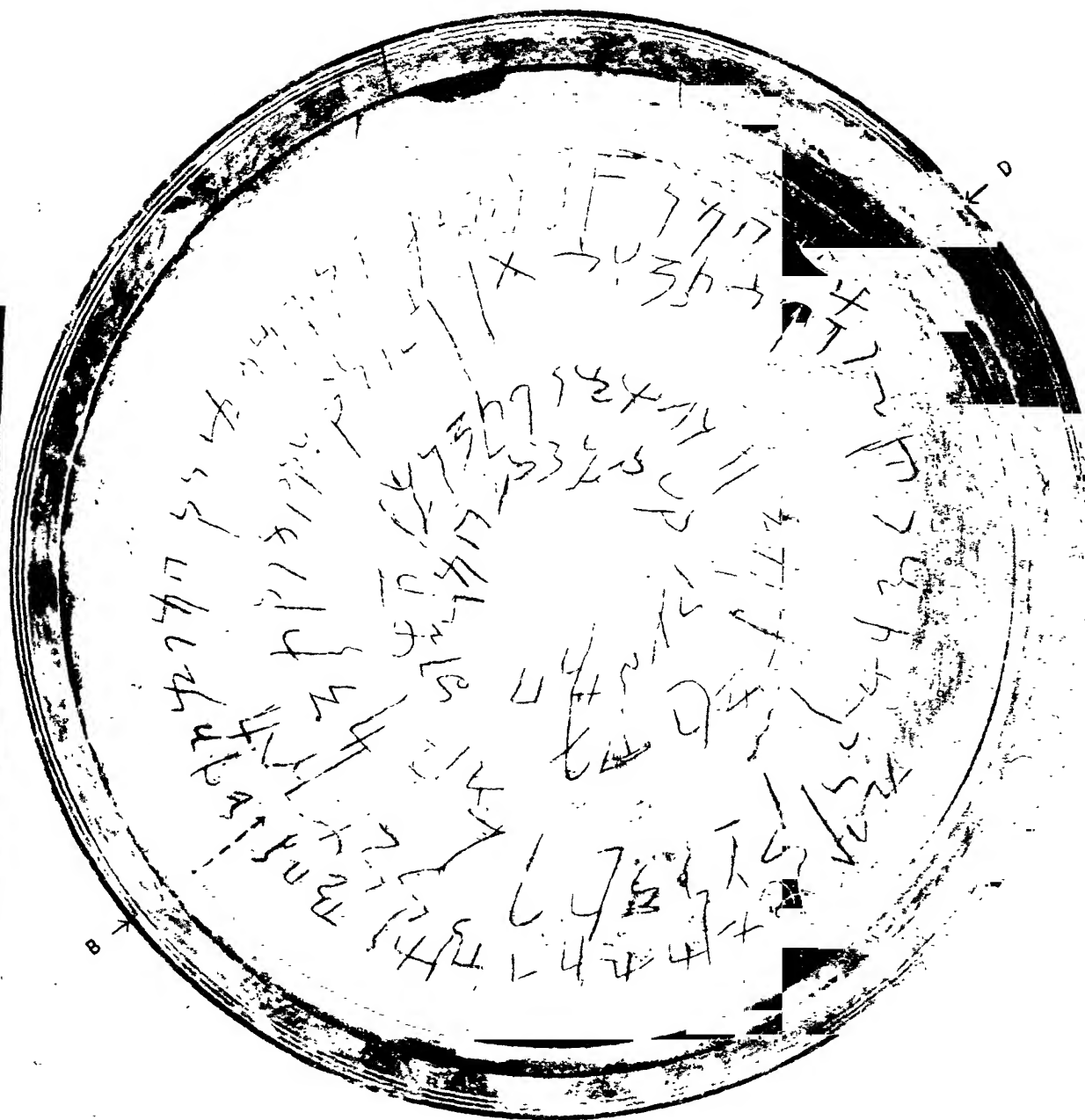
Shunkot (Bageun) Casket Inscription of Menander (Bk. II No. 14). Sections A, A', and C.
Arch. Surv. Ind. *Exp. Ind.* XXIV.



Shunkon (Bajaur) Casket Inscription (Blk. II, No. 14), Section A².



Slinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription of Menander (Blk. II, No. 14), Section E.



Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription (Bk. II, No. 14, Sections B and D).

PLATE XVIII

A (lines 6-16)



A (lines 1-5)



E (lines 1-2), E'



E''



E (lines 3-4)

Methurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24). Sections A, E and E'.

Corbeling — Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i).

B. C. D



M



d

Mathura Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24), Sections B, C, D, J and M.

Courtesy: Arch. Surv. Ind. (Corp. Ins. Ind., II, i).

F (line 1)



K L



F (line 2), G, J (line 3), K, L (line 3)

G



I, J, M (line 3), Q (line 2)



Mithraeum Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24), Sections I, J, M and Q.

O

N, O, P, Q, R

P



J'

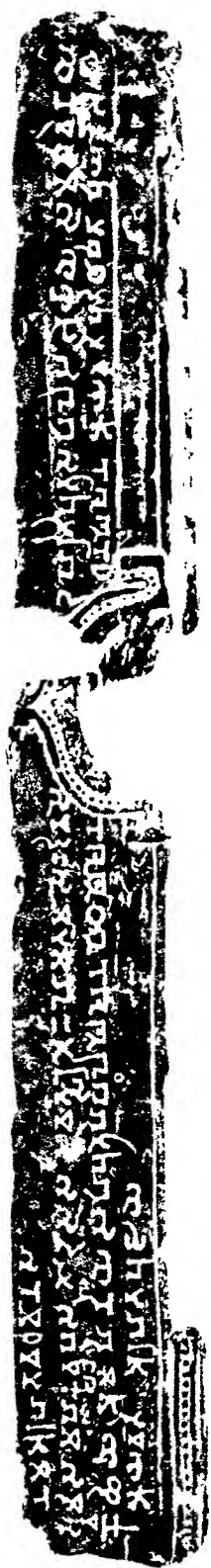


J'

Q (line 2)

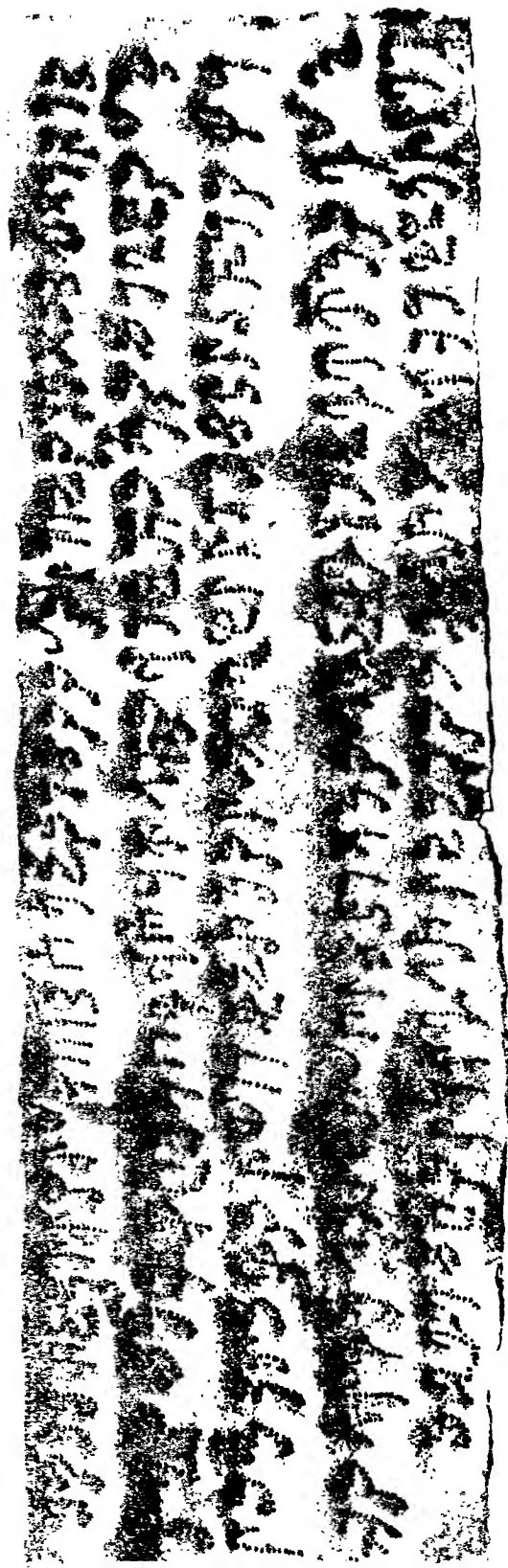
Mathura Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24), Sections J', N, O, P, Q and R.

Courtesy Arch. Surv. Ind. (Corp. Ind., Ind., II, 6).

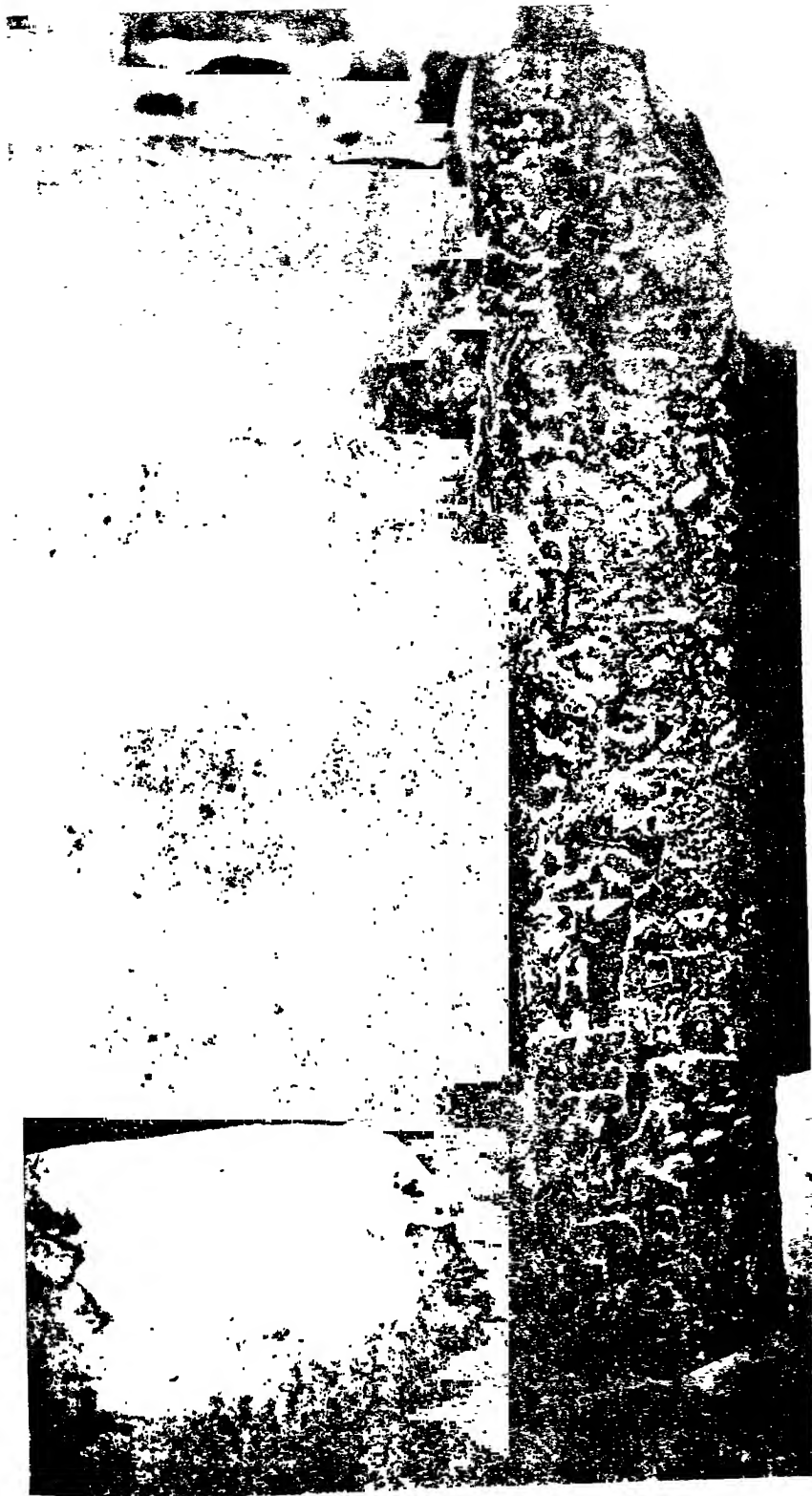


Mathura Votive Tablet Inscription (Bk. II, 25).

Cont. 6 sq. Arch. Surv. Ind. & Ep. Ind. II.



Kilauea Copper plate Inscription (Bk. II, No. 33).

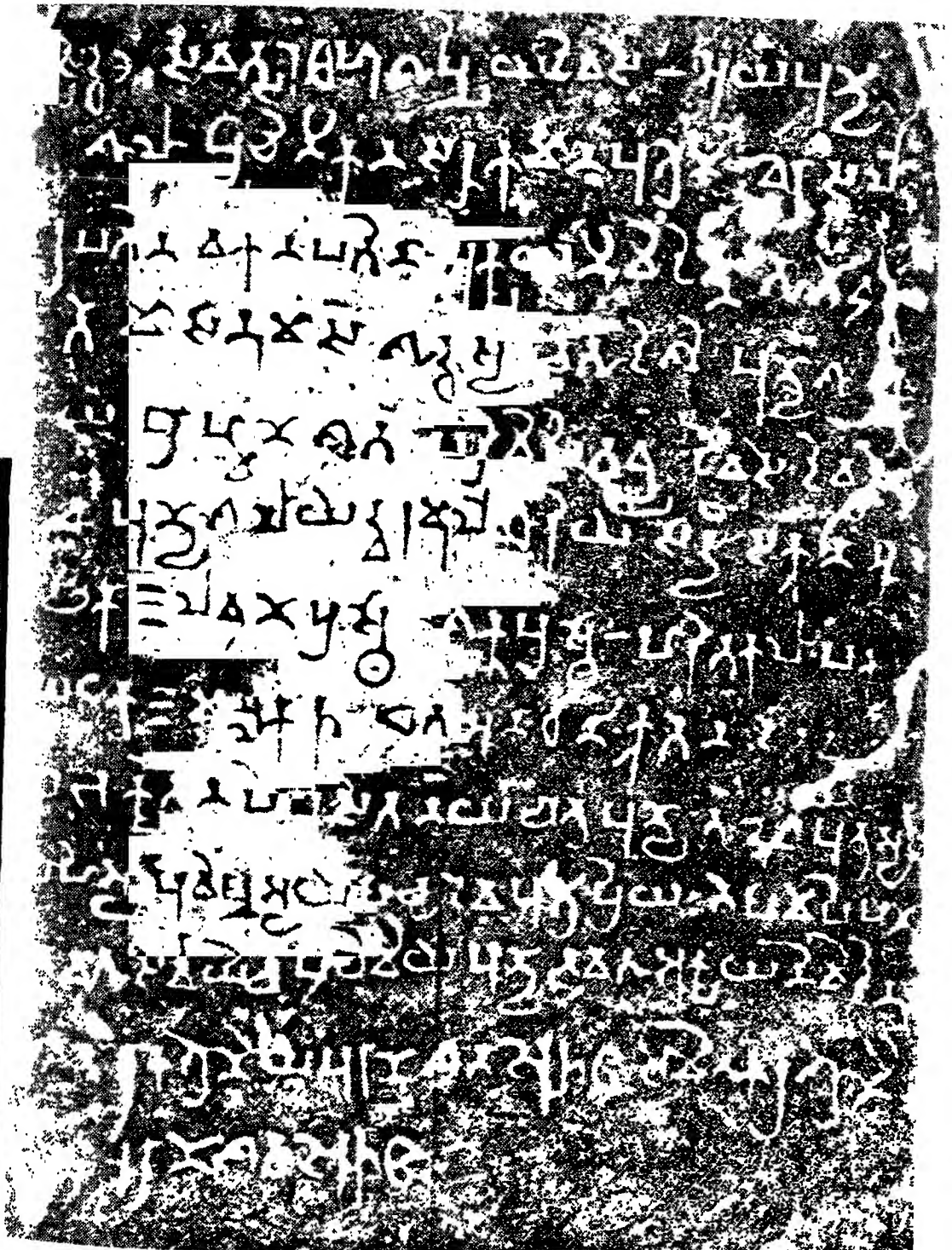


Kosim inscription of Kamshika I (Bk. II, No. 36-A).

Courtesy: Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., N.NIV).



Mathura Inscription of Kanishka I (Bk. II, No. 42-A).



Mathura Inscription of Huvishka (Bk. II, No. 49)

Side A



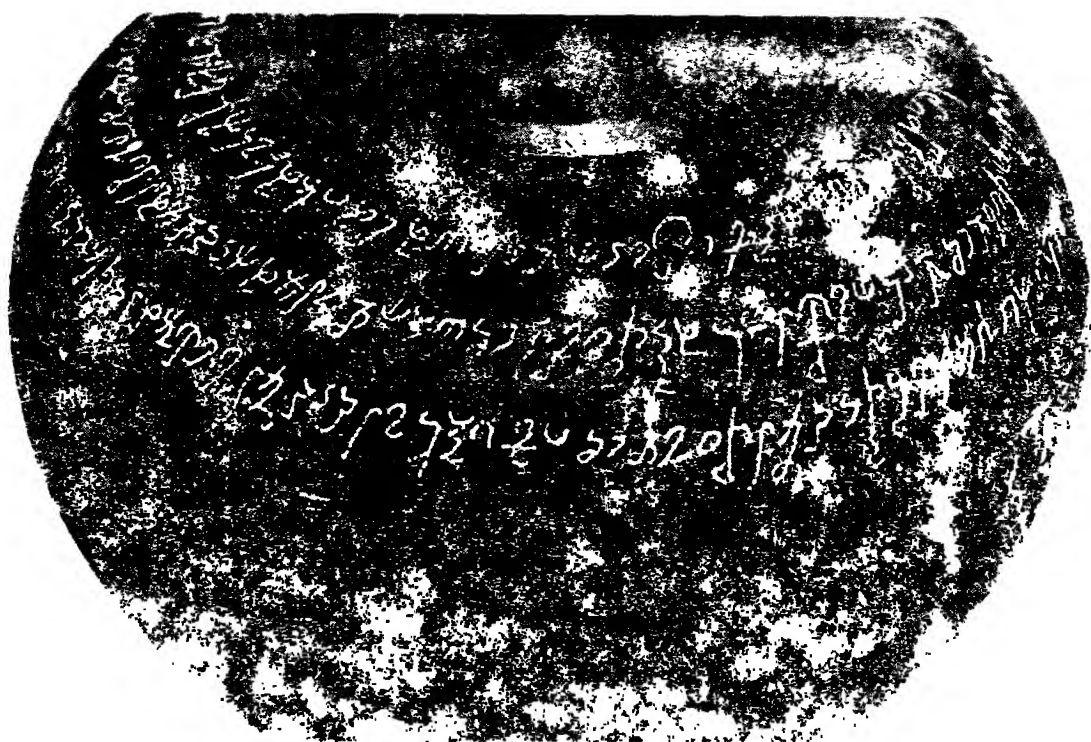
Side B



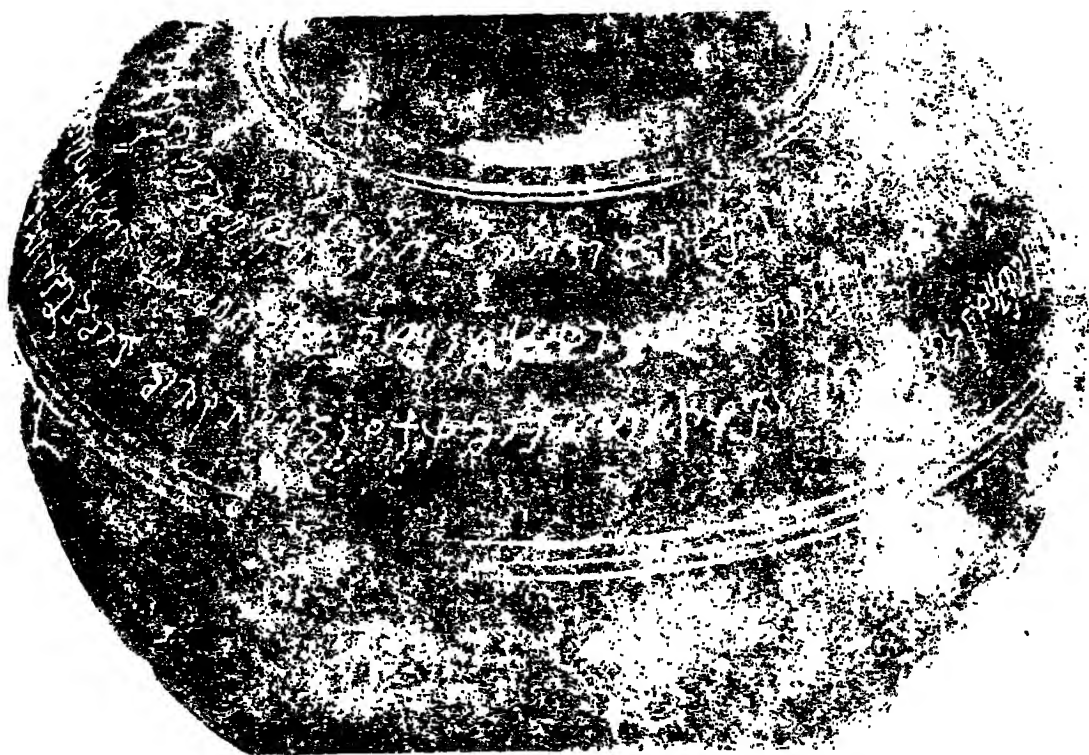
X Khawat (Wardak) Vase Inscription of Havishka (Bk. II, No. 55). Sides A and B

Courtesy Arch. Surv. Ind. (Orig. Ins. Ind. II, 1).

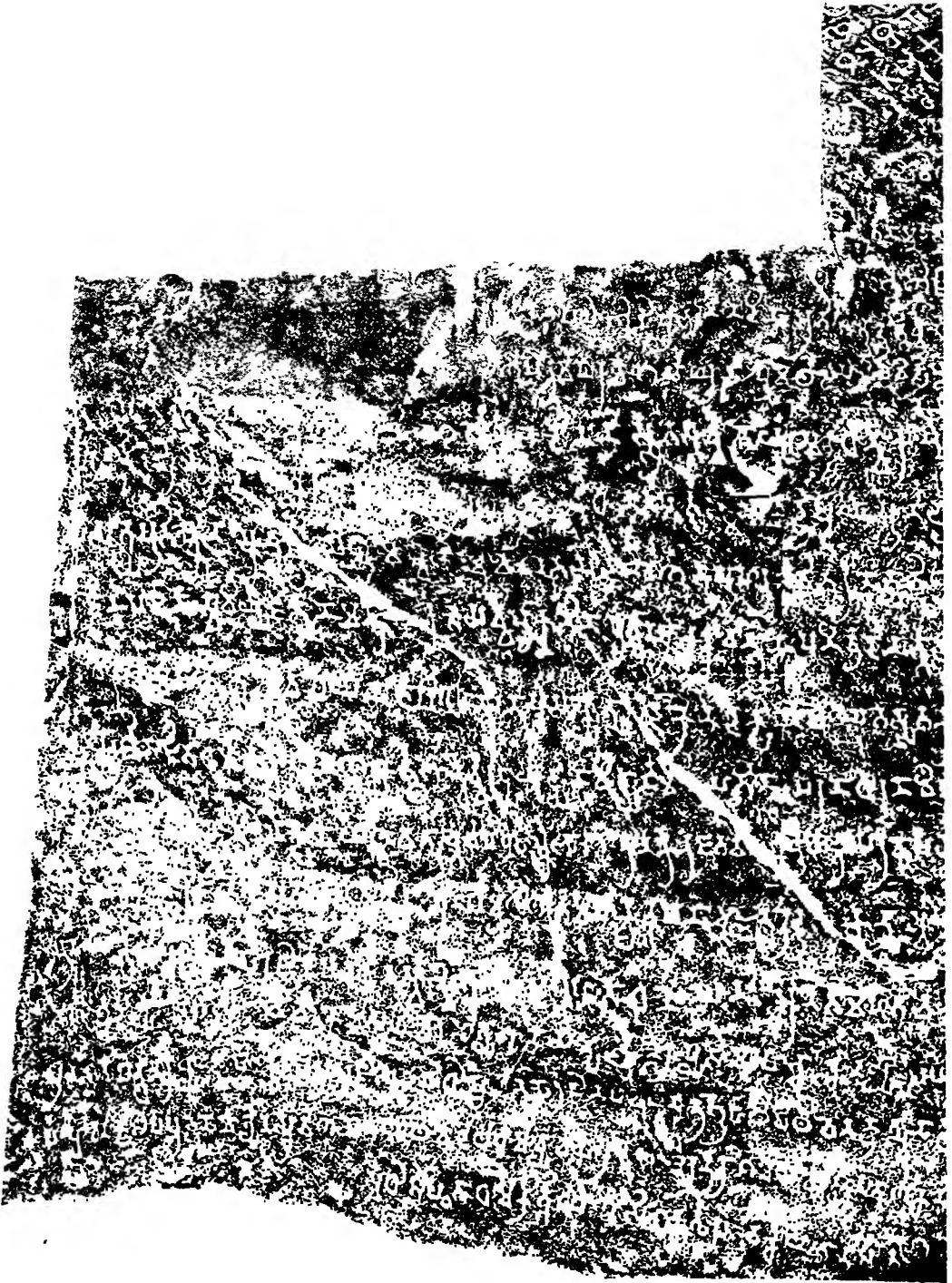
Side C



Side D



Khawat (Wardak) Vase Inscription of Huvishka (Bk. II, No. 55). Sides C and D



Archaeological Inscription of Rudradaman (Bk. II, No. 67), Section I (left part).

Comptes Rendus Acad. Sci. Ind. (Ep. Ind., VIII).



Junāgadh Inscription of Rudradāman (Bk. II, No. 67), Section II (central part).

Courtesy Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., VIII).

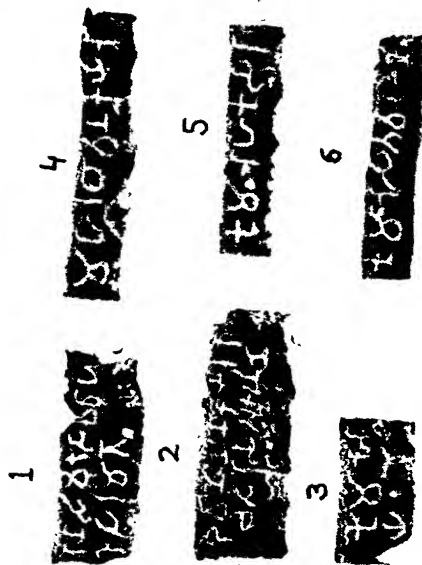


Junāghāh Inscription of Rudradāman (Bk. II, No. 67), Section III (right part).

Courtesy — Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., VIII).



11



1. Nānaghat Cave Inscription (Part I) o Nāgammuka (Bk. II, No. 82), Sections I and II.
2. Nānaghat Cave Figure-plate I Inscriptions (Bk. II, Nos. 76-81).

III



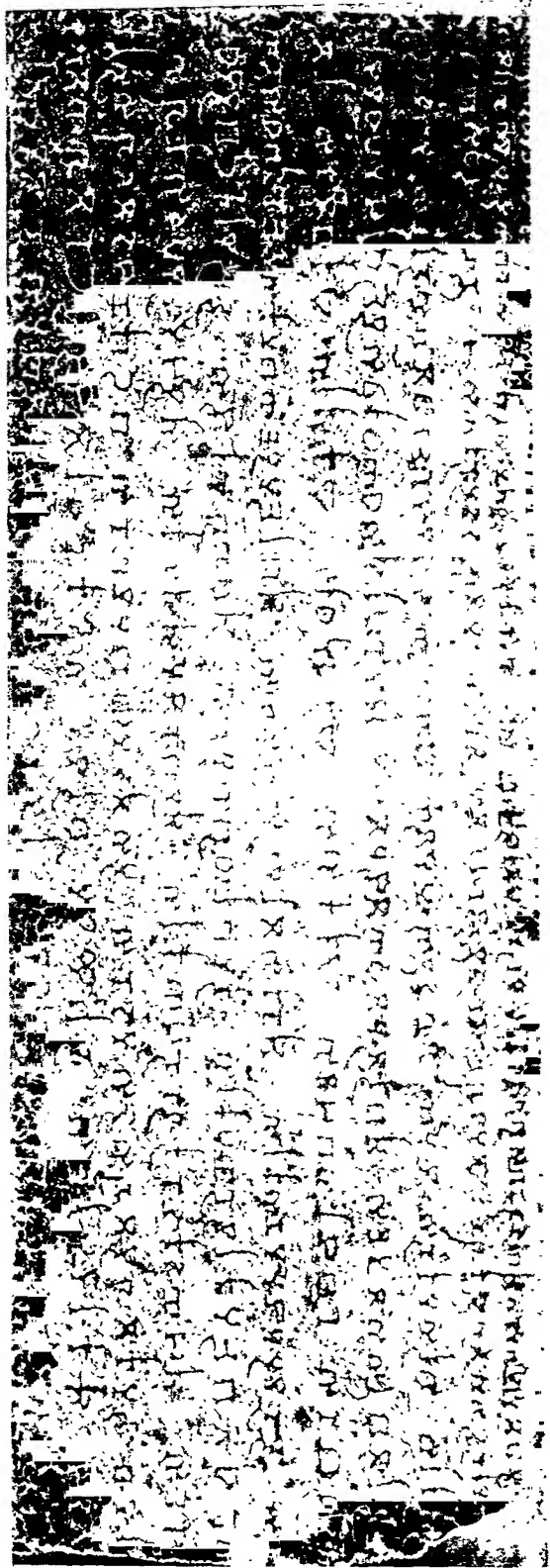
IV



Nagahat Cave Inscription (Part II) of Nagamika (Bk. II, No. 82), Sections III and IV.



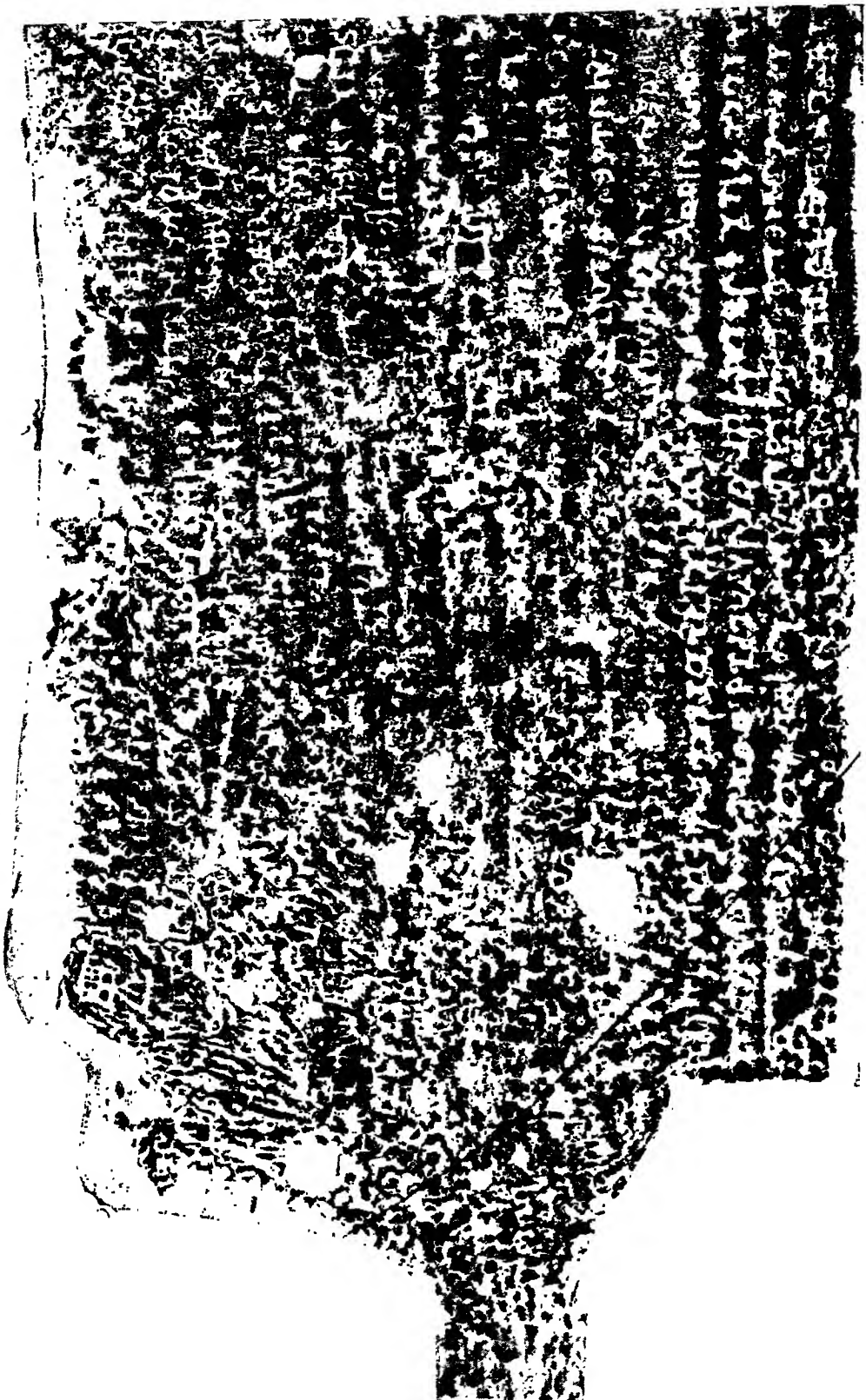
Nasik Inscription of Pulamayi (Bk. II, No. 86), Section 1 (left half).



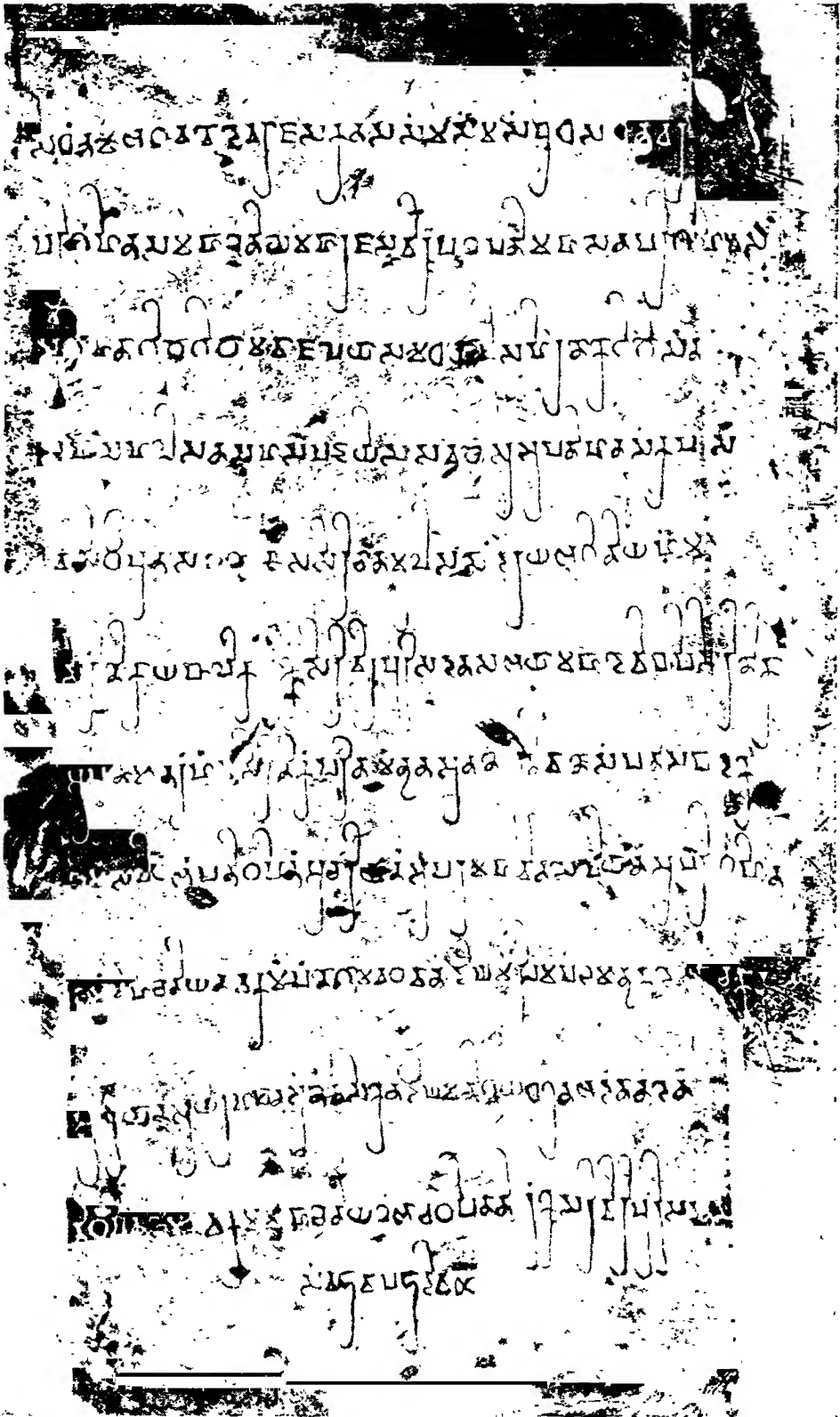
Nasik Inscription of Pulumavi (Bk. II, No. 86), Section II (right half).

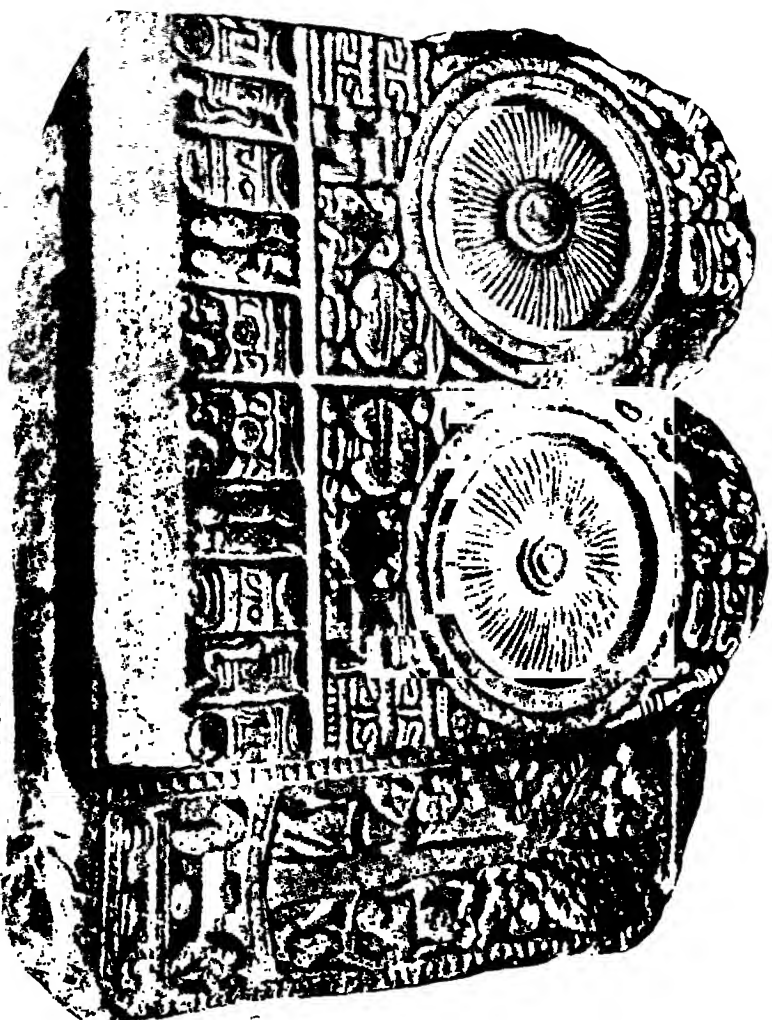


Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela (Bk. II, No. 91). Section I (left half).



Haithigumpha Inscription of Kharavala (Bk. II, No. 91). Section II (right half).
 Courtesy: B. O. R. S. (J. B. O. R. S. I, II).





Nagarjunaikongga Buddhista-pada Stupa Inscription -A (see p. 529).

(Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. *ibid.*, XXIII).



Nagarijunikonja Buddha-pada Slab Inscription—B (see p. 529).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXXIII).

PLATE NLI



ආඥා-කාන්දා ගුහා ලිපි (පි. II, අං. 105).

Courtesy : Archaeological Commissioner, Colombo, Ceylon.



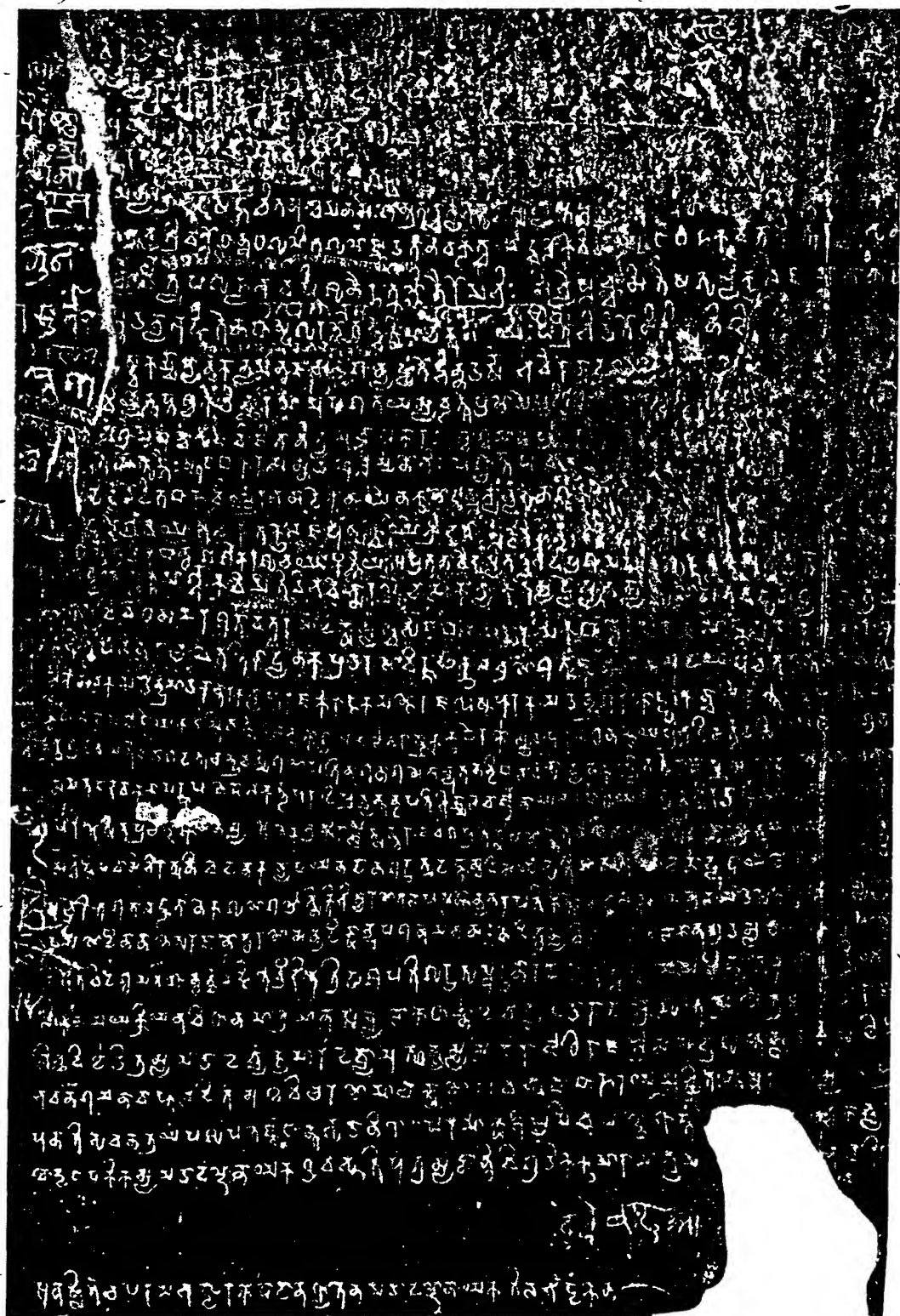
Daw Gada Cave Inscription (Bk. II, No. 106).

Courtesy : Archaeological Commissioner, Colombo, Ceylon.

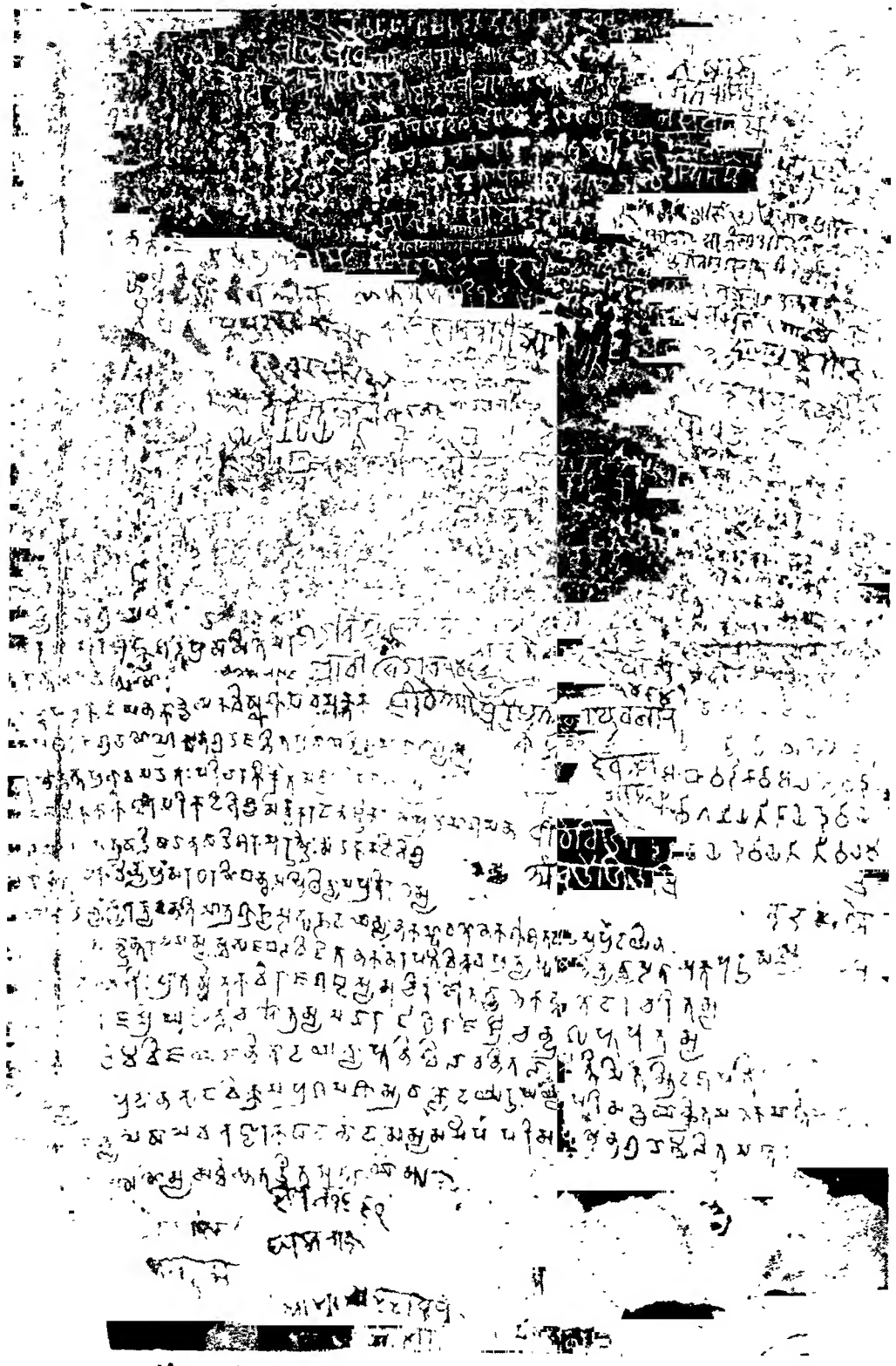


Central Asian Document (Bk. II, No. 110).

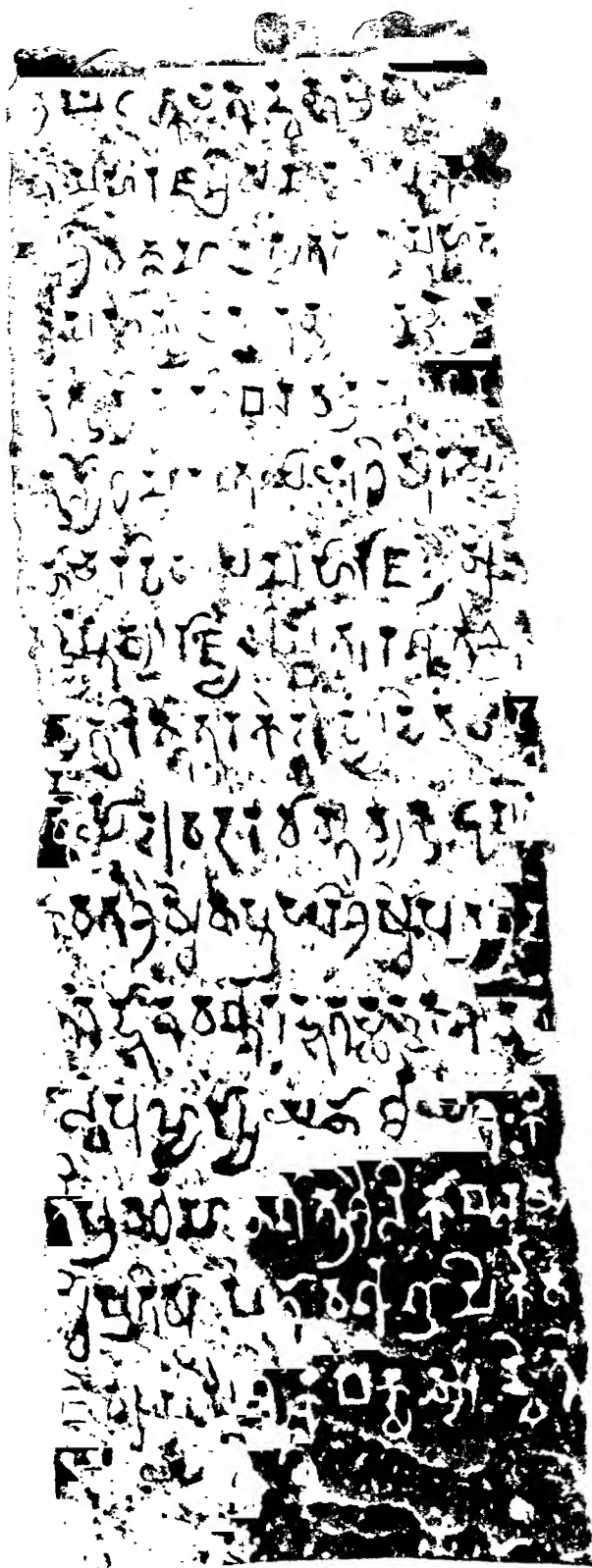
Courtesy : Cambridge University Press (*Khar. Ins.*, I).



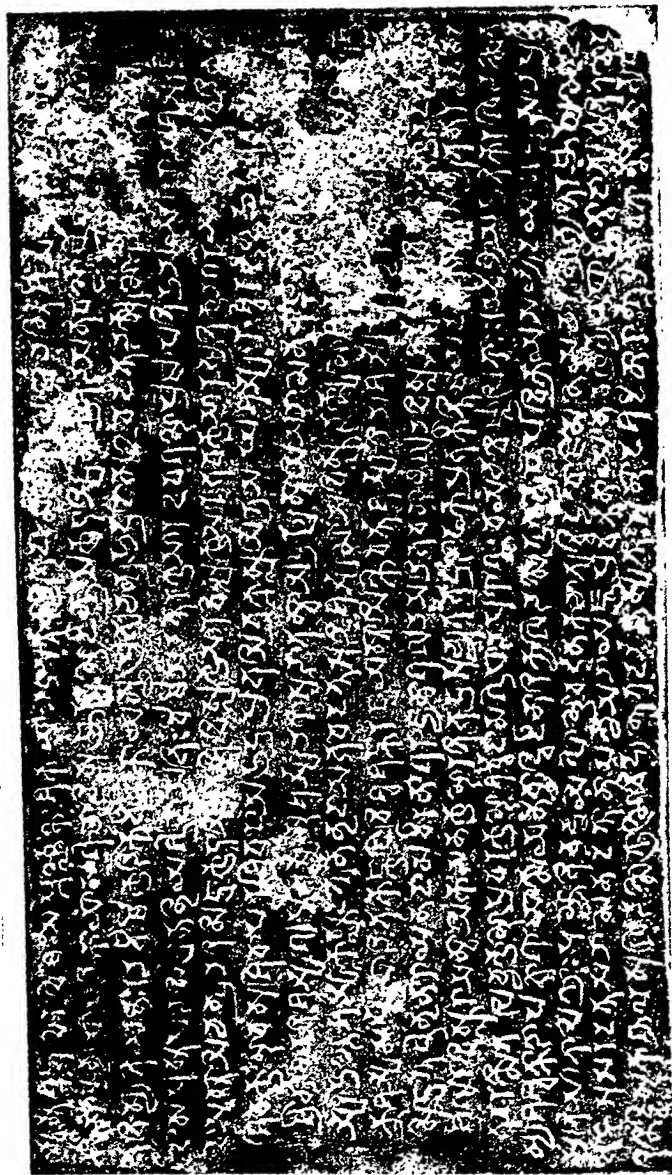
Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (Bk. III, No. 2), Section I (left half).



Allahābād Pillar Inscription (Bk. III, No. 2), Section II (right half).

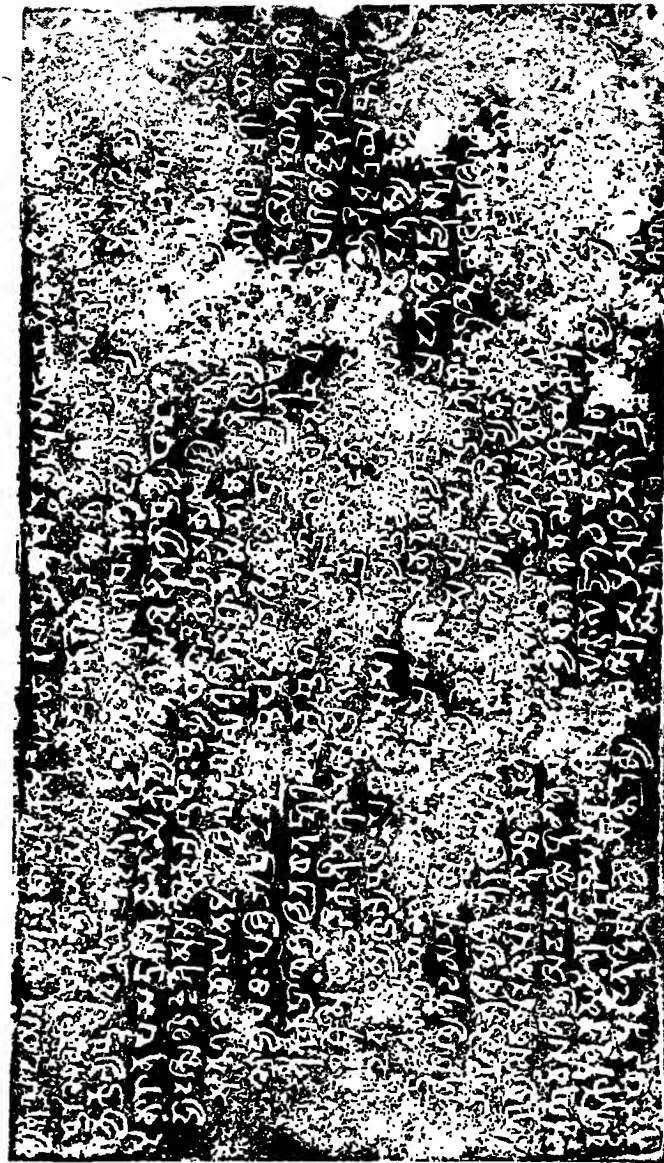


Supia Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (Bk. III. No. 26-A).



Kadalkaur-Sultampur Copper-plate Inscription (Bk. III, No. 40-A), First Side.

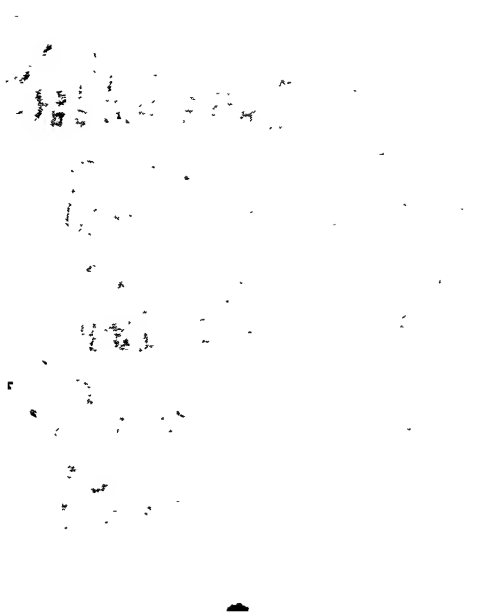
Quarterly Ind. Hist. Quart., XIX.



Kalaikurni-Sultampur Copper-plate - Inscription (Bk. III, No. 40-A), Second Side.

[The text in this block is extremely faint and illegible due to extreme blurring and low contrast. It appears to be a dense paragraph of handwritten or printed text.]

Side I



Side II A



Basim Copper-plate Inscription of Vindhyaśakti II (Bk. III, No. 59), Sides I—IIA.

From *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1939.

Side II B

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः

Side III A

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः

Side III B



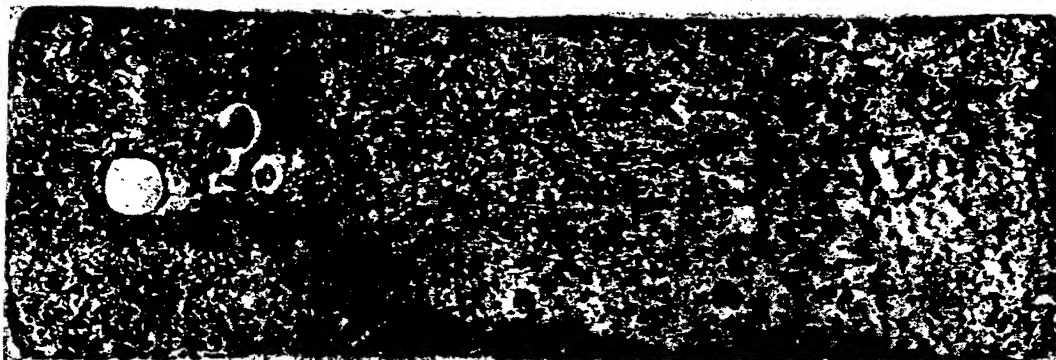
Side IV



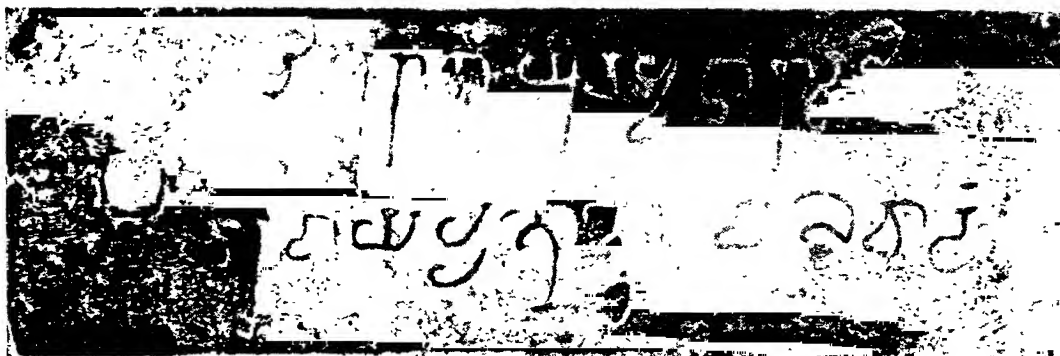
Basum Copper-plate Inscription of Vindhyāśakti II (Bk. III, No. 59). Sides IIIB—IV.

From *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1939.

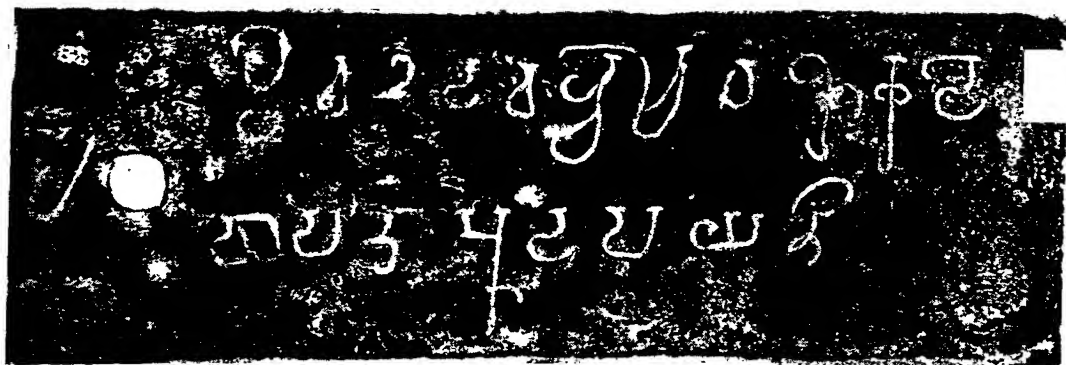
Side I A



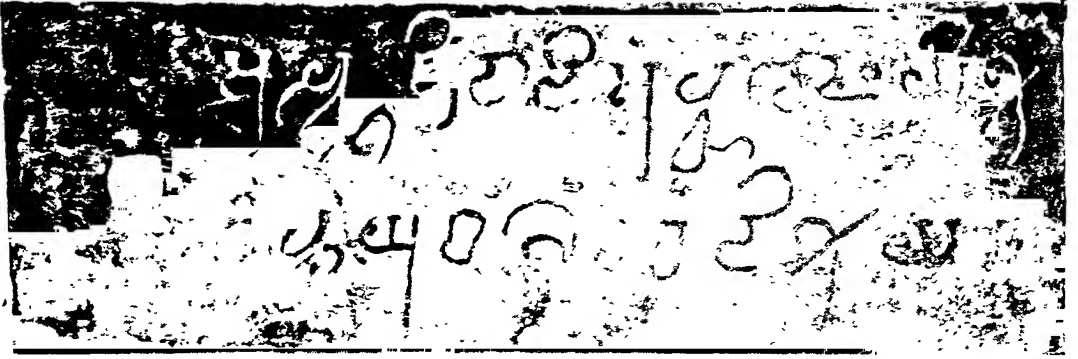
Side I B



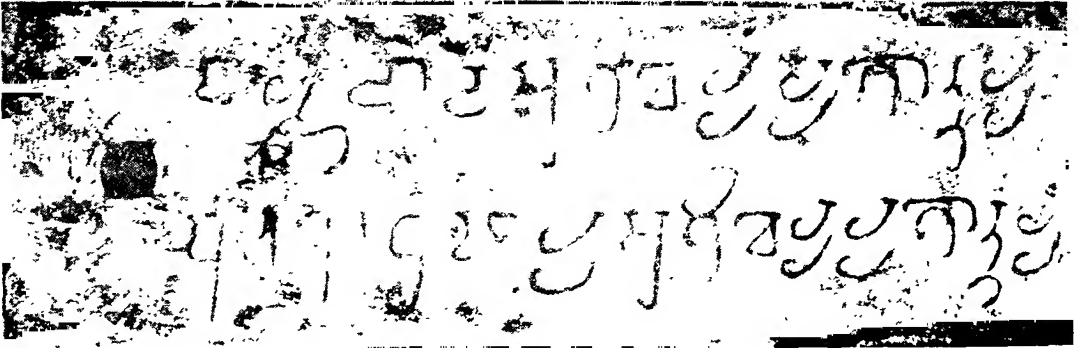
Side II A



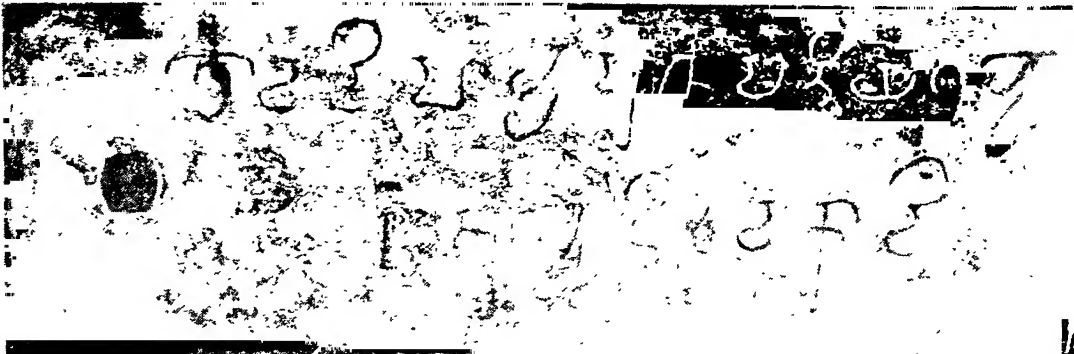
Side II B



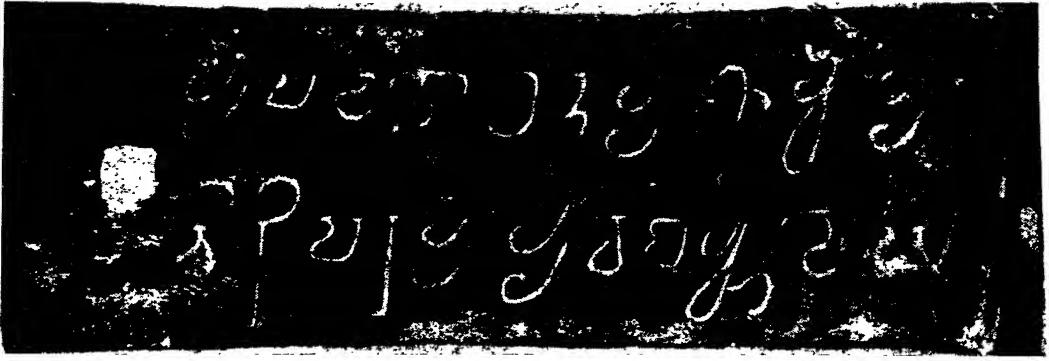
Side III A



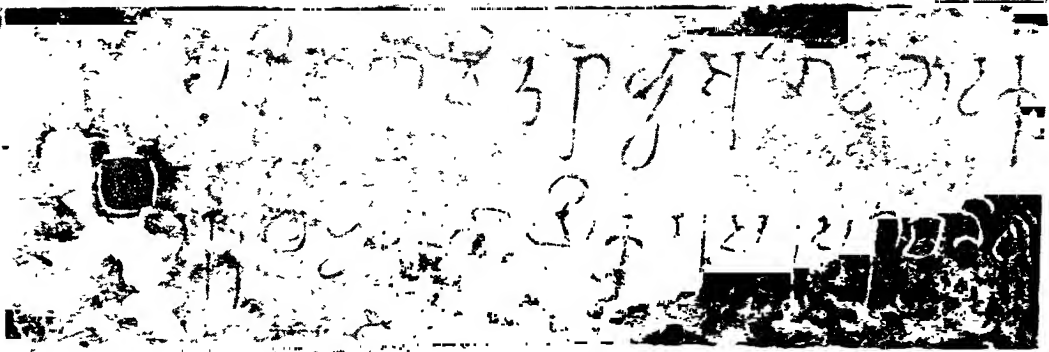
Side III B



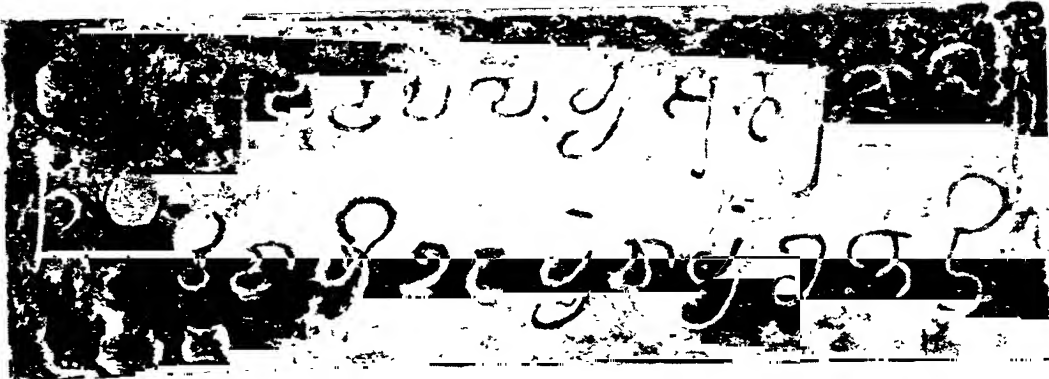
Side IV A



Side IV B



Side V A



Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Sivaskandavarman (Bk. III, No. 64). Sides IVA—VA.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., VI).

Side V B

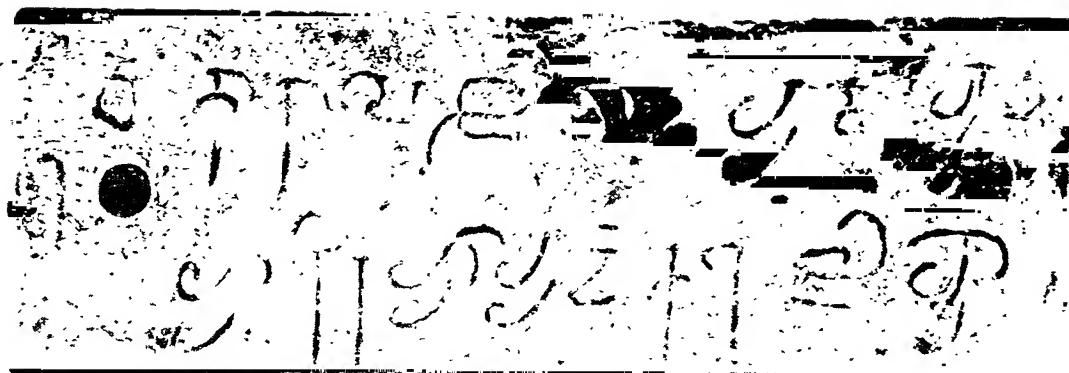
Side VI A

Side VI B

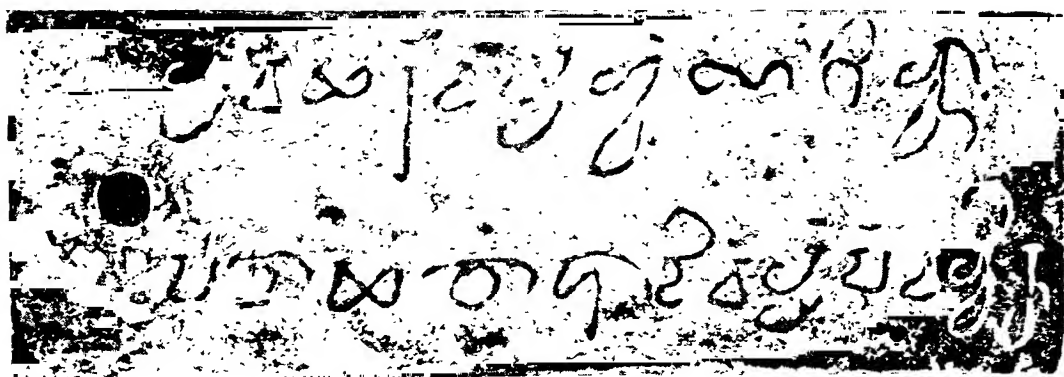
Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman (Bk. III, No. 64), Sides VB—VIB.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI).

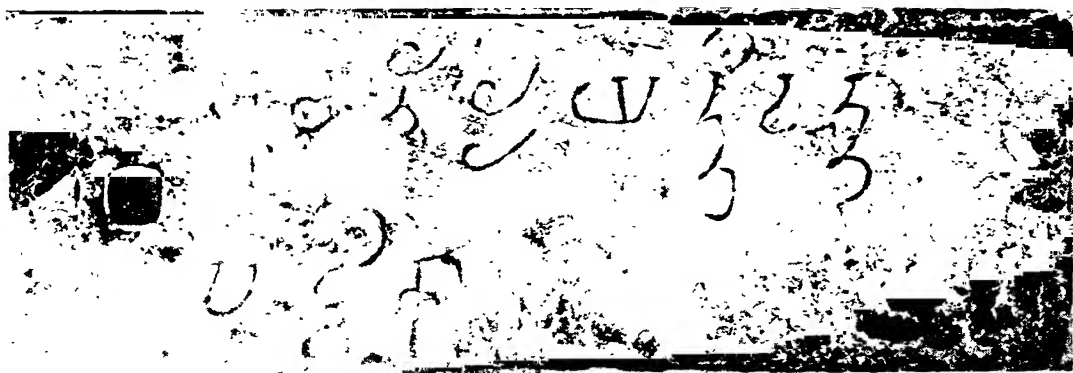
Side VII A



Side VII B

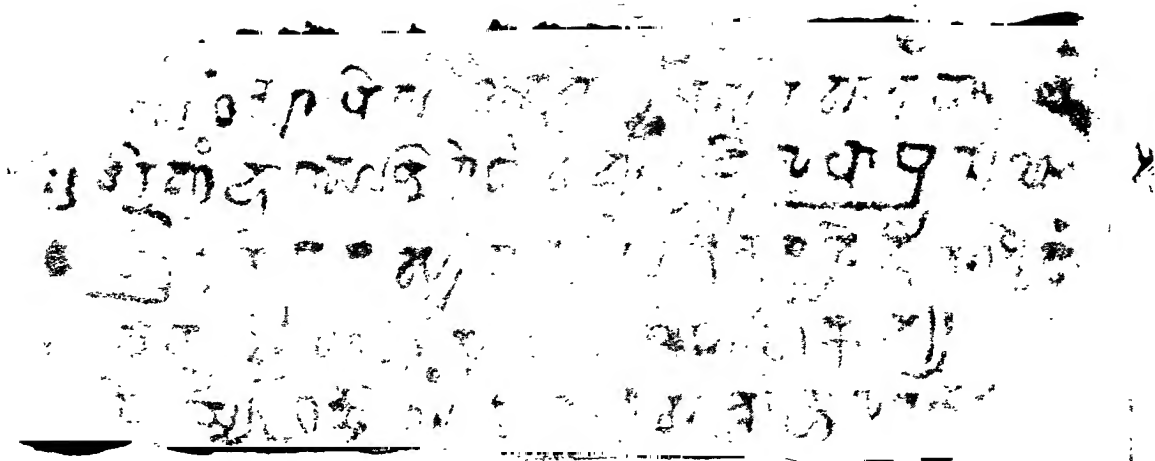


Side VIII



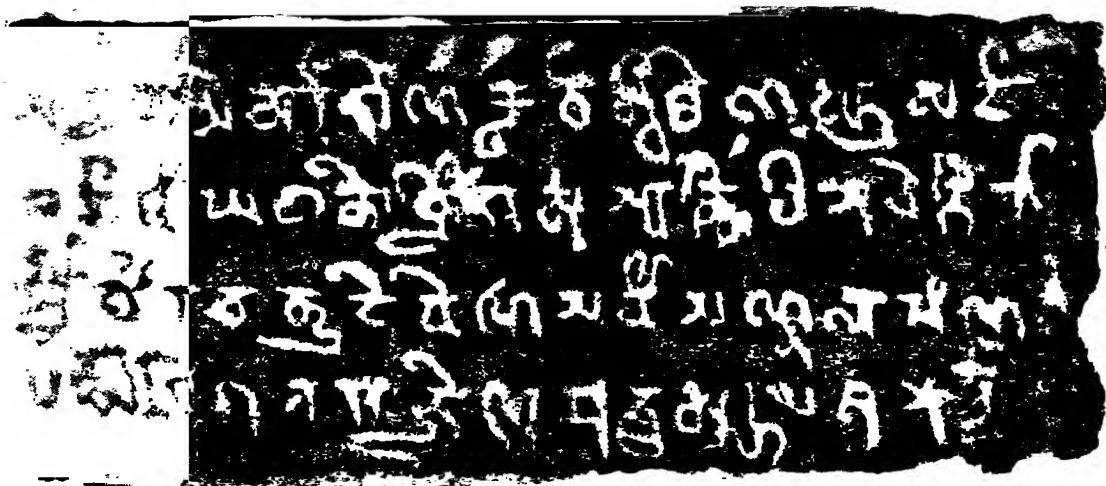
Mayinavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Sivaskandavarman (Bk. III, No. 64), Sides VIIA—VIII.

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI).



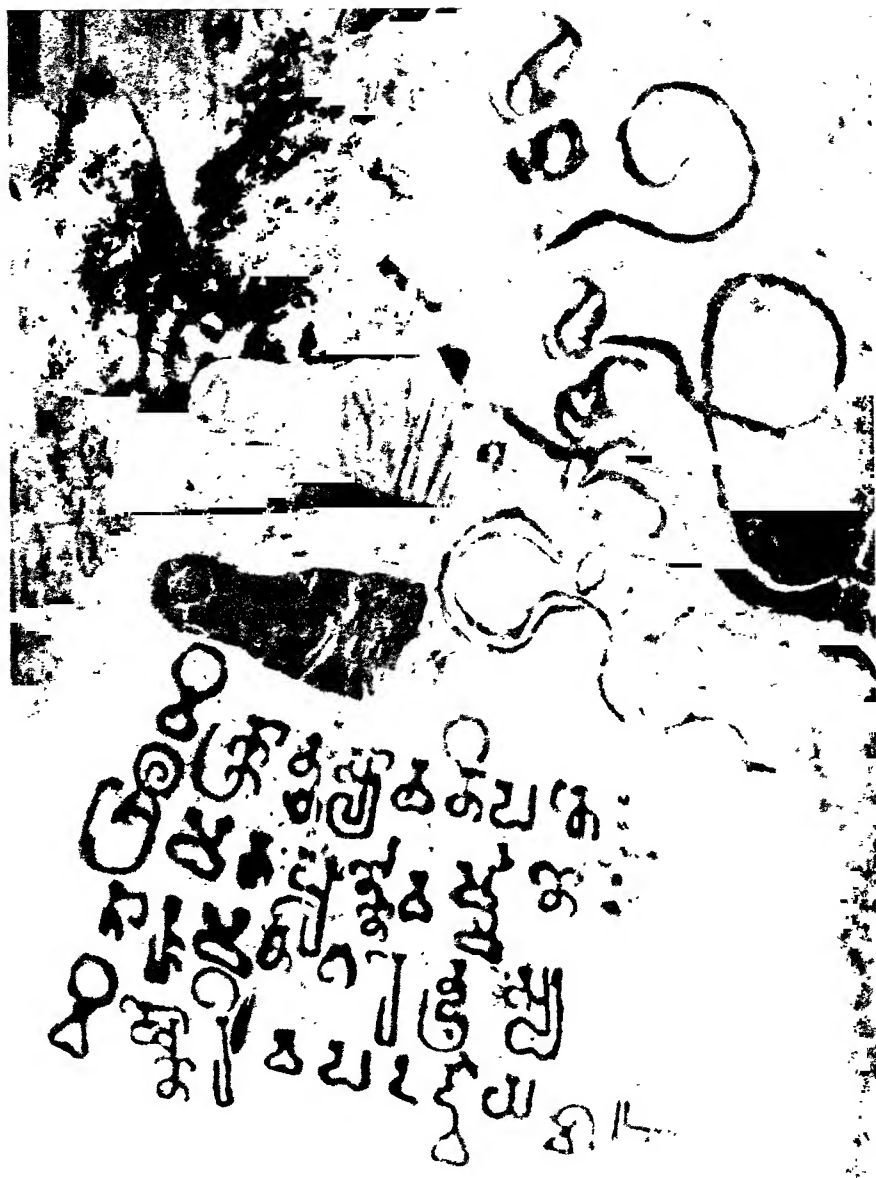
Vesālī Stone Inscription of the time of Nīṭichandra (Bk. III, No. 72-A).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXXII).



Vesālī Stone Slab Inscription of Virachandra (Bk. III, No. 72-B).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXXII).



Ci-Arutōn Inscription (see p. 501, note 4).

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXII).

12/21/20

"A book that is shut is but a block"

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